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CHIOS

A CONFERENCE AT
THE HOMEREION IN CHIOS
1984

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1984

EDITED BY
JOHN BOARDMAN
AND
C. E. VAPHOPOULOU-RICHARDSON

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FOREWORD

In many Parliamentary assemblies it is customary for the first meeting after a general election to be presided over by the oldest member, the *doyen d'âge.* This graceful practice was no doubt uppermost in the mind of the editors of the proceedings of the Conference on Chios when they proposed that the preface should be contributed by someone whose archaeological connections with the island go back to 1938. I am most grateful to them for this privilege.

To be invited to write on the subject of Chios is more than a privilege. It becomes a pleasure, not only because it is one of the most beautiful of islands but because of its great significance to history, art, and literature. Nothing can equal the splendour of its debut on the world stage as the birthplace of Homer, the first and still the greatest of European poets—for in a preface it is permissible to take one's private opinions for a run. I am glad that the deep-seated Chian tradition has been reinforced by the authority of Professor Wade-Gery, whose pupil I was at Oxford, and that it is benevolently regarded by a fair number of modern scholars.

The papers devoted to Homer at the conference are witness to the continued interest in 'the blind man of Chios'; in one of them Professor Rhomaios traces back the origins of the local stories about him to a respectable antiquity. If you go to Volissos even now you will be told that he lived there and at Vrontados his name has for many centuries been continuously though erroneously associated with an open-air Archaic sanctuary. The conference itself met in the splendid modern institute, the pride of the town of Chora, whose name is the Homereion.

Two other writers, who would be sufficient to establish the fame of some other island less favoured by the Muses, are duly honoured in these proceedings: Ion and Theopompus. Ion probably regarded himself as fortunate to live in what he did not know was the fifth century BC; but for the sake of his fame with posterity he was unlucky in finding himself a contemporary of Sophocles and Euripides. The Alexandrians relegated him to the second eleven of Attic dramatists and the Byzantines decided not to preserve him. In the ingeniously eloquent paper by Sir Kenneth Dover printed here he is at least rehabilitated as a philosopher and credited with inspiring the form of the Platonic dialogue. Theopompus is a much less attractive character and the best that could be said of him was that he was as readable as a good journalist.

In the visual arts Chios can claim some delicate ceramics, a pair of sculptors in the Archaic period, and an outstanding Classical gem-carver. I am sorry—if I may be permitted to give one further short run to a personal opinion—that no effort was made to claim the four horses of St Mark's in Venice for Chian art. The only written evidence from Constantinople, before the Venetians looted them, states categorically that they were brought from Chios by Theodosius II. This unique provenance is unlikely to have been invented.

The history of Chios, with the notable exception of the massacres of 1822, appears to be one of almost unparalleled prosperity. The causes of this may be sought not only in the fertility of the island but in the spirited intelligence and industriousness of its inhabitants.

By the end of the sixth century BC, as Professor Carl Roebuck makes clear in his paper, they had formed a wealthy and populous community whose citizens were skilled in seafaring and commerce, politically stable, and courageous in war. It is a character which they have maintained for two and a half millennia. The Chians have always been moderate in their politics and avoided extremes. They have also shown themselves adaptable in difficult circumstances. Under the Ottomans, for instance, no other Christian community was so favoured, partly because of their monopoly of the mastic which was in great demand in the Seraglio. In the Greece of today they enjoy an almost Aberdonian reputation for cautious sobriety and for commercial talents. In Britain they, and the people from the adjoining Oenussae islands, are particularly prominent among the shipping community, for their seafaring skill has stayed with them and flourished down the centuries. The Chian community in London, which was first established shortly after the massacres of 1822 and in part as a result of them, has retained a strong attachment to the island home of its ancestors. Many benefactions attest their patriotic munificence.

The connection of the British School with Chios began with Winifred Lamb's excavations at Kato Phana in 1934. In 1938 Edith Eccles excavated the Neolithic cave under the church at Ayio Gala; in the same year I spent five months in the island from March to July making a preliminary survey of sites that the School might consider excavating. Because of the Second World War that was not possible until 1951–5, when Sinclair Hood and John Boardman carried out a series of excavations at Emporio in the south-east of the island. These uncovered an Early Bronze Age fortified settlement, an archaic town and sanctuary, and a late Roman basilica and fortress. The results are of the greatest importance, in particular because they illuminate an extremely obscure period of Ionian history. They have contributed both to the cultural heritage of Chios and to the reputation of the British School. It should be recorded that all these activities from 1938 onwards were subsidized by Dr Philip Argenti, a member of the London Chian community, whose other benefactions include the Argenti Museum in Chora and the publication of many scholarly works on the history of the island.

My final privilege and duty is to explain the circumstances of the conference and to express the gratitude which the participants feel towards the organizers. It took place in the Homereion Cultural Centre. This is a magnificent building in the central square of Chora, the capital of the island. It is built of marble in a fluent modern style well adapted to its site, with a conference room equipped for simultaneous translation as well as a theatre, a library, and exhibition galleries. The whole institution was a gift to the people of Chios made by Michael Xylas (1900–82), a leading Chian shipowner. His widow, Stamatia Xylas, has continued to carry on her husband's work. She has been assisted in it by her daughter and son-in-law, Matrona and Nicholas Egon; the participants had reason to be grateful to them for their tireless attention to the details of organization and for the entertainment provided. They are also indebted to John Boardman, the Chairman, to Jenny Richardson, the Secretary, and to Vasilios Lambrinoudakis, who was in charge of the arrangements made in Athens.

Besides the generous hospitality of the Xylas family there was the pleasure of being in Chios in the month of April, when the wild tulips are in flower under the olive-trees. I have called Chios one of the most beautiful of islands, but I ask myself whether my memories of forty-seven years ago may not perhaps be illuminated by a light that derives most of its intensity from the passage of time. So let me finish with a quotation from the diaries of a young Irishman, the Earl of Charlemont, who visited Chios in 1759; they were not printed till 1984 after lying two centuries in manuscript:

> I cannot quit this island without indulging myself with a few words respecting its incomparable beauty. The centre of it is wholly occupied with a very high mountain, the roots of which are partly cultivated with corn, cotton, mulberries and vineyards, and partly covered with wood, above which the summits rise in the most romantic terms, consisting of nothing but bare rocks, and mixing their massy tops with the incumbent clouds. From its foot to the seashore is an inclined plain, thick planted with the most luxuriant orange, lemon and citron groves, interspersed with numberless country houses, built of hewn stone, neat, elegant and designed with taste. Nothing indeed could be more enchanting than our prospect at leaving this island. The sun shone bright. The mountain was illuminated. The orange groves and villas, for the space of thirteen miles on either side of the city, appeared as one continued village interspread with the most beautiful gardens, contrasting the wood and the rocky mountain which rise behind them, and form the most inimitable background.

SIR DAVID HUNT

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger*
ADelt	*Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον*
AE	*Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AM	*Athenische Mitteilungen*
AntJ	*Antiquaries Journal*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens*
Bull. Epigr.	'Bulletin épigraphique' by L. and J. Robert in *REG*
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CVA	*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*
DK	H. Diels/W. Kranz, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (1951–2)
FD	*Fouilles de Delphes*
FGrHist	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (1923–58)
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
IEG	M. L. West, *Iambi et Elegi Graeci* (1971–2)
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*
ÖJh	*Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien*
PAE	*Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*
RE	A. Pauly/G. Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
REG	*Revue des études grecques*
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
TGF	*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck.

LIST OF COLOUR PLATES

M. S. F. Hood, 'Mycenaeans in Chios'

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H. Kyrieleis, 'Chios and Samos in the Archaic period'

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(*b*). Faience monkey-vase from the Heraeum, Samos.
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III. Fragment of vase with scenes of processions from the Heraeum, Samos.

Photographs: author.

P. Amandry, 'Chios and Delphi'

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A. Tsaravopoulos, 'A mosaic floor in Chios'

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(*b*). Panel 4, detail.
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F. Haskell, 'Chios, the massacres, and Delacroix'

X, XI. T. Barker, *Massacres at Chios*. Private collection, Bath. Photograph: M. Dudley.
XII. E. Delacroix, *Scènes des massacres de Scio*. Musée du Louvre. Photograph: museum.

LITERATURE

HEROIC AND UNHEROIC IDEAS IN HOMER

J. GRIFFIN

THE *Iliad* is a heroic poem, in which all the main characters are of noble rank; the *Odyssey* is more all-embracing and can take seriously the good swine-herd Eumaeus, beggars and bards, the loyal and disloyal maidservants of Odysseus, and even the undistinguished sailor Elpenor ('none too valiant in battle, and not very firm in his wits'),[1] who gets drunk, falls off a roof and breaks his neck, but is given a touching scene in the underworld. Several whole books of the *Odyssey* are passed in the swine-herd's hut, and the poet dwells with affection on his simple life, his dogs, and his reminiscences.

But I do not intend to deal simply with some characters in the poems who are peasants, and others who are heroes. My subject is the mixture, in both poems, of heroic attitudes and assumptions with others which seem to be of a different sort. Sometimes the effort of maintaining a consistently high tone seems to relax for a moment, and something much humbler suddenly peeps through; sometimes we can see that the heroic really is very closely akin to something much humbler, and that only the careful selection of an angle of vision, a perspective, distinguishes them.

In discussing these attitudes it will be instructive to take into consideration the world in which the characters move. The Homeric heroes live in a world containing palaces and treasures. They wear armour and attach great importance to acquiring it. They give and receive presents. They are hospitable and pious, with regular customs and rituals in eating, bathing, sacrificing to the gods. Their world is one of many kings: all are independent, but in some sense Agamemnon is supreme. An effort of imagination was necessary to create and people such a world. Sometimes the attentive reader can see traces of that imaginative effort, and also of the realities which lay behind it. That will prove to be true not only of the presentation of the physical setting of heroic life, the gold and the bronze, the wealth and the poverty, but also of the attitudes of the heroes; and of their attitudes not only to what might be called material or economic matters, but even to the deepest and most clearly 'heroic' questions of honour and fame, of life and death.

I shall begin with the question of royal palaces. The Homeric epics are of course set in the past, and the poet repeatedly tells us in the *Iliad* that in those days men were different—bigger and stronger than they are now. The epics must have reached their final form towards the end of the dark period which followed the destruction of what we call the Mycenaean Age. In those centuries there remained a memory that once things had been very different: Mycenae was rich in gold, Tiryns and Pylos were mighty cities, and the king of Mycenae was in some way a great king, lord over the others. Their own style of life was humble: the great cities were sacked, the population had fallen, contact with the high cultures of Asia was lost for a time, living was hard and poor. It is not surprising that they did not really understand what that earlier time was like, or how it worked.

---

[1] *Od.* 10. 552.

We find a couple of touching examples in the *Odyssey*. In book 4 the young Telemachus and his friend Pisistratus, Nestor's son, come to the palace of Menelaus, king of Sparta, and find him celebrating the wedding of his son and the betrothal of his daughter: a scene of festivity. The two young men appear and stand at the door, waiting to be invited in. A trusty steward informs Menelaus of their arrival: 'Two strangers are here: they look like scions of Zeus. Shall we tell them to unyoke their horses or send them on to another host?'[2] Menelaus is shocked by the crude suggestion, and the travellers are called in. The palace overwhelms Telemachus by its splendour, and he whispers to his friend 'Look at the flashing of bronze in the echoing house, and of gold and electrum and silver and ivory. The hall of Zeus on Olympus must be like this'.[3] We surely detect the two sides of the poet's mind here. He has given his historic King of Sparta a magnificent palace, which shines like the sun or the moon; but he is anxiously aware that in real life the arrival of two unexpected guests may strain the resources of a house intolerably. The humble dark-age reality is unmasked; as it is again, later in book 4, when we read that the local guests who come to dine with King Menelaus have to bring their own food and drink: 'the guests went to the palace of the king; they drove along sheep and carried the wine that cheers the heart, and their well-dressed wives sent wheaten bread'.[4] *Not* very grand.

Things are not very different at the luxurious court of the Phaeacians. These fantastic people are closer to the gods even than ordinary heroes. The palace of their king Alcinous is a wonder to behold, shining like the sun, with doors of gold, pillars of silver, and on either side of the entrance gold and silver dogs, living and immortal, to guard the house. Odysseus is lost in admiration of all this splendour, as well he might be.[5] And the Phaeacians load the hero with gifts, 'bronze and gold in plenty and woven garments, so much that he would not have brought home as much from Troy, even if he had brought his whole share of the Trojan booty'.[6] And yet here too we get the same bump: as Odysseus leaves, the king says to the Phaeacian nobles, 'Come, let us each give him a great tripod and a cauldron; afterwards we in turn will recoup by collecting from the people. It is hard if one man has to give without repayment.'[7] The opulence is that of fairyland, and the poet lets his imagination loose; but also present to his mind is the urgent question of the cost. Heroic generosity is one thing, but the humbler circumstances of reality cannot be prevented from showing, in the care taken not to be too much out of pocket. It is worth remarking that a very similar combination of opulence and frugality marks both Sparta and Phaeacia: that suggests strongly that it is wrong simply to delete in either passage.[8]

---

[2] *Od.* 4. 26–9: 'Shall we send them on?'

[3] *Od.* 4. 71 *φράζεο Νεστορίδη . . .*
χαλκοῦ τε στεροπὴν κατὰ δώματα ἠχήεντα,
χρυσοῦ τ' ἠλέκτρου τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἠδ' ἐλέφαντος.
Ζηνός που τοιήδε γ' Ὀλυμπίου ἔνδοθεν αὐλή.

[4] *Od.* 4. 621
δαιτυμόνες δ' ἐς δώματ' ἴσαν θείου βασιλῆος·
οἱ δ' ἦγον μὲν μῆλα, φέρον δ' εὐήνορα οἶνον·
σῖτον δέ σφ' ἄλοχοι καλλικρήδεμνοι ἔπεμπον.
D. L. Page is witty at the expense of these lines: *The Homeric Odyssey* (Oxford 1955) 69.

[5] *Od.* 7. 84–133.

[6] *Od.* 13. 135
πόλλ', ὅσ' ἂν οὐδέ ποτε Τροίης ἐξήρατ' Ὀδυσσεύς,
εἴπερ ἀπήμων ἦλθε, λαχὼν ἀπὸ ληΐδος αἶσαν·

[7] *Od.* 13. 13.

In the *Iliad* the heroic level is much more steadily maintained than it is in the *Odyssey*. But a celebrated episode there, too, shows a resemblance to those I have been discussing. In book 6 the great Achaean hero Diomede, at the height of his unstoppable prowess—in book 5 he has fought with gods—comes face to face with Glaucus the Lycian. 'Who are you?' asks the scornful Diomede. Glaucus in reply tells him the long story of his heroic ancestry, from the mighty Bellerophon. He begins his speech, however, with a moving declaration that the generations of men are like those of leaves, here today and gone tomorrow; and although he ends by saying that he is a hero and will fight, we are surely meant to think that his hopes, and his chances, are not good against Diomede. But they do not fight. Diomede recalls that his own grandfather entertained Bellerophon, and so their grandsons have a hereditary connection. 'Let us not fight each other; but let us exchange our armour, so that all may know that we are friends'. They shake hands, and the exchange is made. The poet comments drily 'Then Zeus took away the wits of Glaucus: he gave golden armour for bronze, the value of a hundred oxen for the value of nine'.[9]

What are we to make of this celebrated episode? We observe three things: Diomede is the greater hero, he proposes the exchange, and he profits from it. Diomede made a good thing of it, and the poet takes pleasure in his success. Is that heroic? Well: not in the same sense as the career of Achilles is heroic, who cares nothing for the treasures offered to him by Agamemnon. But it is surely wrong to take a completely cynical view.[10] The scene is also a chivalrous one; and such things as sceptres, cups, armour, acquire special value, in Homer, by passing through the hands of heroes and kings. It is not *simply* a matter of cash. There is not such a jolt as there is in the two passages in the *Odyssey*.

I turn back to the royal palaces for a moment. In the *Odyssey* we observe that visitors arriving at a king's house are immediately given a bath: the luxury of the bath, with attendants and oil and soft towels, is dwelt upon repeatedly. It is one of the things which Odysseus really missed on his wanderings. But when he finally gets home, in disguise, although Penelope says that in the morning he shall be bathed and anointed, all he actually gets is his feet washed: again the ideal conception of the heroic age fails completely to hide the humbler facts of reality.[11]

Let us turn back to the position of the king. Agamemnon is 'more of a king' than the other commanders at Troy; he is 'higher' and 'more kingly'; he rules over 'many islands and all Argos'.[12] Generally speaking, in the *Iliad* 'Argos' means only a part of the Peloponnese, but sometimes 'Argives' is used of all the Greeks; and so too Agamemnon's kingdom, very narrowly limited in the Catalogue of Ships, seems at other times to include the whole of the Peloponnese. Thus we find a man from Corinth obliged to join the expedition on pain of a 'grievous fine' if he refused, and a man from Sicyon buying exemption by giving Agamemnon a particularly fine horse.[13] Agamemnon is in some sense supreme, but when Achilles threatens to desert the expedition and sail away home all he can say is 'Go on then, run away; I don't ask you to stay for my sake'.[14] His supremacy is curiously bodiless, and he seems usually more like the first among a confederacy of equals than an emperor. Like the uncertainty about royal palaces, the uncertainty about the position of the king derives, surely, from the fact that in the real world of the poet's own time there were no great kings, only local barons whose style of life was pretty humble; but that the idea persisted that once there were greater, richer, more powerful rulers. Now, the imposing citadel of Mycenae, and the wealth of gold found in the graves there, show that this was indeed, in some way, true. But Mycenaean society was in reality highly centralized and bureaucratic, with scribes keeping elaborate records in writing: in the illiterate dark age such a society was simply unimaginable, and the attempt to aggrandize the local baron to the scale of a ruler of all Greece has produced a super-baron in the Agamemnon of the *Iliad*. That is important, because the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles must be insoluble; and it is insoluble partly because the constitutional position is unclear.[15] The gap between splendours remembered and imagined on the one hand, and much humbler things on the other, led to some far-reaching and important consequences for the poems, besides uncertainty about the size of royal palaces.

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[8] 'There is reason to believe that our text is mutilated', Page, loc. cit. on *Od.* 4. 621; 'the lines belong to a reworking (*retractatio*)', Von der Mühll on *Od.* 13. 3 ff.

[9] *Il.* 6. 145–234.

[10] As Horace does, *Serm.* 1.7.18:

si disparibus bellum incidit ut Diomedi
cum Lycio Glauco, discedat pigrior ultro
muneribus missis.

[11] Baths: e.g. *Od.* 4. 48. Odysseus missed them, *Od.* 8. 459. Promised a bath, *Od.* 19. 320; his feet washed. *Od.* 19. 387 ff. It is worth remembering that the word for 'bath-tub', *ἀσάμινθος*, is a pre-Greek word. It was a Minoan luxury.

[12] Agamemnon is *φέρτερος . . . ἐπεὶ πλεόνεσσιν ἀνάσσει*, *Il.* 1. 281; *βασιλεύτερος*, *Il.* 9. 160; rules 'all Argos and many islands', *Il.* 2. 108.

In the *Iliad* there is much talk of booty, of stripping the armour of the slain. That is a mark of honour and triumph. Hector prays that his son may grow up to be a mighty warrior: 'may he carry home the gory armour of an enemy he has slain, and may his mother's heart rejoice'.[16] Hector himself exults wildly when he succeeds in winning the armour of Achilles by killing Patroclus. Now, we saw Diomede making a successful speculation of the chivalrous gesture of exchanging his armour with Glaucus: going well beyond that, we find warriors hanging back from the fighting in order to strip the slain 'and take the greatest quantity of armour back to the ships'.[17] Such attitudes of economic calculation contrast sharply with the straightforward heroic one. And we observe that although Homer allows many of the Achaeans to be killed in the poem, he will not permit a Trojan to succeed in winning an Achaean's armour. The only exception is that Hector does, for important reasons of the plot, get and wear the armour of Achilles: and there Homer makes a point of having Zeus tell us that Andromache would never take that armour from his shoulders—that is, that he was not to live long enough to wear it home.[18] The Achaeans got it back in the end.

Warriors who hang back to collect valuable booty remind us of another tension in the *Iliad*. Warriors are often said to be 'insatiable for battle', 'servants of Ares', 'raging like wolves', 'lover of war'. But constantly it is clear that both sides would prefer not to have to fight. Agamemnon and Hector both utter terrific threats to slackers, and Nestor shows his wisdom by putting reluctant fighters in the middle of the ranks, so that they have no choice about fighting.[19] For the characters, as for the poet, heroism does not come easily.

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[13] Corinthian, *Il.* 13. 664; Sicyonian, *Il.* 23. 296.

[14] *Il.* 1. 173.

[15] Achilles tells Agamemnon that he has come to Troy 'to make you happy', *ὄφρα σὺ χαίρῃς*, and to win honour for Agamemnon and Menelaus, *Il.* 1. 158. It is quite unclear whether any obligation is imagined as lying behind all this.

[16] Hector's prayer: *Il.* 6. 480.

[17] *Il.* 6. 68, cf. 15. 347.

[18] *Il.* 17. 207.

[19] Threats: *Il.* 2. 391, 15. 348. Nestor's strategy, *Il.* 4. 299:

κακοὺς δ' ἐς μέσσον ἔλασσεν,
ὄφρα καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλων τις ἀναγκαίῃ πολεμίζοι.

We have seen something of the giving of presents, with Alcinous and the Phaeacian chieftains agreeing to pass the hat round to cover the cost of goodbye gifts to Odysseus. The receiving of presents is also very important in the Homeric poems. We have only to reflect that the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles was over the taking away of a piece of booty, that book 9 of the *Iliad*, one of the high points of the poem, deals with an attempt to mollify Achilles by offering him lavish gifts, and that in the last book the final resolution of the plot is brought about by Priam's journey to Achilles by night, to bring the gifts which will ransom the body of his son. Achilles rejects the gifts in book 9, a decision which none of his friends can understand.[20] When he does resolve to return to battle, Agamemnon offers to produce the promised gifts, but Achilles replies only 'As for the gifts, you may give them duly, if you wish, or you can keep them yourself; but now let us turn to thoughts of battle'.[21] When old Priam finally brings the ransom for Hector, Achilles does not look at it, but he takes from the waggon of treasure two robes and a tunic to wrap the corpse in, before he gives it to Priam.[22] Achilles, that is, consistently shows a superiority to the idea of possessions. That marks him off from other heroes—'if Agamemnon knew you were here, your sons would have to pay three times as much ransom for you', says Hermes to Priam.[23]

Achilles, tragic and passionate, is the most heroic of the heroes, and his superiority to avarice is part of that. Even in the *Iliad* we have the notably unromantic statement that Paris carried off not only Helen but 'many treasures' with her.[24] Odysseus is very different. We have already seen that the poet is himself concerned that his hero shall not be out of pocket for his wanderings, and that the Phaeacians give him 'as much and more as he got at Troy' but lost. Odysseus is very much concerned with possessions, in a way which sometimes embarrassed later Greek writers. Here is an extreme instance of this. When the Phaeacian king says that Odysseus will be sent on his way home in the morning—he must wait till then, despite his eagerness to be gone—the hero replies that he would wait for a year, if the king promised him rich presents: 'It would be much better for me to come home with full hands, and I should be more respected by all those who might see me on my way to Ithaca'.[25] We think of Penelope, weeping in her lonely room, and the speech strikes rather chill. But Odysseus himself expects her to sympathize. When he speaks with her in disguise, he tells her not to cry: her husband is near at hand, in the rich country of Thesprotia. 'He brings with him many fine treasures, as he begs through the land. And he would have been here long ago, but he thought it more profitable to acquire many possessions by begging as he travels over the world: so truly is Odysseus skilled in tricks for gain above all men. No one can rival him!'[26]

Even in the poem Odysseus is found mercenary and unheroic by one character. In book 8 the young men of Phaeacia put on an athletic show, and Odysseus is invited to join in and show what he can do. He declines, and one of the young dandies cries 'No, you don't look like an athlete . . . but like a man who travels up and down with a ship, a sea-captain, of traders, with his mind on his freight and the care of his merchandise and a quick profit. No, you don't look like an athlete.'[27] This is a deadly insult, and at once Odysseus gives a spectacular sample of his prowess, throwing a heavier weight a greater distance than any of the Phaeacians had managed to do; but I think we feel that the charge was rather uncomfortably close to the truth. The generous heroism of Achilles has given place to something much closer to the tight-fistedness of Hesiod: or even (a comparison actually made by one of the ancient commentators) to a money-loving father in a comedy.

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[20] Why does Achilles reject Agamemnon's gifts? *Il.* 9. 515 (Phoenix); 9. 636 (Ajax). Phoenix actually says that if Agamemnon were not offering compensation, he would not be advising Achilles to return, 'but in fact he is offering rich gifts'.

[21] *Il.* 19. 147

δῶρα μὲν αἴ κ' ἐθέλησθα παρασχέμεν, ὡς ἐπιεικές,
ἤ τ' ἐχέμεν παρὰ σοί· νῦν δὲ μνησώμεθα χάρμης.

[22] *Il.* 24. 580. The contrast is sharp with the anxious way Odysseus counts his treasures: *Od.* 8. 443, 13. 215 ff.

[23] *Il.* 24. 654, 687.

[24] *Il.* 22. 114–16, cf. 7. 363.

[25] *Od.* 11. 355

εἴ με καὶ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀνώγοιτ' αὐτόθι μίμνειν,
πομπήν τ' ὀτρύνοιτε καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρα διδοῖτε,
καί κε τὸ βουλοίμην, καί κεν πολὺ κέρδιον εἴη
πλειοτέρῃ σὺν χειρὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδ' ἱκέσθαι,
καί κ' αἰδοιότερος καὶ φίλτερος ἀνδράσιν εἴην
πᾶσιν, ὅσοι μ' Ἰθάκηνδε ἰδοίατο νοστήσαντα.

[26] *Od.* 19. 272.

On a rather different line, still concerned with presents, I point to a remarkable one which is among the prizes offered by Achilles at the funeral games of Patroclus. On the whole the prizes offered are properly heroic: tripods, horses, women, talents of gold; but for the shot-putting event he produces 'an unwrought mass' of iron, with the words: 'Even if his lands lie far off, this will suffice for his use for five rolling years; no ploughman or shepherd will need to go to the town for iron. He will have it by him.'[28] That is interesting in several ways. First, it is not a 'heroic' sort of prize—an unworked lump of a useful raw material. Second, on the whole the Homeric poems are careful to present the heroic world as one in which men used not iron but bronze. Thirdly, 'the town' exists, and is the place where things are to be bought. The real, contemporary world of iron and towns and trade has dramatically invaded the heroic world of bronze and rustic simplicity. Such a breach underlines the consistency with which the stylization of the poems is normally maintained.

One special sort of treasure should not be omitted: I mean women. A daughter might bring in a handsome dowry, and so we find *alphesiboiai* 'bringing in oxen', as an adjective for girls and *polydoros* 'of rich gifts' for wives. Both Alphesiboea and Polydora were actually names for girls in myth, as were Eriboea, Polyboea, Polymele. One could also make a profit by disposing of other women than daughters. The first prize in the wrestling at the Funeral Games of Patroclus is a tripod worth twelve oxen, but the second prize is a woman skilled in handiwork: 'her value was four oxen'.[30] The old housekeeper Eurycleia, we read in the *Odyssey*, originally cost Odysseus' father no less than twenty oxen.[31] That is not a very high-minded or glamorous way of looking at the question of women, and we observe that Homer is careful never to obtrude it into the foreground when dealing with female characters who are important in the plot. We do not hear what Hector had to pay for the hand of Andromache, or Odysseus for the hand of Penelope, and the two heroic husbands speak to their wives in ways quite incompatible with any such crudity. But it is striking that with minor characters this eminently unromantic motif can form part of a passage of the deepest pathos.

In book 11 of the *Iliad*, Agamemnon kills a young Trojan named Iphidamas. He lived safely out of the war, with his grandfather in Thrace, and was newly married; but he came back to fight for Troy, and there he was slain. 'So he fell and slept a sleep of bronze, pitiable, fighting for his people far from his wedded wife, of whom he had no pleasure, though he paid a great price for her. First he gave a hundred oxen, and he promised a thousand to follow . . .'.[32] This is a genuinely moving vignette, and the figure of the young bridegroom is pathetic: but the poet also means us to feel that an added pathos comes from the fact that he had paid so high a price for his bride. We find a similarly artless touch in book 5, when Diomede slays the two sons of Phaenops. He was old, they were his only sons, 'he had no other to whom to leave his possessions'. Their death 'left their father lamentation and grief, and distant kinsmen divided his estate'.[33] There is a simplicity about this which is touching: the poet is aware, and expects us to understand, that the death of the two sons would not have been so grievous had there been surviving brothers to inherit. But that earthy attitude is the opposite of the high tragedy of Priam when he loses Hector. He has plenty of sons left, but compared with the son he has lost they are nothing, as he brutally tells them. The personal grief for Hector, an irreplaceable individual, 'will drag me down to Hades': he 'was not like the son of a man but like the son of a god'.[34] The *Odyssey*, too, can rise above economic considerations in an impressive way, but in line with the general character of the poem it is less bleakly tragic and closer to being sentimental. When Odysseus meets his mother's ghost in the lower world, he asks her 'How did you die? Was it of a disease?' 'No,' she replies: 'It was my longing for you and your counsels and your gentleness: that it was that robbed me of my life'.[35] Clearly the fact that a direct heir was still in existence in the person of Telemachus was no consolation for that grief, any more than it was for the misery of Odysseus' father Laertes, who 'was grieved most for the death of his wife: that plunged him into old age before his time'.[36]

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[27] *Od.* 8. 159.

[28] *Il.* 23. 832.

[29] παρθένοι ἀλφεσίβοιαι, *Il.* 18. 593; ἄλοχος πολύδωρος, *Il.* 6. 394.

[30] *Il.* 23. 705.

[31] *Od.* 1. 431.

The episodes I have been considering show clearly two sorts of emotion and two pictures of what is really important and moving in the world. On the one hand, a hard-headed appreciation of economic interest: on the other, a humanity which transcends that in favour of unconditional, absolute attachment and loyalty. I started with women: let us return to them for a moment. The sturdy Hesiod, at the same date, had a pretty low opinion of the sex. 'He who trusts a woman puts his trust in thieves' is a typical observation: and again 'they live with men as drones live with hard-working bees'.[37] This sort of misogyny is characteristic of a peasant society. It is not, of course, the normal attitude expressed in Homer, and ladies like Andromache, Arete, Penelope and Nausicaa are treated in a chivalrous manner. But still there are moments when we get a whiff of it. In *Odyssey* 15 Athena is anxious to start Telemachus on his journey home from Sparta. 'Your mother is on the point of remarrying', she tells him, 'and she may make off with some of your possessions without your consent. You know what the heart of a woman is like: she wishes for the prosperity of the man who marries her, and as for her first husband and her children by him, she forgets all about them.'[38] Ever since antiquity scholars have been shocked by the coarseness of this speech, especially as a comment on the virtuous Penelope. We can put beside it a notorious utterance of Telemachus in book 1. Athena comes to him in disguise as he sits despairing. She tells him that he is very like his heroic father, and gets the disheartened reply 'My mother indeed does say that I am his son, but I don't know; no one was ever sure of his own begetting. But I wish I were the son of somebody else . . .'.[39] We can, if we like, account for both these utterances by saying that they both express the callow cynicism of the inexperienced Telemachus, Athena in book 15 expressing his own secret fears. But we can also say that the suspicious and ignoble misogyny which was common enough in Greece—apart from Hesiod we can point to the laboured anti-woman poem of Semonides of Amorgos—has made an occasional appearance in a body of poetry which in principle, and in general, rises above it.

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[32] *Il.* 11. 241
οἰκτρός, ἀπὸ μνηστῆς ἀλόχου, ἀστοῖσιν ἀρήγων,
κουριδίης, ἧς οὔ τι χάριν ἴδε, πολλὰ δ' ἔδωκε·
πρῶθ' ἑκατὸν βοῦς δῶκε . . .

[33] *Il.* 5. 156
. . . πατέρι δὲ γόον καὶ πένθεα λυγρά
λεῖπ', ἐπεὶ οὐ ζώοντε μάχης ἐκ νοστήσαντε
δέξατο· χηρωσταὶ δὲ διὰ κτῆσιν δατέοντο.

[34] *Il.* 24. 239, 253, Priam on his surviving sons. On Hector, 22. 424
τῶν πάντων οὐ τόσσον ὀδύρομαι ἀχνύμενός περ
ὡς ἑνός, οὗ μ' ἄχος ὀξὺ κατοίσεται Ἄϊδος εἴσω
Ἕκτορος.
Hector was like the son of a god: 24. 258.

[35] *Od.* 11. 202
ἀλλά με σός τε πόθος σά τε μήδεα, φαίδιμ' Ὀδυσσεῦ,
σή τ' ἀγανοφροσύνη μελιηδέα θυμὸν ἀπηύρα.

[36] 15. 355
ἐκπάγλως γὰρ παιδὸς ὀδύρεται οἰχομένοιο
κουριδίης τ' ἀλόχοιο δαΐφρονος, ἥ ἑ μάλιστα
ἤκαχ' ἀποφθιμένη, καὶ ἐν ὠμῷ γήραϊ θῆκεν.
ἡ δ' ἄχεϊ οὗ παιδὸς ἀπέφθιτο κυδαλίμοιο
λευγαλέῳ θανάτῳ . . .

[37] Hes. *Erga* 373; *Theog.* 590.

The next subject I shall talk about is the myths themselves, and the ambiguity which really exists in them between high heroism and much homelier things. Heroes, let us start by observing, may be shepherds. Paris was minding the flocks out on the hills when the three goddesses appeared, to be judged in their beauty contest. Apollo himself served as a shepherd for King Laomedon, who did not even pay him.[40] It is natural to refer to a king as 'shepherd of the people'. To be a shepherd was to face dangerous wild animals, and many heroic exploits concern fights with lions or wolves which attack the herds. The shepherd thus overlaps with the hunter, and hunting we know is a royal or aristocratic sport—but also a practical necessity. A splendid simile describes a whole village banding together to hunt a rogue (*σίγτης*) lion.[41] Odysseus got the famous scar on his leg when as a boy he joined his grandfather and his kindred in a boar hunt on Mount Parnassus;[42] that was just sport, but the hunt of the Calydonian Boar was undertaken from necessity, since the monstrous boar was uprooting fruit-trees and ravaging the crops.[43] As hunter, then the hero fulfils an important role in ordinary social life, as well as achieving a 'heroic' exploit.

On the other side of herding comes rustling. Again, a common enough crime in real life, but also a heroic deed. Heracles fought with such enemies as the three-bodied monster Geryon for the sake of cattle; Nestor tells of his great deeds in a full-scale war between the peoples of Pylos and Elis *ἀμφὶ βοηλασίῃ*, over the theft of herds—cattle, sheep, pigs, goats, and horses.[44] The victorious Pylians took booty of '50 herds of cattle, 50 flocks of sheep, as many droves of swine and herds of goats, and 150 horses, all mares with foals'. The *Iliad* on the whole keeps such flatly practical motives for war in the background, but we see how natural the connection is, when Achilles in *Iliad* 1 tells Agamemnon that *he* has no motive for fighting against Troy. He is doing it to please Agamemnon: 'they have never driven away my cattle nor my horses, nor ravaged my crops; between them and Phthia there are many misty mountains and much sounding sea'.[45] And when Athena encourages Odysseus to fight the suitors and not be disheartened by their numbers, she promises him: 'Even if fifty companies of men stood round us, eager to kill, even so you would drive away the flocks and herds of them all'.[46] 'Driving away their flocks and herds' is simply equivalent to killing them, the two actions are so automatically connected.

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[38] *Od.* 15. 18.

[39] *Od.* 1. 215.

[40] *Il.* 21. 448.

[41] *Il.* 20. 165, *ἀγρόμενοι πᾶς δῆμος.*

[42] *Od.* 19. 428 ff.

[43] *Il.* 9. 540.

[44] *Il.* 11. 671
ὡς ὁπότ᾽ Ἠλείοισι καὶ ἡμῖν νεῖκος ἐτύχθη
ἀμφὶ βοηλασίῃ . . .
ὁ δ᾽ ἀμύνων οἷσι βόεσσιν
ἔβλητ᾽ ἐν πρώτοισιν ἐμῆς ὑπὸ χειρὸς ἄκοντι.

[45] *Il.* 1. 154.

As herdsmen and rustlers are intimately linked, so are the ideas of heroic naval expeditions, piracy, and trade. There are traders sailing about the world; they may go in for a little slave-dealing and piracy, like the traders who kidnapped and sold the child Eumaeus.[47] There are also regular pirates. When Telemachus and Athena land in Pylos, Nestor asks them: 'Are you sailing on trade or are you pirates, who wander over the sea risking their lives and bringing ruin to strangers?'[48] The question has a certain naïve charm; but we see how little compunction a man might have in declaring himself a pirate when we read the stories which Odysseus tells people about himself. In book 14 he tells Eumaeus that he is a Cretan, an illegitimate son of a wealthy man, a fighter and a leader of raiders: 'nine times did I command men and ships to attack foreigners, and I took great booty . . . and I was feared and respected among the Cretans', he adds, revealingly. But in the end a raid on Egypt was a disastrous failure.[49] In his own person he tells the Phaeacians that 'From Troy the wind carried me to the Cicones, to Ismarus: there I sacked the city and slew the men, and we took the women and much booty and divided it up among us.'[50] If we ask whether that is a heroic or a piratical exploit, clearly there is no real distinction. 'Sacker of cities' is a title of honour for the greatest heroes, Achilles and Odysseus; what is heroism for the doers is piracy for the sufferers, and to Hector the Achaean expedition against Troy is no more than a Viking raid ('these dogs brought here on their black ships by evil fate').[51] It is important for the *Iliad* that the Achaeans are attacking Troy, not just to fill their pockets, but for the sake of Helen and because the Trojans started it; but the background of raiding and looting is never far away.

At the beginning we saw that the Homeric poems waver in their conception of the powers and position of a king. I now develop that point further. Sometimes a king or hero is very clearly only a big farmer. They have names like Echepolus, 'Owner of horses'; Boucolion, 'Oxherd'; Eumelus, 'Rich in sheep'. It is a touching detail that the Trojan prince Pandarus left his horses at home when he came to war, 'lest they be short of fodder in the crowded city'.[52] Heroes feed and harness their own horses.[53] they do not leave it to grooms, just as queens (and even goddesses) work at the loom themselves making clothes. In the *Odyssey* Odysseus boasts of his ability to do all the work of a farmer. 'I could beat you at reaping, or at ploughing,' he tells the arrogant suitor Eurymachus: 'and also I fight in the front rank'.[54] No separate military aristocracy here! A good man is a husbandman and a warrior.

The demands of poetic stylization tended to make the heroes more exclusively heroic, and certainly the Agamemnon or the Achilles of the *Iliad* cannot easily be imagined reaping or ploughing. But as the Odysseus of the *Odyssey* constructed his own bedchamber and bed, with stones and timber and inlaid metal,[55] so we hear (more to our surprise) that the dandy Paris of the *Iliad* also built his own house with a team of craftsmen.[56] And the simple, regular actions of farming life are so close to the poet's heart that he is happy to use them as comparisons in his most elevated similes. The dreadful scene of men being slain on both sides in battle is like a cornfield when the reapers cut a swathe on either side; the menacing fires of the Trojan host encamped on the plain at night recall the stars the shepherd sees as he sits by his flock; close hand-to-hand fighting across the battlements is like a dispute between two neighbours over the boundary between their land.[57]

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[46] *Od.* 20. 49.

[47] *Od.* 15. 415.

[48] *Od.* 3. 71.

[49] *Od.* 14. 199 ff.

[50] *Od.* 9. 39

Ἰλιόθεν με φέρων ἄνεμος Κικόνεσσι πέλασσεν
Ἰσμάρῳ· ἔνθα δ' ἐγὼ πόλιν ἔπραθον, ὤλεσα δ' αὐτούς.

[51] *Il.* 8. 527

ἐξελάαν ἐνθένδε κύνας κηρεσσιφορήτους
οὓς κῆρες φορέουσι μελαινάων ἐπὶ νηῶν.

Cf. *Il.* 8. 515.

[52] *Il.* 5. 202.

[53] *Il.* 5. 271, Anchises fed his horses himself; *Il.* 24. 265, Priam's sons harness his chariot.

[54] *Od.* 18. 365.

εἰ γάρ νῶιν ἔρις ἔργοιο γένοιτο . . .
ἐν ποίῃ, δρέπανον μὲν ἐγὼν εὐκαμπὲς ἔχοιμι . . .
εἰ δ' αὖ καὶ βόες εἶεν ἐλαυνέμεν . . .
εἰ δ' αὖ καὶ πόλεμόν ποθεν ὁρμήσειε Κρονίων . . .
τῶ κέ μ' ἴδοις πρώτοισιν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι μιγέντα.

When the poet succeeds so brilliantly in uniting warfare and agriculture, the heroic and the everyday, the gulf between them is abolished. I have talked of the two sides as being opposed to each other. In some ways that is true, and sometimes we are aware of a gap between them; but some of the noblest passages in Homer succeed in reconciling them into one. The warrior is the husbandman in arms, the farmer is the warrior at home. That harmony comes out when Homer needs to tell us the time. In *Iliad* 11 the Achaeans are held in level battle by the Trojans all morning: but, says the poet, 'At the hour when a woodcutter makes ready his meal, in the glens of a mountain, when his hands are tired with felling trees and his heart desires food, then did the Achaeans by their valour break the Trojan columns.[58] And again, 'When the sun turned to the time of unyoking of oxen, then the Achaeans had the better of the battle . . .'.[59] There is no incongruity between the two spheres.

At a supreme moment in the *Odyssey*, when Odysseus is yearning for sunset so that he may depart from Phaeacia for home, Homer feels no indignity in comparing him to a weary ploughman: 'As when a man yearns for his supper, when all day long his two dark oxen have dragged his plough through the fallow field: welcome to him is the setting of the sun, that he may go to his supper; his knees tremble as he goes; even so was the sunset welcome to Odysseus.'[60] That moving simile is a reconciliation of the two worlds, and if we contrast the fuller humanity of the Homeric poems with the unrelenting dignity of Virgil or Milton, we see that it is one of Homer's strengths that while he sometimes raises his heroes into a transfigured world of pure heroism, yet he never forgets that at bottom there is no contradiction, and no impassable gulf, between heroes and peasants.

So too, in the more tragic spirit of the *Iliad*, Sarpedon bases the obligation to heroism on the practical rewards and privileges he enjoys. 'Why are we rewarded by the Lycians with seats of honour, with flesh and with cups of wine? Why do we possess rich estates? Because of all that we must fight in the front rank . . . so that our people shall say "Our kings are not inglorious. They eat and drink of the best, but they are brave and fight among the foremost."'[61] Privilege and status are seen in the most solid form possible: food, wine, land. In that speech Sarpedon accepts the danger of death: 'All men must die, let us die bravely.' We shall see him killed four books later, and his corpse, unrecognizable in dust and gore, fought over by the two sides.[62] That acceptance goes with a highly realistic form of the idea of *noblesse oblige*, in a supreme illustration of the nature of heroism. Without the black soil no flowers can grow; and the tragic flowering of heroism, too, grows directly from the fertile earth.

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[55] *Od.* 23. 189.

[56] *Il.* 6. 313.

[57] Reaping, *Il.* 11. 67, cf. 19. 222; watch-fires, 8. 567; boundary, 12. 421.

[58] *Il.* 11. 86.

[59] *Il.* 16. 779.

[60] *Od.* 13. 31

ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀνὴρ δόρποιο λιλαίεται, ᾧ τε πανῆμαρ
νειὸν ἀν' ἕλκητον βόε οἴνοπε πηκτὸν ἄροτρον·
ἀσπασίως δ' ἄρα τῷ κατέδυ φάος ἠελίοιο
δόρπον ἐποίχεσθαι, βλάβεται δέ τε γούνατ' ἰόντι·
ὣς Ὀδυσῆ' ἄσπαστον ἔδυ φάος ἠελίοιο.

[61] *Il.* 12. 310.

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[62] *Il.* 16. 638.

HOMER'S USE OF ACHILLES' EARLIER CAMPAIGNS IN THE ILIAD*

O. TAPLIN

When Nestor and the others, on their return from Troy, reached Lesbos, they had to decide whether to cut across the open Aegean to Euboea, or to keep to the safety of the coast down and round Chios (*Od* 3. 168–72). Chios is not very far beyond the wide domain of Priam, as it was back in the days of his prosperity. Bounded by the Hellespont to the north, Phrygia in the east, and Lesbos in the south (*Il.* 24. 543–6), it is this area that Achilles has been ravaging in a series of forays before the fateful day that Chryses comes to ransom his daughter.

In ancient no less than modern times the correspondence of these campaigns with geographical and historical reality has been an almost obsessive topic. Furthermore, since the *Cypria* told something of these raids, there has been much discussion of the consistency between the versions and of their priority.[1] It seems to be almost a penalty for Homer's greatness that attention is diverted from his poems to peripheral issues such as these, however fascinating. I intend to pay close attention to the *Iliad*, and to consider how Achilles' previous campaigns are used within our poem. I offer this as an illustration of what I believe to be the case on a far greater scale: that the motifs and events of the *Iliad* connect in complex ways and accumulate significance through their connections.[2]

Achilles gives a tally of his campaigns in the course of his superb reply to Odysseus in book 9:

> *δώδεκα δὴ σὺν νηυσὶ πόλεις ἀλάπαξ' ἀνθρώπων,*
> *πεζὸς δ' ἕνδεκά φημι κατὰ Τροίην ἐρίβωλον·*
> *τάων ἐκ πασέων κειμήλια πολλὰ καὶ ἐσθλὰ*
> *ἐξελόμην, καὶ πάντα φέρων Ἀγαμέμνονι δόσκον*
> *Ἀτρεΐδῃ· ὁ δ' ὄπισθε μένων παρὰ νηυσὶ θοῇσι*
> *δεξάμενος διὰ παῦρα δασάσκετο, πολλὰ δ' ἔχεσκεν.* (9. 328–33.)

But I say that I have stormed from my ships twelve cities

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* The translations in the text are taken from Richmond Lattimore, *The Iliad of Homer* (Chicago 1951).

[1] For geography and history see, e.g., W. Leaf, *Troy* (London 1912), esp. 242–52, who coined 'The Great Foray' (in contradiction of the *Iliad*; see 1. 163, 9. 328 ff.). For the Cycle see, e.g., W. Kullmann, *Die Quellen der Ilias* (Wiesbaden 1960) 284–91. For a combination see E. Bethe, *Homer. Dichtung und Sage* III (Berlin 1927) 69–73.

[2] The model for this method remains W. Schadewaldt, *Iliasstudien* (2nd edn. 1943, reprinted Darmstadt 1966), though he does not touch on this particular topic. It is discussed by K. Reinhardt, *Die Ilias und ihr Dichter* (Göttingen 1961) 50–7, but from a different angle.

> of men, and by land eleven more through the generous Troad.
> From all these we took forth treasures, goodly and numerous,
> and we would bring them back, and give them to Agamemnon,
> Atreus' son; while he, waiting back beside the swift ships,
> would take them, and distribute them little by little, and keep many.

In the *epitome* of Apollodorus (3. 33) we are given (inevitably) most of the twenty-three names; but even within the *Iliad* there is adequate confirmation of Achilles' complaint—the same complaint as he was making back in the initial quarrel (cf. 1. 158–68): whenever the Greeks sack a city, Agamemnon does none of the work yet keeps the lion's share of the booty. We can put together quite a catalogue of these places. There is Thebe below Mount Plakos, the birthplace of Andromache—I shall return there. Then, on a single expedition, presumably over land, Achilles ravaged Pedasus and Lyrnessus (2. 688–93, 19. 59–60, 295–6), and for good measure took the cattle of Aeneas from the pastures of Ida (20. 89–93, 188–94). Among the victims of sea expeditions were Tenedos (11. 624–5) and Lesbos (9. 128–30 almost = 270–2, 663–5).[3]

The takings from Lesbos included a rich haul of beautiful women. When Agamemnon inventories his gifts in book 9, he includes seven of them:

> *δώσω δ' ἑπτὰ γυναῖκας ἀμύμονα ἔργα ἰδυίας,*
> *Λεσβίδας, ἃς ὅτε Λέσβον ἐϋκτιμένην ἕλεν αὐτὸς*
> *ἐξελόμην, αἳ κάλλει ἐνίκων φῦλα γυναικῶν.* (9. 128–30.)
>
> I will give him seven women of Lesbos, the work of whose hands is
> blameless, whom when he himself captured strong-founded Lesbos
> I chose, and who in their beauty surpassed the races of women.

Achilles' complaints of book 1 are thus confirmed by Agamemnon himself; but Achilles, far from being satisfied, takes this as adding insult to injury.

This is not the occasion to take on the whole question of why Achilles rejects the Embassy. One factor, however, may be that he detects that, for all his gifts, Agamemnon's personal attitude towards him has not changed. This is revealed, above all, by the fact that Agamemnon has failed to come in person. For us, the audience, it is also clear from the last four lines of his speech (9. 158–61), lines which Odysseus diplomatically fails to pass on. And within the list of gifts there is, I suggest, an uncomfortable over-emphasis on women. Not only will Agamemnon return Briseis intact, he will throw in the seven beauties from Lesbos.[4] When Troy is sacked Achilles can pick the twenty most delectable Trojan women (barring only Helen), and he can select whichever he fancies of Agamemnon's three daughters to be his wife (134–48, almost = 277–90). There is the barely suppressed taunt that Achilles should be happy as long as he has plenty of women: and that is to miss the whole point of why he took offence at his deprivation of Briseis in book 1.[5]

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[3] I hesitate to add Scyros (see 9. 666–8) since that is outside Priam's domain. See G. L. Huxley on 'Iphis and the Dolopians of Skyros' in *GRBS* 16 (1975) 245–50; but Huxley does not note that Scyros is in Diod. 5. 79. 2 only by emendation. For a case in favour of Scyros on the mainland opposite Lesbos see U. von Wilamowitz, *Die Ilias und Homer* (Berlin 1916) 446. An ancient scholar invented a Scyros near Troy (Sch. 9. 668a Erbse).

[4] Odysseus shows, I think, some sensitivity to this point when at 276 he slips a placatory *ἄναξ* into Agamemnon's l. 134. I see, however, that a similar point made by Douglas Young is dismissed by M. D. Reeve as 'fanciful' at *CQ* 22 (1972) 1 n. 7. (I do not, by the way, share Reeve's concern to establish 'primary' and 'secondary' passages since I take it that Homer thought about, and rehearsed, and performed his poem many times over many years.)

Achilles rejects Agamemnon's seven women from Lesbos, but he still has one of his own. When the other Greeks have gone and Phoenix has been tucked in, Achilles and Patroclus go to bed:

> αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς εὗδε μυχῷ κλισίης εὐπήκτου·
> τῷ δ' ἄρα παρκατέλεκτο γυνή, τὴν Λεσβόθεν ἦγε,
> Φόρβαντος θυγάτηρ, Διομήδη καλλιπάρῃος.
> Πάτροκλος δ' ἑτέρωθεν ἐλέξατο· πὰρ δ' ἄρα καὶ τῷ
> Ἶφις ἐΰζωνος, τὴν οἱ πόρε δῖος Ἀχιλλεὺς
> Σκῦρον ἑλὼν αἰπεῖαν, Ἐνυῆος πτολίεθρον. (9. 663–8.)
>
> But Achilleus slept in the inward corner on the strong-built shelter,
> and a woman lay beside him, one he had taken from Lesbos,
> Phorbas' daughter, Diomede of the fair colouring.
> In the other corner Patroklos went to bed; with him also
> was a girl, Iphis the fair-girdled, whom brilliant Achilleus
> gave him, when he took sheer Skyros, Enyeus' citadel.

These lines tend to be passed over as a piece of primitive, and slightly lurid, colour. But on closer consideration they yield interesting and intricate artistry. First, Achilles behaves like Meleager in Phoenix's story. While Calydon was losing the war, he lay with his wife Cleopatra (556, 565); so Achilles takes his pleasure with Diomede, while the other Greeks are in distress. Achilles and Patroclus make love and sleep *μυχῷ κλισίης*, while the others agonise *κλισίῃσιν ἐν Ἀτρεΐδαο* (669)—and standing on their feet (*ἀνασταδόν* 671). The lines also remind us of Briseis and the origin of the quarrel. She may still be in Agamemnon's tent, but it is Achilles who lies snug, for Agamemnon has yet to pay back, not just material goods, but all the *θυμαλγέα λώβην* (387). These recurrent references to Lesbos and the other sacked cities of Priam's domain help to define the terms of the conflict between Achilles and Agamemnon, one of the central concerns of the poem. As Achilles points out near the start (1. 158 ff.), Agamemnon is at Troy because the *τιμή* of his family is at stake: Achilles, on the other hand, is not there for a *τιμή* that can be measured simply in loot, as Agamemnon insensitively supposes. No number of women from Lesbos will satisfy him if there is no personal respect to go with them.

The lines where Achilles and Patroclus sleep with Diomede and Iphis will be recollected with great significance much later in the poem. In the last book Priam is bedded down in very much the same way as old Phoenix (compare 24. 643–8 with 9. 658–61). Once he is seen to, Achilles goes to bed:

> αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς εὗδε μυχῷ κλισίης ἐϋπήκτου·
> τῷ δὲ Βρισηῒς παρελέξατο καλλιπάρῃος. (24. 675–6.)
>
> but Achilleus slept in the inward corner of the strong-built shelter,
> and at his side lay Briseis of the fair colouring.

This is the very last line in which Achilles plays a part in the narrative of the *Iliad*, and with it the story of Briseis is brought to a close, tersely but with a sure poetic touch.

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[5] Note that Ajax also misses the point at 9. 636–8: if the quarrel was about one woman, then an additional seven should settle it! Ajax's first person plural does, however, avoid reference to Agamemnon.

Diomede of Lesbos is supplanted by the woman Achilles has won back. But the recollection of book 9 brings with it a shock of absence to darken the delicate reinstatement of Briseis. *ἑτέρωθεν*—there is no Patroclus.

The first time we ever saw Briseis she was with Patroclus. Achilles sent him to hand the woman over to Agamemnon's heralds: *ἡ δ' ἀέκουσ' ἅμα τοῖσι γυνὴ κίεν* . . . (1. 345–8). We also witness their reunion in a scene which sets the seal in a sense on the whole poem up to book 19. The woman who was the pretext of Achilles' quarrel laments for the unforeseen consequence of that quarrel. As soon as Briseis is returned to the tent of Achilles (19. 282 ff.) she sees the body:

> *Πάτροκλέ μοι δειλῇ πλεῖστον κεχαρισμένε θυμῷ,*
> *ζωὸν μέν σε ἔλειπον ἐγὼ κλισίηθεν ἰοῦσα,*
> *νῦν δέ σε τεθνηῶτα κιχάνομαι, ὄρχαμε λαῶν,*
> *ἂψ ἀνιοῦσ'·* (19. 287–90)

> Patroklos, far most pleasing to my heart in its sorrows,
> I left you here alive when I went away from the shelter,
> but now I come back, lord of the people, to find that you have fallen.

She laments for him, and for her hopes—lost with him—of ever becoming Achilles' *κουριδίην ἄλοχον* (19. 295–300). We have heard before that Briseis had been taken as spoil when Achilles sacked Lyrnessus; but this is made far more of a reality when we hear how he killed her husband and all her three brothers, while she watched from the walls.

With great subtlety Homer gives Briseis similarities with Chryseis, with Andromache, and even with Helen (it is no chance that the two most important characters to be killed in the *Iliad* are both lamented as particularly kindly). But for our present connections, it is Andromache in book 6 we think of. Achilles sacked her native city of Thebe, below the wooded mountain of Plakos, and he killed her father Eetion and all her seven brothers—and her mother did not outlive them long. Unlike Briseis, Andromache did not witness these horrors, for she had already left Thebe to be married to Hector at Troy. This is why he is all in all to her—father, mother, and brother as well as husband (6. 414–30).

Thebe was the source of notable spoils. First of all there is Chryseis herself (1. 366–9), whom Agamemnon prefers to Clytemnestra for beauty and accomplishments.[6] Then the fine lyre that Achilles is playing in book 9 came from there (9. 186–9);[7] and so did the trace-horse Pedasus, caught up like Patroclus in the fate of those greater than himself, and doomed to die as a presage of his mortality (16. 152–4, 466 ff.). Lastly, there is Eetion's great lump of iron, which supplies both the weight and the prize in the weight-hurling contest at Patroclus' funeral games (23. 826–9). Placed where this is, after Achilles' public restoration to heroic society but before his private conciliation with the human condition, the allusion to Eetion must, I think, evoke Andromache. And she must connect our thoughts to the corpse of Hector, which still lies in Achilles' tent—maltreatment very different from the respect which Achilles accorded to the body of Eetion (6. 416–20).

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[6] There was already unwarranted worry in antiquity over why she should have been at Thebe rather than Chryse (Sch. 1. 366 Erbse, cf. *Cypria* fr. xix Allen). Presumably she was, if we think of it at all, married to a man of Thebe. A 'war widow' of this sort might be ransomed by her paternal family, like Andromache's mother at 6. 427–8. If there is anything to the theory that Briseis came from Bresa in Lesbos before her marriage (see Reinhardt, op. cit. 50–7), then it may be supposed that her father's city has been sacked as well as her husband's.

[7] 'Suffering produces song', as Jasper Griffin observes in *Homer on Life and Death* (Oxford 1980) 98.

Thebe, the city of Eetion beneath Plakos was, then, a wealthy place containing fine possessions and beautiful women. It was sacked, its venerable king was killed, and its contents carried off as prestigious trophies. It does not seem far-fetched to see here a small-scale correspondence to Troy.[8] Andromache herself draws the parallel when she laments that in their different cities she and Hector were reared to a single fate (note the reminder of her leaving home for her marriage in 22. 468–72):

> *Ἕκτορ, ἐγὼ δύστηνος· ἰῇ ἄρα γιγνόμεθ' αἴσῃ*
> *ἀμφότεροι, σὺ μὲν ἐν Τροίῃ Πριάμου κατὰ δῶμα,*
> *αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ Θήβῃσιν ὑπὸ Πλάκῳ ὑληέσσῃ*
> *ἐν δόμῳ Ἠετίωνος, ὅ μ' ἔτρεφε τυτθὸν ἐοῦσαν,*
> *δύσμορος αἰνόμορον· ὡς μὴ ὤφελλε τεκέσθαι.* (22. 477–81.)
>
> Hektor, I grieve for you. You and I were born to a single
> destiny, you in Troy in the house of Priam, and I
> in Thebe, underneath the timbered mountain of Plakos
> in the house of Eëtion, who cared for me when I was little,
> ill-fated he, I ill-starred. I wish that he had never begotten me.

To conclude, Achilles' earlier campaigns have their place in two important thematic networks. One looks to the past: the tense relationship between Achilles and Agamemnon, which is built up in such a way that it is convincing when it reaches breaking-point in book 1 and when it is not mended in book 9. The other looks to the future: the neighbouring cities prefigure the fate of Troy. Their men, young and old, their women, and their splendid possessions have suffered the fate which is closing in on the city of Priam. Whether or not the geography can be squared with the historical world, and whether or not Homer drew on earlier epics, the vital point is that he has turned Achilles' campaigns actively to his own uses and integrated them into this poem.

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[8] J. W. Zarker made some similar observations in an article in *Classical Journal* 61 (1965–6) 110–14. He concludes: 'what happened to Thebe and the other cities of the Troad will happen to Troy. What happened to Chryseis, Briseis and the other captive women will happen to Andromache.'

THE PSEUDO-HERODOTEAN LIFE OF HOMER AND CHIOS

K. RHOMAIOS

> *Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Ἁλικαρνασσεὺς περὶ Ὁμήρου γενέσιος*
> *καὶ ἡλικίης καὶ βιοτῆς τάδε ἱστόρηκε, ζητήσας*
> *ἐπεξελθεῖν εἰς τὸ ἀτρεκέστατον.*

THIS imposing phrase stands at the beginning of the *Vita Herodotea.*[1] Scholars of today have of course no reason to believe either that this Life of Homer was written by Herodotus, or that it tells us the truth, *εἰς τὸ ἀτρεκέστατον*, as the unknown biographer remarks in his prologue. However, even the brief life of Homer in the *Suda* (s.v. *Ὅμηρος*) demonstrates clearly the esteem in which the *Vita* was held by Byzantine scholars. We read:[2] *Ὅμηρος, ἄγνωστος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Ἡρόδοτος δέ ὁ ἱστορικὸς ἔγραψε βίον Ὁμήρου, μᾶλλον τοῦδε ἁρμοδιώτερον.* So the *Suda* acknowledges that the *Vita* is more appropriate and more to the point than the biography which appears in the Lexicon itself and than all others in circulation. Despite this praise in the *Suda* the *Vita* made no particular impact and had no important successors. It has rather remained permanently in disrepute, particularly for its many mythographical inaccuracies. However, in the course of a brief investigation of Homer in Chios I have found that in the *Vita* there are some important but as yet unnoticed parallels between the ancient stories about Homer and the later development in Chian tradition. The most important of these later traditions is at least 400 years old, yet they have generally been disregarded as unimportant and the invention of modern scholars. Despite this I have observed four important similarities between them and the *Vita*. New evidence has come to light which, I believe, can solve the problem concerning the so-called Stone of Homer. This rock, which was formerly called the Daskaleio, or Daskalopetra, or even School of Homer, is situated at Vrontados, some kilometres north of Chios town.

I

In the matter of the birth of Homer we find the following similarities between the modern Greek tradition and that of the *Vita Herodotea*. The modern Greek tradition in the island begins 'Homer was born in the village of Pityos' (in the north of the island).[3] Modern historians of the island have paid no attention to this unlikely detail and have understandably overlooked it without comment, since, no matter how much any modern Chiote would like to claim Homer as his compatriot, he could hardly go so far as actually to give him a village of origin. In 1904 Nicholas Politis rightly disregarded this evidence.[4] However, after comparing other detailed characteristics which are found in the *Vita*, we may dwell on one important point, the incident which was said to have taken place after Homer had been on the island for two days. The blind poet had begun his journey from neighbouring Smyrna in a fishing-boat, which reached a deserted beach on north-eastern Chios where it anchored, and while the fishermen began their work Homer slept his first night on the beach. On the next day he started walking. Blind and alone he wandered in the wilderness until he reached a place whose name was Pitys, deriving from the name for a pine tree (*Vita* 276–9). At this point the story becomes interesting. There is no doubt that the ancient name Pitys and the modern Greek one Pityos are one and the same, and in this respect the modern Greek tradition depends on the *Vita*.

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[1] I use the text of T. W. Allen in OCT, *Homeri Opera* V (1912). The Life has various titles in the MSS: e.g. *Ἡροδότου βίος Ὁμήρου. Βιός Ὁμήρου ἐξ Ἡροδότου συγγραφείς. Βίος Ὁμήρου τοῦ ποιητοῦ καθ' Ἡρόδοτον. Ἡροδότου Ἁλικαρνασσέως περὶ τῆς τοῦ Ὁμήρου γενέσιος καὶ ἡλικίας καὶ βιοτῆς.*

[2] Cited in Allen, 192.

[3] N. G. Politis, *Παραδόσεις* I (1904) 3 no. 1.

There is a sequel too in the ancient story. As Homer approached Pitys night fell and he had to sleep in the open air. A pine-cone fell upon him and this suddenly reminded him of some of his verses about the pine-trees on Mount Ida at Troy, and he began to recite them in indignation at the cone which had struck him. He goes on to say that the pine cones from Ida were of a better quality (*Vita* 279–83).

If, in the modern Greek tradition, the word *ἐγεννήθη* was substituted by *ἐκοιμήθη*, which bears the same ending, has the same number of syllables and sounds almost the same, then the record would have corresponded very closely to the ancient tradition. It is not impossible that at some early stage in the modern tradition *ἐγεννήθη* was written instead of *ἐκοιμήθη*. But even if this is not the case it is quite clear that the Pitys and Pityos in the two versions (both of them unusual place-names) have a common source.

II

The second example of similarity between the *Vita* and the modern tradition is in the mention of Volissos, the town on the north-western shore of the island. The modern tradition states that Homer was born at Pityos and lived at Volissos.[5] The sentence directly links the two place names, Pityos and Volissos, and the verb *ἔζησε* suggests that Homer lived there for a long time. It is interesting to observe that the same version appears in the *Vita*, and in the ancient text there are several details about Homer's life in Volissos. For instance, at the start a goatherd, Glaukos, meets the blind Homer wandering in the wilderness. He offered him hospitality, as Eumaios did in Ithaca to Odysseus when he met him as an old beggar, and later admired the verses which the poet composed for him. After this the goatherd left his flock and went to Volissos, which was nearby, to find his master and tell him of what had happened. At first his master did not believe him, but eventually agreed to meet the poet. Talking to him he found that he was both capable and knowledgeable, so he asked him to stay with them and educate his children. Homer agreed and stayed in Volissos. It was said that it was in this period that Homer composed all the poems which are known as the *Παίγνια Ὁμήρου*. It was also in Volissos that Homer acquired his reputation as a poet (*Vita* 317–36).

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[4] Ibid. II, 635.

[5] Ibid., I 3 no. 1.

III

The third case concerns Homer's arrival in the capital town of the island. Naturally, the ancient text records that his arrival was preceded by his reputation: *ὥστε καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει περιβόητος ἤδη ἐγένετο ἐν τῇ ποιήσει Vita* 335–6).

The modern tradition first mentions Pityos, then Volissos, and it continues as follows:

> *Τὸ Σχολειό του τό εἴχε κοντὰ στοῦ Πασιᾶ τὴ βρύση, μιὰν ὥρα μακριὰ ἀπὸ τὸ Κάστρο, κοντὰ στὸ περιγιάλι. Ἐκεῖ βρίσκεται ἀκόμη τὸ μέρος ὅπου καθότανε, καὶ γύρω ἦσαν σκαλισμένα στὸ βράχο τὰ καθίσματα τῶν μαθητάδων του.*[6]
>
> The School (of Homer) is near Pasha Vrysi, on the shore one hour from the Kastro. The place where he sat is still to be found there, and around it, cut in the rock, the seats of his pupils.

In the modern version the principal element is Homer's School. If we follow the sequence of events we have first the village of Pityos, then Volissos, where he is said to have lived, and finally mention of his School, which is situated near the capital of the island. These events appear in the same order in the *Vita Herodotea.* First there is his arrival at Pitys where the poet sleeps and the incident with the pine cone occurs; then the period of his life in Volissos, where his reputation as a poet grows rapidly; and finally the foundation of his school in the island's capital. After some years teaching Glaukos' children in Volissos he asked the rich Chiote to take him to the capital city. Once he got there he founded the school, where he taught children epic poetry. This way the poet was able to display his talents at their best and the inhabitants of Chios naturally became his faithful admirers. He made a small fortune here and finally married and had two daughters (*Vita* 339–44).

IV

The fourth parallel to appear in both ancient and modern traditions regards his wanderings in the wilderness of Chios' mountains. The *Vita Herodotea* (276–8, 290–6) reveals:

> Homer spent the night on the beach, but at daybreak he set off and wandered to this place . . . When Glaukos heard his voice he ran up quickly . . . for a long while he was amazed at how, and why, a blind man had come alone to these parts, and approached him to ask who he was and how he had come to such deserted and pathless places.

In the modern Chian version Homer seems to wander in the same deserted places and wild ravines. There is evidence for two versions. According to the first, Homer wandered in the mountains between ravines and rocks:

> *Ὁ Ὅμηρος ἀνέβη μιὰ φορὰ στὸ ψηλότερο βουνὸ τῆς Χιὸς, τὸν Ἀϊ-Λιά. Σάν ἠκατήβαινε, ἔφτασε σ' ἕναν τόπο ποὺ ἦταν γκρεμὸς καὶ βράχια καὶ δὲν μποροῦσε νὰ τὸν κατεβεῖ ὁλόρθος.*[7]

The second version makes Homer go and sing his epics at the foot of Anavatos, the famous mediaeval Chian town. *Στὸ Ἀναβατὸ ἐπῆγε καὶ τραγούδησε.*[8]

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[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid. I 3 no. 2.

[8] Ibid. I 3 no. 1.

V

I come now back to the theme of Daskalopetra, or Homer's School. There is a series of documents about the Stone of Homer which go back for some 400 years but which offer no clear explanation for it. Politis had collected all this evidence in the second volume of his work of 1904.[9] From him we learn that the Stone of Homer was mentioned for the first time in the *History of Chios* written in French by Jerome Giustiniani, published in 1606.[10] The way in which he refers to the tradition, and the references he quotes, show that it was a much older story. The next reference is from Tournefort,[11] who adds that it was Homer's epic poetry that was taught there. This sort of information naturally aroused vivid interest among European scholars. The fact that the actual place where the great poet taught could be located excited the interest of both listeners and readers.

After Giustiniani and Tournefort there was the English traveller Pococke, who, in his book *Description of the East and some other Countries*, published in London, 1743,[12] seems to believe that everything held by the local tradition was true. However, some years later the English traveller Chandler visited the island, and he was the first to refute the suggestion that this was the site of Homer's School.[13] Instead, he maintained that the stone belonged to a temple of Cybele, and this identification was also adopted by A. N. Vlastos in his book *Χιακά* of 1840.[14] Nevertheless, in 1880 K. A. Papazis, in his lengthy study called *Τοῦ Ὁμήρου ἡ Πέτρα ἢ τὸ Δασκαλειὸ καὶ ἡ περὶ αὐτῆς παράδοσις τῶν κατοίκων τῆς νήσου Χίου*,[15] tried to demonstrate that in fact the rock at Vrontados was where Homer taught and that the local Chian tradition was plausible and true. The stone is also mentioned by the poet Theodoros Orfanidis in 1858 in his poem *Ἡ Χίος δούλη*,[16] and the same story is recorded by many travellers who wrote about the island. All take this opportunity to refer to this local legend about Homer, which, although far-fetched, was so appealing. The French linguist Hubert Pernot also describes the stone and the legend about Homer in his book about the island in 1903.[17] Finally, in 1904 Politis concluded that these legends about Chios were creations of modern scholars who transmitted them to the local population. He does not admit any ancient origin for these traditions, except for the place-name Volissos, and he appears to conclude that the stone is part of a shrine of Cybele.[18]

In recent years the myth about Homer's Stone has revived, and the site has been fenced off. Every visitor to the island visits Homer's Stone at Vrontados, and from time to time one hears of plans to organize Homeric conferences and festivals at the site, including recitation of his works.

VI

This is the story of Homer's Stone. One is bound to respect local pride in the stone and its tradition. The whole story is a gripping one, the truth of which it would be gratifying to demonstrate. However, this attempt to give local colour to the life of Homer is by no means unique, and the same thing happened in antiquity, not on Chios itself but on the opposite coast at Cyme. In the *Vita Herodotea* it is said that when the poet was in Cyme, near Neon Teichos, he sat and recited his poems at a place which the inhabitants still pointed out and venerated when the *Vita* was written (*Vita* 119–21). This story has much in common with the modern tradition in Chios, and one is almost tempted to think that the latter has borrowed from it. It would be very easy to transpose the ancient record into the modern simply by changing the location, and thus creating a tradition close to that about the School of Homer at Vrontados.

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[9] Ibid. II 635–7.

[10] Ibid. II 636.

[11] *Relation d'un voyage du Levant* (Amsterdam 1718) I 146.

[12] II. 2, 6; cf. Politis, II 636.

[13] In *Travels in Greece*. Translation from the French edition (1825; I, ch. 16, 67) in Politis, II 637.

[14] I (Hermoupolis 1840) 29.

[15] *Parnassos* 4 (1880) 640–7.

[16] Athens, 1858: 3, 71; cf. Politis, II 637.

[17] *L'île de Chio* (Paris 1903) 82–4.

[18] II 635–7.

Each element in these ancient and modern traditions has its own value, whether true or not. Until now no one who has considered the Stone of Homer has taken into account the evidence of the *Vita Herodotea*, and Politis, for instance, believes that the story is a modern creation. I have tried to show that it derives from an ancient tradition, however much misunderstood. Nowadays the site is called Homer's School, and in the *Vita* (340–1) it is a school that Homer founded in the island. Just as the ancient village of Pitys and the modern one of Pityos were connected, so the ancient school mentioned in the *Vita* has been associated with so-called Stone of Homer, and, in their attempt to identify a site to justify the story, Chiotes of 500 years ago, if not before, chose the carved rock which probably belongs to a sanctuary of Cybele. Those who made the association missed an important detail in the ancient text, where it is said that the School was in the town of Chios, with no suggestion that it was some two hours' walk away: too far, one might judge, for the young pupils of Chios to walk to and from school.

VII

I conclude, therefore, that Politis was not correct to assume that the modern tradition is also a modern creation. The *Vita Herodotea* demonstrates a link between the ancient and modern traditions, and inspired the version referred to by all travellers who visited Chios from 1600 onwards. Just when the link between the traditions was created must remain uncertain. The four significant episodes in the *Vita* are: the ancient place-name of Pitys; Homer's wanderings in the wilderness; his stay in Volissos, where he composed poetry; and his foundation of a school in Chios. All these elements find their exact counterparts in the modern tradition, though the school is placed in Vrontados and not Chios town. This brings us closer to solving the riddle of the Stone of Homer. It was a matter of finding an ancient site whose appearance satisfied those seeking to locate the school mentioned in the *Vita*. The word used in the *Vita* for Homer's creation of the school, *κατασκευασάμενος*, is an unusual one and might easily have supported the view that the carved Stone of Homer was an appropriate identification. The rock at Vrontados has a flattened area at the top on which is carved a small shrine to Cybele, some 80 cm high. In its battered form it looks somewhat like a seat. Around it, in a rough semi-circle, is a shallow rock-cut bench which might have been used for offerings.[19] Those who tried to locate Homer's School here saw in this bench the seats for his pupils, and the seat-like shrine at the centre was the seat of the poet himself. Thus, the School, which could not be located in Chios town, was readily identified here. The *Vita* helps explain the attempt to locate a School of Homer in the island of Chios, but offers no evidence for its true location, which should have been in the ancient town. It is unlikely that any site for it was pointed out in the Classical period, or that any appropriate building will be uncovered by excavations.

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[19] For modern studies of the site see O. Rubensohn and C. Watzinger, *AM* 53 (1928) 109–16; J. Boardman, *AntJ* 39 (1959) 195–6; and below, p. 159.

ION OF CHIOS: HIS PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF GREEK LITERATURE

K. J. DOVER

I. POETRY

We have more precise information about the essential dates of Ion's life than we normally expect to have about fifth-century writers.[1] According to an anecdote derived from him by Plutarch (*Cim.* 9. 1) he was still very young (*παντάπασι μειράκιον*) on the occasion of a meeting with Cimon later than the Greeks' capture of Sestus and of Byzantium. This datum indicates that he can hardly have been born much before 490 at the earliest, and a date of birth a little after 480 would not be incompatible with the evidence. The first tragedies of his to be produced at Athens were produced in the 82nd Olympiad, i.e. 451–448; 429/8 was one of the years in which he competed. We know from a reference to him in Aristophanes' *Peace* 835 that he died shortly before the spring of 421. He was a man of remarkable versatility, whose works have conferred on him the unusual distinction of inclusion in the modern standard corpora of fragments of the historians (*FGrHist*), pre-Socratic philosophers (DK), tragic poets (*TGF*) and elegists (*IEG*).[2]

I suspect that he would have wished to be remembered, and to be commemorated in a gathering at the Homereion on Chios, as a poet. It was, however, the misfortune of his poetic ambition that he was a contemporary of Sophocles and Euripides, and against them competition was unequal. When the Athenians in the following century formed the notion of a classical canon and defined Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides as the 'great' poets of tragedy, Ion was relegated to the second division along with Agathon, Philocles, Achaeus, Neophron, and a score of others; and from that category, as classicism strengthened its hold on ancient taste, he was never allowed to emerge. The anonymous author of *On the Sublime*, contrasting fallible genius with impeccable but uninspired competence, asks (*Subl.* 33. 5):

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[1] Essential data are incisively separated from speculation by Felix Jacoby, 'Some Remarks on Ion of Chios', *CQ* 41 (1947) 1 ff., reprinted in his *Abhandlungen zur griechischen Geschichtsschreibung* (Leiden 1956) 144 ff. See also G. L. Huxley, 'Ion of Chios', *GRBS* 6 (1965) 29 ff. and H. B. Mattingly, 'Poets and Politicians in Fifth-century Greece' in *Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean in Ancient History and Prehistory* (Studies, Fritz Schachermeyr; Berlin/New York 1977) 231 ff.

[2] The fragments of Ion's work in all genres were edited by A. von Blumenthal (Stuttgart/Berlin 1939). He included some fragments of a satyr-play now ascribed with good reason to Sophocles (*TGF* IV F 1130 ff.).

> Would you rather be Homer or Apollonius? . . . In lyrics, would you choose to be Bacchylides rather than Pindar? And in tragedy, Ion of Chios rather than Sophocles?

Now that we have some of Bacchylides' poetry, we can see the point made by the critic's rhetorical questions. Unfortunately, we cannot judge for ourselves whether or not the analogy 'Ion is to Sophocles as Bacchylides is to Pindar' is a just analogy. The new edition of *TGF* presents us with eighty-six citations and fragments of Ion's tragedies.[3] Nearly half of them consist each of a single word or phrase; of the remainder, the longest contains five lines, and only half a dozen run to more than two lines. Little of significance can be said of a poet represented by such exiguous scraps. Ion's surviving elegiac poetry amounts to thirty-six lines, including one citation sixteen lines long. He seems to have been a more elegant versifier than Xenophanes before him and Critias after him, but any such judgement rests on rather small samples. I shall have occasion to refer to one or two passages of his elegiac poetry in different connections, but turn now to more detailed consideration of the philosophical prose work which was called (not necessarily by him, and even after him not always by everyone) *Τριαγμός* or *Τριαγμοί*.

II. PHILOSOPHY

The opening words of this work are cited by Harpocration (DK 36 B1):

> This is the beginning of my exposition. All things are three, and nothing is either more or less than those three. The goodness (*ἀρετή*) of each individual (*ἑνὸς ἑκάστου*) is a triad: understanding (*σύνεσις*) and power (*κράτος*) and fortune (*τύχη*).

The style of the opening, a direct launch into dogmatic statement, resembles that of the earliest prose work known to us by citation, the *Theology* of Pherecydes of Syros (DK 7 B1):

> Zas and Time and Earth (*Χθονίη*) always were.

So too Anaxagoras (DK 59 B1):

> All things were together,

or Philolaus (DK 44 B 1):

> Nature, throughout the universe, was put together from indeterminates and determinants.

This was not the only way of beginning. Protagoras, for example, began with a statement about the nature of his subject (DK 80 B 4):

> On the subject of gods, I am not in a position to know whether they exist or do not exist, or what their form is. There are so many impediments to knowledge: the obscurity of the subject and the brevity of human life.

Comparable statements about the writer's purpose and the character of his subject are made by Heraclitus, Diogenes of Apollonia, Alcmaeon, Archytas, Herodotus, and Thucydides.

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[3] On the possibility that Ion was the author of a tragedy about Gyges of Lydia known to us only from a single long fragment (*TGF* II F 664), see Huxley, op. cit. 43 ff. Present evidence does not really allow us to get much further in consideration of this hypothesis.

In one respect, then, Ion's *Τριαγμός* may have been 'old fashioned', but in another important respect it exemplified a new tendency. Pherecydes and Anaxagoras told a story, so to speak; they explained the universe in *cosmogonic* terms, answering the question, 'How did things begin?', so following a tradition which goes back, beyond the beginnings of scientific speculation, to Hesiod. Ion, however, speaks in *cosmological* terms, answering the question, 'How do things work?' If we possessed all the works of late-archaic and classical thinkers, I do not suppose that we could identify a point in time at which a clear line could be drawn between myth and science or between myth and metaphysics, but I suspect that we should observe a steady encroachment of cosmology on cosmogony.

It is tantalizing to have the beginnings, and so little else, of so many early prose works. What did Protagoras say about gods after declaring his inability to say anything about them? And in his work *Truth* did he ever develop and explain his opening statement (DK 80 B 1) that 'a man is the measure of all things'? Or should we infer that he did not from Plato's reference to the statement as an 'allusion' (*Tht.* 152 C) and Plato's invention (ibid.) of an imagined 'secret doctrine' which spelled out the implications of the statement? An ancient reader, taking up the *Τριαγμός* for the first time, could hardly fail to assume, when he read the words

> All things are three, and nothing is either more or less than those three,

that Ion was speaking, as others had done before him, of the fundamental elements of which all things were composed. Isocrates, whose patience with scientific speculation was not unlimited, implies as much by saying (15. 268) that among 'the sophists of earlier days' Empedocles postulated four elements but Ion no more than three; and Philoponus, a late commentator on Aristotle, names Ion's three elements as fire, earth, and air (DK 36 A 6). So far, so good; but the next sentence would give the ancient reader pause. ἀρετή, which functions as the abstract noun corresponding to ἀγαθός, can be predicated of entities other than persons; one can speak of the ἀρετή of land, and Plato on one occasion (*Rep.* 601 D) speaks of the ἀρετή of a utensil. One might then suppose that ἑνὸς ἑκάστου, 'each one', covers both animate and inanimate beings. But although there are circumstances in which inanimates could be regarded as having power (κράτος) and fortune (τύχη), they do not have understanding (σύνεσις).

It is possible to reconcile the opening of the *Τριαγμός* with the attribution to Ion of a three-element theory by postulating first, that he did indeed assert the composition of all material from three elements; secondly, that he asserted a tripartite structure of all non-material entities (concern with the *structure* of virtue is an interesting, though perhaps illusory, anticipation of Plato); and thirdly, that in both cases it was 'threeness' that he emphasized. If he did, his inclusion among Pythagoreans in DK is justified, for it was the Pythagoreans who turned the discussion of scientific laws and causation away from elements and towards numbers (Arist. *Met.* 985^b23 ff.). Plutarch on one occasion (*Quaest. Conv.* 8. 1.1) cites with approval, though without identification of the work on which he is drawing, a dictum of Ion to the effect that

> Fortune is in many respects different from skill (σοφία) but produces very many effects of the same kind.

This sensible observation accords with the hypothesis that what interested Ion was not the causal powers (δυνάμεις) of the individual components of an entity but the effect upon the entity of something beyond the components; their number, in fact.

There is one item of external evidence which links Ion to the Pythagorean tradition. According to Harpocration, Ion was the son of a man who was named Orthomenes but was also called Xuthus. One can imagine why Orthomenes should have been called Xuthus; the legendary Xuthus was the father of the legendary Ion (so Herodotus) or (in Euripides) the husband of Ion's mother. But Aristotle once refers (*Physics* 216^b 22 ff.) to a certain philosopher named Xuthus, and Simplicius, commenting on the passage (DK 33), calls Xuthus 'the Pythagorean'. The name Xuthus is not uncommon—it is attested on Chios and in Cyrenaica—but is not notably common either, and the temptation to identify Ion's father with the Pythagorean writer known to Aristotle is strong.

At the same time, there is reason to think that Ion wore his Pythagoreanism, such as it was, rather lightly.

In the first place, the only statement, other than the opening few lines, which is explicitly assigned to the Τριαγμός by later writers is the statement that Pythagoras attributed to Orpheus verses which he himself had composed (DK 36 B 2). This assimilated Pythagoras to characters of tarnished reputation such as Onomacritus, who was expelled from Athens (Hdt. 7. 6.4) because he was alleged to have interpolated verses of his own in the collection of oracles ascribed to Musaeus.

Secondly, we have a citation from an elegiac poem of Ion, in which he speaks of Pherecydes of Syros, traditionally regarded as the teacher of Pythagoras, and says (*IEG* Ion 30):

> So he, distinguished for his manly virtue and modesty, even in death has a life which is pleasing to his soul, if Pythagoras the wise[4] truly achieved knowledge and understanding beyond that of all men.

'If . . .'; the word used by Ion here is εἴπερ. In Attic Greek this word commonly implies that the speaker accepts the premise as true, or at least that he is willing to grant its truth as a matter of courtesy or in order to pursue an argument.[5] In Ionic Greek (and Ion wrote Ionic) the case is different. Herodotus sometimes uses εἴπερ sceptically, referring to the allegations of others, and in one passage (5. 106. 4) it introduces an explicitly rejected premise. Histiaeus is indignantly rebutting the accusations made by Darius:

> εἴπερ the man I put in charge is doing the kind of thing you have described, I can assure you that he has acted on his own responsibility. *But personally I do not believe the story in the first place . . .*

When εἰ is coupled in Herodotus with ἀληθέως, 'truly', as εἴπερ is with ἐτύμως in Ion's poem, it commonly means 'if it is *really* the case that . . .', carrying a sceptical or grudging tone. It seems, therefore, that the citation from Ion falls short of telling us that he himself held any Pythagorean beliefs about reward for virtue in the afterlife.

Thirdly, an elegiac poem composed by Ion about wine (*IEG* Ion 26) prays to Dionysus to grant 'drink, fun, and integrity' (πίνειν καί παίζειν καὶ τὰ δίκαια φρονεῖν) and addresses the god as *καλῶν ἐπιήρανε ἔργων*—'achiever', or possibly 'inspirer', 'instigator', of actions which we find attractive or admirable. The phrase looks as if it is modelled on *σοφῶν ἐπιήρανος ἔργων*, 'achiever' (or 'inspirer') of actions which reveal wisdom, skill, understanding, the phrase used by Ion's near-contemporary Empedocles (DK 31 B 129. 3) of Pythagoras. The early Pythagoreans may not have been total abstainers from alcohol, as some fourth-century Pythagoreans were believed to be (Alexis frr. 220. 3, 221. 4), but there is a touch of irreverence in adapting a phrase used of Pythagoras in praising a god who is the giver of 'drink and fun'.

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[4] I have adopted (so too West in *IEG*) the emendation ὁ σοφός for σοφός (sc. ἦν), ὅς proposed by F. H. Sandbach, *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 1959, 36.

[5] Cf. J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1954) 488 n. 1. Plato *Prt.* 319 A, cited by Denniston as an example of 'sceptical' εἴπερ, turns out to be rather complicated when the whole context is taken into account: Socrates professes candour, then says that he 'had always thought' that what Protagoras asserts was impossible, and adds 'but if you say so, I don't see how I can doubt it'.

Accustomed as we are to the idea that people either believe or do not believe a given religious doctrine, we are sometimes surprised by the Greek 'if'. Consider, for example, the death-bed of Cyrus in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, Xenophon was a pious man in religious observance, and his Cyrus is no less pious. Dying, he sends for his sons, and exhorts them to virtue, assuring them (8. 7.19 ff.):

> I have never been persuaded that the soul . . . perishes when it is separated from the body . . .

But later he says:

> But if that is not the case, and the soul remains in the body and dies with it, even so . . .

Xenophon was a child of his native city, and maybe he found an 'if, on the other hand, . . .' irresistible; but we have to remind ourselves that while the sophistic movement had a profound effect *on* late fifth-century culture, it was also an important and characteristic expression *of* that culture, for the sophists did not arrive from outer space. The impossibility of getting past Ion's 'if' simply has to be accepted, and its acceptance is made easier by a passage such as Dem. 60. 34, where the speaker is consoling the bereaved:

> No one has ever come back from the other side and told us about it, but when we, the living, have judged men worthy of honour here on earth, we form an intuitive opinion about them and believe that they are accorded the same honour in the world below.

If Ion's *Τριαγμός* was not an authoritative, dogmatic exposition of doctrine by what one might call a 'committed Pythagorean', what exactly was its purpose? Was it perhaps a *παίγνιον*, an exercise in creative writing, an uncommitted exploration of the implications of an idea?[6] If so, it would be analogous, at a rather austere intellectual level, to what the poets were accustomed to do on the mythological level. Pindar's *Second Olympian*, for example, contains a remarkable passage about the afterlife, asserting that those who have gone three times through a cycle of incarnation in this life and the next are rewarded by permanent assignment to the Islands of the Blessed. We cannot know whether Pindar believed or disbelieved his own assertions, either at the time he made them or at some other time. We do know that the poem was composed in honour of Theron, tyrant of Acragas, and Acragas was the native city of Empedocles, who propagated a doctrine of cyclic incarnation. I do not suggest that Pindar, composing the poem in 476, drew on poems of Empedocles already in circulation, but rather that he used, as a compliment to his audience, a strand of thought current and favoured at Acragas. Incidentally, the masculine abstract noun *κρυφός*, 'concealment', 'invisibility', occurs only twice in extant Greek literature, once in the *Second Olympian* (97) and once in

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[6] Cf. Sandbach (n. 4 above).

Empedocles (DK 31 B27. 3). Despite the great difference of scale between a twenty-line passage in a poem and a whole book, it seems to me unobjectionable in principle to postulate that just as a poet could choose an available idea on which to build an attractive and impressive *μῦθος*, so a prose-writer with philosophical tastes and interests could choose a theory on which to construct a *λόγος* which would be coherent, intriguing—and totally beyond the reach of verification.

III. NARRATIVE PROSE

Ion wrote two narrative works, of which one belonged to a well-established though declining tradition, while the other was a novelty and looked forward to some distinctive developments of prose literature in the next century.

The first of these two was the *Foundation of Chios*. Pausanias 7. 4. 8 refers to it as a *συγγραφή*, a word used of prose documents, not poetry, and Orion cites a sequence of words from it (*FGrHist* 392 F3). It has been pointed out[7] that this sequence can be turned into a hexameter by emendation, and that in using the term *συγγραφή* Pausanias may have been inexact or mistaken. There are, however, many sequences of words in Greek which could be turned into hexameters by emendation, and few occasions on which anyone could affirm with confidence that Pausanias cannot have been careless or mistaken; and no good reason to be surprised at the suggestion that Ion wrote a work in prose on the foundation of Chios. Earlier, such themes were handled in poetry; poems on the foundation of Colophon and the colonization of Elea were attributed to Xenophanes (*IEG* Xenoph. (I) A1), and material relevant to the early history of Colophon and Smyrna certainly existed in the elegiac poetry of Mimnermus (*IEG* Mimn. 9, 10, 13, 13a). In the first half of the fifth century the genealogical and mythographical works of Hecataeus, Acusilaus, and Pherecydes of Athens, together with Hecataeus' geographical work, necessarily contained much about the foundation of cities. Indeed, geography, genealogy, and foundation-myths are aspects of the same complex of material which this generation, the immediate forebears of the first true historiographers, was so busily casting into the form of prose literature.

The second of Ion's historical works is the one known as *Ἐπιδημίαι*, 'visits', from which we have a long citation in Athenaeus (*FGrHist* 392 F 6). The passage cited describes an event at a party at which Sophocles was one of the guests. The wine is poured by a very good-looking boy, whom Sophocles embarrasses by praise of his complexion. This leads to a brief dialogue with a rather pedantic schoolmaster about the poets' use of colour-epithets. Sophocles then tricks the boy into putting his head so close that Sophocles is able to throw his arm around him and kiss him. Everyone laughs (except, presumably, the boy) and applauds.

In Ion's time prose literature was dominated by Ionic prose, and since Ion himself was a native Ionic-speaker as well it is not surprising that the long citation from the *Ἐπιδημίαι* is wholly Ionic in language, not simply in its phonology and morphology but also in its vocabulary. For instance, the intensifying adverb *κάρτα* occurs no less than three times in the forty lines of the passage. *κάρτα* is a favourite word of Herodotus (over ninety instances) and occurs several times in pre-Socratic writers, but only once in the world of Attic prose literature; that is Plato *Tim.* 25 D, where it keeps company with some other Ionisms in a passage of which the subject is cosmogony.[8]

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[7] G. Cerri, 'La Ktisis di Ione di Chio: prosa o versi?', *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica* 26 (1977) 127 ff.

To form an idea of what the *'Επιδημίαι* as a whole was like, we cannot avoid speculation about the content of the paragraphs immediately preceding and immediately following the citation. We can be sure that the preceding paragraph was neither about Sophocles nor about the party described in the citation, because the first words of the citation, taking them in the order in which they come in the Greek and translating them quite literally, are:

> And Sophocles / the poet / on Chios / I met, / when he was sailing / to Lesbos / as general, / a man amusing at a party / and witty.

Since the citation ends by (*a*) restating the fact that Sophocles was good company at a party, (*b*) contrasting this with his lack of skill and interest in politics, and (*c*) summing up that aspect of him as characteristic of a 'typical good Athenian' (see below, IV), it is also extremely unlikely that the paragraph following the citation was about Sophocles.

If we seek an analogy for this type of composition, we find that the closest is certain portions of Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, especially book 3. For example:

> *Mem.* 2. 3. 1: On one occasion, aware that Chairephon and Chairecrates—who were brothers, and friends of his—were at odds with one another, he said, when he saw Chairecrates . . .
>
> 3. 5. 1: Conversing with Pericles, the son of the great Pericles, on one occasion he said . . .
>
> 3. 6. 1: When Glaucon, son of Ariston, tried to make speeches in the assembly, since he was ambitious for political distinction, though not yet twenty years old, none of his other friends and relations could prevent him from being pulled off the rostrum and ridiculed, but Socrates alone . . .
>
> 3. 7. 1: Seeing that Charmides, son of Glaucon was highly regarded and a man of much greater capacity[9] than those who were at that time active in politics, but reluctant to come forward in the assembly . . . he said . . .
>
> 3. 12. 1: Seeing that Epigenes, one of his associates, was a young man in poor physical condition, he said . . .

As a rule each item begins with the name of the person concerned (*Χαιρεφῶντα δέ ποτε*, *Περικλεῖ δέ ποτε*, etc.), followed by specification of the circumstances in which the conversation took place. The thread which links all the passages in a chain is Socrates, and the point of them all is the wise advice which Socrates gave. In Ion's *'Επιδημίαι*, I suggest, the connecting thread was Ion himself as observer and recorder, and the point of each anecdote is something interesting or amusing said or done by the different men who are the subjects of the anecdotes. In one portion of the *Memorabilia* a succession of passages is brought under a generic heading, thus:

> 3. 10. 1: Moreover, whenever he conversed with any of those who have a craft and practise it for a living, he was helpful to them.
>
> ibid.: Visiting Parrhasius the painter on one occasion . . .
>
> 3. 10. 6: Visiting Cleitias the sculptor on one occasion . . .
>
> 3. 10. 9: Visiting Pistias the armourer . . .

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[8] On the relation between Ionisms in Plato and the literary associations of the passages in which they occur, see D. Th. Sakalis, *'Ιωνικὸ Λεκτικὸ στὸν Πλάτωνα* I–II (Ioannina 1978, 1980): i 101 f. concern *Tim.* 22 A–25 D.

[9] The subsequent development of the argument seems to me to rule out 'rich' as a translation of δυνατός here.

The possibility that Ion's story about Sophocles comes from a section devoted specifically to party-wit, or to parties, must be borne in mind. A fruitless speculation, if we were sure that no more of the *Ἐπιδημίαι* will ever become available to us on papyrus; but since we cannot be sure of that, worth bearing in mind.

How original a concept of prose literature is reflected in the *Ἐπιδημίαι*? We can hardly establish the relative dating of the *Ἐπιδημίαι* and the work by Stesimbrotus of Thasos entitled *On Themistocles, Thucydides* (sc. son of Melesias), *and Pericles*, used by Plutarch (among others) as an anecdotal source for the history of the fifth century. The *Ἐπιδημίαι* must have been written after 440, because that is the first, and almost certainly the only, occasion on which Sophocles as strategos could have called in at Chios on his way to Lesbos. Stesimbrotus's work must have been written after 429, because it referred to the death of Pericles' son Xanthippus in the plague (*FGrHist* 107 F11). That leaves us a period of seven years, 428–422, in which Stesimbrotus's assemblage of malicious political anecdotes can have preceded and inspired the—gentler and predominantly[10] literary and cultural?—memoirs of Ion. Even if it did, that would not wholly detract from the originality of Ion, since the social phenomena in which the two works were rooted were different: in the case of Stesimbrotus, political gossip and true or false stories which were a staple ingredient of oratory in the courts—including an element which is inexhaustibly interesting to modern political journalists but largely suppressed by the severity of modern laws of libel, the sexual behaviour of politicians and their wives and relations; in the case of Ion, the narrative ingredient of conversation in educated company.

In Aristophanes' *Wasps*, when Bdelycleon is trying to make his impossible father fit for decent company, he suggests to him appropriate subjects for conversation. These subjects are not critical, philosophical, scientific, or political—not at all, in fact, what we would call 'talking-points'—but 'How you went as a visitor to a festival with Androcles and Cleisthenes' and 'How Ephudion contended in the pankration against Ascondas' (with detailed physical description of Ephudion), or 'The most valiant thing you ever did in your youth', for example, 'hunting a boar or a hare, or running a torch-race'. They are all narrative topics, which might indeed provoke comment and argument on a more generalized plane, but equally might only start a chain of reminiscences to which all those present could contribute from their store of remembered experience. This experience could on occasion include striking images deployed by a speaker in the assembly or the lawcourt or diplomatic negotiations. It could include also penetrating and reflective utterances attributed to wise men. The antiquity (in oral transmission) of the genre which surfaces in the *Memorabilia* as 'When someone argued . . .' or 'When he saw someone . . .' is guaranteed by a jocular example in Xenophanes (*IEG* Xenoph. (I) 7a), ridiculing Pythagoras's theory of reincarnation:

> And they say that on one occasion, when a dog was being beaten, and he was passing by, he saw it and was struck by pity and spoke as follows: 'Stop, don't thrash him! It's the soul of a friend of mine—I recognized it when I heard its cry!'

I propose that Ion's *Ἐπιδημίαι* should be given a place in the genealogy of the Socratic dialogues of Plato. Ion constructed a new literary form out of two oral forms, narrative conversation and the sayings of wise men. Plato and Xenophon represent a sophisticated fourth-century development of that literary form in combination with another, the philosophical treatise: in Xenophon's case, the development is less sophisticated than in Plato's, and the incorporation of material of a kind formerly associated with philosophical treatises is partial and cautious; in Plato's case, the incorporation is subtler and more ambitious, his dependence on the sayings-of-wise-men form is less obvious, and the infusion of drama, under the influence of tragedy and mime, incomparably more successful.

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[10] There are, however, some citations from Ion (*FGrHist* 392 F 12–16), not explicitly ascribed to the *Ἐπιδημίαι*, which have considerable political import.

IV. 'ONE OF THE GOOD ATHENIANS'

Ion's anecdote about Sophocles ends with a judgment: 'But in politics he was neither skilled (σοφός) nor active (ῥεκτήριος), but ὡς ἄν τις εἷς τῶν χρηστῶν Ἀθηναίων,' i.e. 'as some one of the good Athenians (sc. would be)'. I take the non-Attic ῥεκτήριος to mean the same as δραστήριος in Thucydides, where it is contrasted (2. 63. 3) with ἀπράγμων; Ion is saying that Sophocles was not active in the pursuit of political ends. He was a *good* Athenian; what does that mean? Xenophon represents Critias, in a bitter speech against Theramenes, as contrasting 'the best men' (οἱ βέλτιστοι) or 'the better men' (οἱ βελτίονες) with 'the demos' or 'the democracy' (*HG* ii 3. 25, 32), and Xenophon himself draws precisely that contrast in speaking of affairs in Achaea (7. 1. 43) and Sicyon (7. 3. 4). The 'Old Oligarch' contrasts 'the rich and χρηστοί' with those who are 'bad and poor and members of the demos' (Xen. *Ath.* 1. 4), and οἱ χρηστοί with οἱ δημοτικοί (1. 14 f.). Since his subject is the distribution of political power, administrative office, and economic benefit within the Athenian citizen-body, it is obvious that for him 'the good' and 'the upper class' are synonymous. Given such passages it is not surprising that Ion's phrase should be translated (e.g.) 'a typical Athenian aristocrat'.

It should, however, be remarked that the Old Oligarch is the only extant Greek writer who uses χρηστός unambiguously in this way. The reservation 'unambiguously' is imposed by some passages of Aristophanes. It is presupposed in *Frogs* that the political leaders of the day are 'bad' (1455–7 πονηρός), and the chorus advocates their replacement by χρηστοί (735) who are of good family and have had an old-fashioned education (729); but even there moral qualities (727 f. σώφρονας . . . δικαίους) are included among the desiderata and treated as the likely consequences of old-fashioned education, and the shortage of τὸ χρηστόν in the underworld (783) is contrasted with an abundance not of poor men—cobblers, tanners, sailors and the like—but of criminals (781 πανοῦργοι), specified as muggers, burglars, and father-batterers (772 f.). In *Wasps* 80, where the slave addressing the audience is keeping us guessing about the nature of the 'disease' from which his master's father suffers, and pretends that a certain Sosias, in the audience, has guessed that the disease is addiction to drink, that guess is dismissed with the words, 'Oh no! That's a disease of χρηστοὶ ἄνδρες!' The point *might* be that the addiction is characteristic of a high stratum of society to which the old man does not aspire; but it could also be—not inappropriately, in a comedy, produced at a festival of Dionysus—that fondness for drink is a nice vice, whereas the old man is not at all a nice man.

Against the possibility that χρηστός has socio-economic connotations in those Aristophanic passages we must set the observed fact that in very many cases it has no such connotation, but gives expression to the speaker's or writer's response to attributes which he is glad to find in someone else. A brave soldier is χρηστός (e.g. Hdt. 9. 27. 1); so is a competent general (Soph. *OC* 1430), a good citizen (e.g. Ar. *Ach.* 595), a sensible father (Chaeremon *TGF* 71. 35), a good wife (e.g. Eur. *IA* 750), a loyal friend (e.g. Xen. *Mem.* 2. 6. 14), and an active, well-disposed god (Hdt. 8. iii. 2, where the antonym is ἄχρηστος) or beneficent δαίμων (Theodectas *TGF* I72 F 13. 4). It is quite possible to be both poor and χρηστός, e.g. Eur *Su.* 872, frr. 362. 27 (χρηστῶν πενήτων), 518. 3, 739. 3; Eur. *Andr.* 640 'better to have a son-in-law who is poor and χρηστός than one who is rich and κακός' is an interesting sentiment, and the plot of Aristophanes' *Wealth* depends on the assumption that in contemporary society οἱ χρηστοί come off badly (note especially 826). Equally, a good slave can be χρηστός: Hdt. 8. 68γ ('χρηστοί men tend to have bad slaves, and χρηστοί slaves bad masters'), Eur. *Med.* 54, Philemon *CGFP* 212 (= E. fr. 529), Xen. *Mem.* 2. 5.5, *Oec.* 9. 5, 12. 19, cf. Anon. *CGFP* 297. 5 on slaves who have χρηστότης. One passage of Thucydides looks at first sight as if χρηστός is being used with a connotation of class: 6. 53. 2, where Thucydides is speaking of the information laid against people for mutilating the herms. 'They trusted bad men and arrested and imprisoned citizens who were absolutely χρηστοί'. Yet he continues: 'because they thought it was advantageous that the crime should be investigated and solved rather than that even a man who was regarded as χρηστός should escape without scrutiny on the grounds that the informer was bad'. Here it is not the self-perception of the χρηστός man which is in question, but the perception of him as χρηστός by the demos itself.

While it would be rash to assert that Ion cannot have meant to characterize Sophocles as 'a typical Athenian aristocrat', the totality of fifth-century instances of χρηστός tips the scale in favour of the hypothesis that he meant 'one of those Athenians who are (sc. from my standpoint) good (sc. as opposed to those who are bad)'. The point of such an assessment can be appreciated if we pose two questions: first, whether we should be at all surprised if we found an Aegean islander in the first decade of the fourth century using the expression 'one of the good Spartans', and secondly, what Ion is likely to have thought and felt about the Athenian Empire.

Ion chose to spend some of his life at Athens. In 411 a certain Tydeus 'son of Ion' was the focus of pro-Athenian opposition to the Spartans at Chios and was executed by the Spartan commander (Thuc. 8. 38. 3); his father may well have been our Ion. Chios, for most of Ion's lifetime, was treated with circumspection by Athens, and did not revolt until 412. All the same, Ion was an Ionian and an islander. By the end of his life he had seen many revolts crushed, including that of Mytilene, and he knew what decision the Athenian demos had taken in the first flush of its anger. Less than three years later, at a time when irreconcilables from Mytilene were dangerously active on the mainland of Asia, Chios aroused Athenian suspicions by building a fortification-wall, and was compelled to dismantle it (Thuc. 4. 51 f.). It would be grossly simplistic to imagine that every individual islander in the Athenian Empire could be firmly classified either as an unswervingly loyal pro-Athenian democrat or as an uncompromisingly hostile anti-Athenian oligarch. Better to put oneself in Ion's place, well acquainted as he must have been with a wide variety of attitude and behaviour among politically active and ambitious Athenians towards the exercise of imperial power. My hypothesis is that by 'good Athenians' Ion meant the kind of Athenian whom, *as a subject*, he could trust and respect; those who behaved at all as Timarchus in the fourth century is alleged by Aeschines (1. 107) to have behaved on Andros will have been the other kind of Athenian.

Classical Athens invented tragedy and acquired an empire—in that order. Athenian power and wealth in the fifth century made Athens a cultural metropolis, attracting poets and philosophers and scientists. The consequence of that process continued unimpeded after the Athenian Empire was lost. The epigraphist sees it happening in the progressive disappearance of the Ionic dialects in the fourth century; the historian of literature sees it in the spectacular dominance achieved by fourth-century Athens in new literary genres—the Platonic dialogue, a hitherto unimagined degree of subtlety and refinement in oratory, and the emergence of universal comedy out of the essentially topical and parochial comedy of Aristophanes' time. What fifth-century Athens took in, it digested and transformed, and fourth-century Athens gave out the result. Fifth-century Athens enabled and encouraged Ion to produce tragedies. He repaid this debt, unknowingly, by planting the seed from which the Platonic dialogue grew.

APOLLO PHANAIOS AND THE CULT OF PHANES

N. YALOURIS

At the southern end of the island of Chios, the ancient *Φαναία ἄκρα* (today Cape Mastico) and on the site *Φάναι* (today Phana), ancient literary sources place the sanctuary of Apollo Phanaios (Thuc. 8. 24. 3; Strabo 14. 1. 35, p. 645; Livy 36. 43. 11, 44. 28. 7, 45. 10. 1; Hesych. s.v. *φαναῖος*).[1] Strabo loc. cit., describing this sanctuary, says that there was a temple of Apollo Phanaios in a precinct full of palm-trees, the tree par excellence sacred to Apollo.

The Greek Archaeological Service, represented by Kourouniotis, digging on this site in two successive campaigns in 1915 and 1916,[2] discovered part of the temple dating from the Archaic period. The temple was of colossal dimensions, approaching those of the Heraion at Samos and the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. The cult in the sanctuary, according to the finds, goes back to the Geometric period. Kourouniotis also investigated the larger area of the sanctuary enclosed by a large retaining wall. Many architectural members of the temple as well as the finds are now kept in the Archaeological Museum of Chios.

Further excavation at the site was continued by the British School at Athens, represented by W. Lamb,[3] but thereafter exploration of the site was abandoned, although the results of the excavations, of both the Greek and the British scholars, were important and very promising. The investigation had proved sufficient to confirm the identification of the site made by Kourouniotis. It is the Sanctuary of Apollo Phanaios, and many sherds bearing inscriptions with the names Apollo and Phanaios attest the identification.[4]

It may be noted that the cult of Apollo under this epithet is quite unusual and occurs only in Chios, in this sanctuary. In no other part of Greece, so far as we know, was Apollo or any other god worshipped with this epithet. Only once, in [Euripides'] *Rhesus* (355), Zeus has the epiklesis Phanaios. To this we may add the record of another epithet of Apollo, Apollo Anaphaios, worshipped in the island of Anaphe. The information is, of course, from a later literary source: Cornutus.[5]

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[1] For other literary references see R. Herbst, *RE* XIX 1758 f. s.v. 'Phanai', and *Der Kleine Pauly* IV 707 s.v. 'Phanai'.

[2] *ADelt* 1 (1915) 72 ff., 2 (1916) 190 ff.

[3] *BSA* 35 (1934/5) 138 ff. For prehistoric sites nearby see M. S. F. Hood, *Prehistoric Emporio and Ayio Gala* I (1981) 6; for underwater exploration, R. Garnett and J. Boardman, *BSA* 56 (1961) 105 f., 110; for architecture at Phana, J. Boardman, *AntJ* 39 (1959) 170–218.

[4] Apollo is named on chalices; see *BSA* 35 (1934/5) 161, and R. M. Cook and G. Woodhead, *BSA* 47 (1952) 161, 166. Phanaio . . is read on coarser vases: *BSA* 35 (1934/5) 161 f.; *ADelt* 2 (1916) 200, 206.

[5] Cornutus 32, p. 196. Cf. *Orph.h.* 34.9 :*καθαρὰς φήμας*

In Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. *φάναι*, we read: *Φάναι ἀκρωτήριον Χίου, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκεῖθεν ἀναφανῆναι τῇ Λητοῖ τὴν Δῆλον.* According to Cornutus *Φαναῖος* and *Δήλιος* are identical; *καὶ Δήλιον δὲ αὐτὸν ὠνόμασαν καὶ Φαναῖον ἀπὸ τοῦ δηλοῦσθαι δι᾽αὐτοῦ τὰ ὄντα.*

This passage led Osann to suggest a connection between the Delian Apollo and the Phanaian Apollo.[6] Elsewhere, Plutarch (*de E Delph.* 385 B) says: *Δήλιος δέ καὶ Φαναῖος* (*᾽Απόλλων*) *οἷς ἤδη τι δηλοῦται καὶ ὑποφαίνεται τῆς ἀληθείας.*

On the strength of these texts Kontoleon[7] concluded that the sanctuary Delion in Chios, known from a local inscription, refers to the same sanctuary as that of Apollo Phanaios, at Phana. On the same evidence Otto Gruppe[8] declared Apollo Phanaios an oracular god, as *δηλῶν* and *φαίνων* from *δήλιος* and *φαναῖος/ἀναφάναιος*, which means *ἀναφαίνων*.[9]

The divinity whose name reminds one most of Phanaios is Phanes, known also under the name Protogonos,[10] and identified with Apollo, Dionysus, and Helios.[11] Ancient literary sources speak repeatedly of the importance of Phanes in Orphic religion as a pre-Olympian god, creator of the universe, as well as an ancestor of the Olympian gods.

In Aristophanes (*Birds* 696 f.) Eros, who, according to Krüger, is a god of light,[12] takes the characteristics of Phanes. In Attica Eros was worshipped as Phanes.[13] Although the Orphic religion is known to us mostly from late Roman and early Christian writers, when Neoplatonic philosophy was flourishing, it certainly goes back to the Archaic period, even if it was confined to small circles.[14] To quote Nilsson[15] 'We should remember the work of lustral priests, medicine men etc., such as Aristeas, Hermotimos, Epimenides and Onomakritos', whose work in Athens, in the time of the Pisistratids is well known.

Is there any connection between the primordial and cosmogonic god, Phanes, and the cult of Apollo Phanaios? There is of course an obvious grammatical (etymological) relationship between the names Phanes and Phanaios: they both come from the root of *φανή* = torch (cf. *Rhesus* 943–4, *μυστηρίων τε τῶν ἀπορρήτων φανὰς ἔδειξεν ᾽Ορφεύς*; and *Ion* 550); and of *φαίνομαι: Φάνητα . . . πρῶτος γὰρ ἐφάνθη* (Orph. A 15); this is the god representing the first principle of life (*LSJ* s.v. *φάνης*). In this aspect Phanes is also called Protogonos. On the other hand the name Phanes could derive from the active *φαίνω* and in that case he presented light to the cosmos.[16]

But the attempt to connect Phanes and Phanaios Apollo, based only on this

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χρησμούς τ᾽ ἀναφαίνων. Phanes and Phano appear as names of mortals already in the 5th c. BC, and exceptionally on electrum coins of Asia Minor of the early sixth century, always in the genitive (*Φανεος*, *Φαενος*, or *Φανος*). On the coins it is explained as referring to a private person, banker, or official, certainly a mortal: cf. P. R. Franke-Rüdiger Schmitt, *Chiron* 4 (1974) 1–4.

[6] Roscher, *ML* III 2274; N. M. Kontoleon, *AE* 1952, 209.

[7] Ibid.

[8] O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie* II 1234^2.

[9] Cf. *Orph. h.* 349 (see n. 5).

[10] Nonnos 9, 141; M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* II. 2. 568. On the Orphic Phanes see also M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (1983) Index s.v.

[11] Orph. fr. 167. 7; Macrob. 1, 18, 2.

[12] A. Krüger, *Quaestiones Orphicae* (1934) 30. Cf. Ar. *Birds* 696 f.:

τίκτει πρώτιστον ὑπηνέμιον Νὺξ ἡ μελανόπτερος ᾠόν,
ἐξ οὗ περιτελλομέναις ὥραις ἔβλαστεν Ἔρως ὁ ποθεινός,
στίλβων νῶτον πτερύγοιν χρυσαῖν.

On early Orphism, M. P. Nilsson, *Harvard Theological Review* 28. 3 (1936) 200. In Aristophanes Night precedes Eros, who corresponds to Phanes. The order may be reversed in other cosmogonies but Aristophanes' source is clearly also Orphic: cf. Nilsson, op. cit. 199.

[13] Gruppe, op. cit. (n. 8) 1071.

[14] O. Kern, *Fr. Orph.* 14; Nilsson, op. cit. (n. 12) 184, 198. This is confirmed by the great number of representations of Orpheus in archaic sculpture and vase painting as well as the literary sources (ibid. 187 ff., 191 ff.).

[15] Ibid. 198.

[16] K. Preisendanz, *RE* XIX 1761 ff. s.v. 'Phanes'.

grammatical affinity, is not sufficient. Also isolated is the explanation of Plutarch's quoted above.

In modern times one scholar, Otto Gruppe,[17] has suggested that the cult of Apollo Phanaios derives from the cult of Phanes, but he did not bring any evidence to support this theory. I began this study persuaded that I should be able to establish a connection between Apollo Phanaios and Phanes, but after long investigation I am obliged to admit that we do not have any conclusive evidence for it. All the relevant texts and arguments that I collected—which are far more numerous than those I have discussed—are vague and in any case insufficient to support any firm conclusion. My intention here has therefore been simply to pose the question and to open investigation for the future. The answer could eventually come from the sanctuary of Apollo Phanaios itself, if the excavations there could be completed.

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[17] Gruppe, op. cit. (n. 8) 544[1].

GREEK MANUSCRIPTS IN MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE CHIOS

R. BROWNING

A HANDWRITTEN book, even more than a printed book, can be studied in many different ways and be the object of many different disciplines. In the first place it is a physical object consisting of parchment or paper, ink of different colours, etc., arranged in a particular way. As such it belongs to the domain of codicology. And since its raw materials are themselves end-products of other human activities, it can provide information—and problems—for students of those activities; an example is the research on the composition of inks now being carried out in several centres. There is a sense in which the production of parchment books is a function of the consumption of meat, and that of early paper books a function of the use of linen garments. A handwritten book is also the vehicle of a text, and as such of interest to the philologist and the student of literature. It is a product of human labour, as scribes often remind us in their colophons; and that labour might have been devoted to the satisfaction of other needs. And it is a commodity, which can change hands through sale or inheritance or gift or theft or the forgetfulness which, in the Middle Ages as today, sometimes affects borrowers of books. These two features of the book bring it within the domain of the economic historian. Then it has an instrumental use, to fulfil a purpose such as the performance of the liturgy, the teaching of grammar, the casting of horoscopes, or the practice of medicine or law. Or it may contain illustrations which make it of interest to the historian of art. Lastly, it is a possession which its owner—individual or institution—may use to enhance his standing, or to make notes in the blank spaces which it offers, or to remove the original writing and replace it with another text, or for a multitude of other purposes.

Book production and book ownership in provincial or peripheral areas of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine world have been studied rather unevenly and scrappily. We know a great deal about South Italy,[1] quite a lot about Cyprus,[2] something about Mount Athos,[3] but lamentably little about other regions of the medieval Greek world.

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[1] Cf. *inter alios* R. Devreesse, *Les Manuscrits grecs de l'Italie méridionale* (Vatican City 1985); P. Canart, 'Le livre grec en Italie méridionale sous les règnes normand et souabe: aspects matériels et sociaux', *Scrittura e civiltà* 2 (1978) 103–62.

[2] Cf. J. Darrouzès, 'Manuscrits originaires de Chypre à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris', *Revue des études byzantines* 8 (1950) 162–96; id., 'Autres manuscrits originaires de Chypre', *Revue des études byzantines* 15 (1957) 131–68; P. Canart, 'Les écritures livresques chypriotes du milieu du XI^{e} siecle au milieu du XII^{e} et le style palestino-chypriote "epsilon"', *Scrittura e civiltà* 5 (1981) 17–75.

[3] Cf. J. Irigoin, 'Pour une étude des centres de copie byzantins', *Scriptorium* 13 (1959) 195–204; L. Polites, "*Ἁγιορεῖτες βιβλιογράφοι τοῦ 16ου αἰῶνα*", *Ἑλληνικά* 15 (1957) 355–84.

Lack of information often leads to proliferation of hypotheses. Some scholars speak of a *scriptorium* whenever they find two manuscripts written in the same place within a single lifetime, though what they mean by that term is often far from clear. It is always well to remember that books could be written by professional calligraphers, who might be laymen or monks, by monks who made no pretensions to calligraphy, by scholars, teachers, and other professional men for their own use,[4] by the humble schoolmaster or notary (*ταβουλάριος*) as a sideline, and by learned ladies.[5] The range of those who might own or read books was even wider. In the Greek world literacy was never the preserve of the clergy, nor did the literate form an order in Greek society as they sometimes did in the Latin west.

The present paper aims to examine what can be learnt from a few manuscripts which we know to have been written in Chios or to have belonged to Chiote owners. The list of such manuscripts cannot be exhaustive. We do not yet possess an up-to-date catalogue of identifiable copyists and the manuscripts attributable to them. In any case most Greek manuscript books are anonymous and will doubtless remain so. Greek scribes—unlike their more voluble Armenian counterparts—rarely tell us much about themselves or about the time and place of their work. We must bear in mind too that for every Greek book which survives today, there are probably hundreds which have perished. We can see only the tip of an iceberg, whose true dimensions and form escape our understanding.

We have no direct evidence for books in Chios before the eleventh century. In the early Byzantine period conditions were not favourable for the conservation and development of high culture. The island was ravaged by the Arabs in the seventh century. Thereafter it became a naval base, and later the capital of a theme or province whose *raison d'être* was primarily defensive.[6] From the early ninth century it was once again open to attack by Arab warships from Crete. Later in the tenth century it was a place of exile. Yet there must have been both monasteries and schools on the island, as well as government offices. All these need books. The seventh-century doctor, Paul of Aegina, observes that in the cities of his time *τῶν βιβλίων ἄφθονός ἐστιν εὐπορία*.[7] Things may have got worse later, but books formed part of the ambience of urban life through the most sombre 'dark age', even if they were only liturgical books and schoolbooks. And the city of Chios was never a mere garrison town. The Arab geographer Idrīsī (*c.* 1154) reports that the island of Chios is full of people and has a fine capital city.[8]

Be that as it may, a new epoch begins with the foundation of the Nea Mone by Constantine IX Monomachos in the middle of the eleventh century. A large and well-endowed monastery often provided copies of liturgical and other books not only for its own use, but also for that of other monasteries. It is probably this role that is reflected in two manuscripts copied in 1182 by *Γεράσιμος καθηγούμενος καὶ ἀρχιμανδρίτης τῆς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Χίῳ Νέας Μονῆς*, the earliest surviving books known to have been written in Chios. They contain very similar collections of ascetic texts, in particular works of Anastasius the Sinaite, and can hardly have been both written for internal use in the Nea Mone.

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[4] Cf. N. G. Wilson, 'Scholarly Hands in the Middle Byzantine Period', *La paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris 1977) 221–39.

[5] e.g., Theodora Palaiologina Kantakouzena Raoulaina, who died in 1300. Cf. D. M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos* (Washington 1968) 16–18; S. Fassoulakis, *The Byzantine Family of Raoul-Ral(l)es* (Athens 1973) 25–7.

[6] Hélène Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* (Paris 1966) 86.

[7] Paulus Aegineta, ed. I. L. Heiberg (Corpus Medicorum Graecorum ix. 1; Berlin 1921) 3, l. 17.

[8] Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-Muštāq* (ed. Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, Naples and Rome 1975) 641.

One is now in the Library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem,[9] its twin in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, to which it was presented by Oliver Cromwell as Chancellor of the University.[10] Gerasimos was evidently an experienced penman. Whether he acquired his skill in Chios or elsewhere we do not know.

The traffic was not all one-way. Books were written elsewhere for patrons in Chios. Thus in 1315/16 one *Ἰάκωβος ἱερομόναχος* copied a *New Testament* with some additional matter on Mount Sinai—probably in the Monastery of St Catherine—for the monastery *τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῆς Σπηλαιωτίσσης* in Chios. This monastery seems to be otherwise unknown. It may seem strange that a monastery on Chios should acquire a New Testament from so far away. But there had been much disturbance of life in Chios in the first decade of the fourteenth century. In 1303 the island was plundered by Roger de Flor's Catalan Company, and in 1305 by the Seljuk Emir of Aydin. In the same year Benedetto Zaccaria, who controlled the alum mines on the opposite mainland, seized Chios and inaugurated, albeit only temporarily, the long period of Genoese rule on the island. *Ἰάκωβος* may well have been a Chiote who fled his native island during those disturbed years. He writes an elegant and flowing, almost calligraphic, hand. The erasures in the colophon suggest that the manuscript later changed hands in an irregular manner and that the new owner wished to conceal all mention of his predecessor. This manuscript is interesting in that it was one of those collected by Richard Bentley for his proposed critical edition of the New Testament. Bentley probably obtained it, along with some others, from the Pantocrator monastery on Mount Athos. His nephew and heir, also called Richard Bentley, bequeathed it in 1786 to Trinity College, Cambridge, in whose library it is now preserved.[11] (Fig. 1)

The next book to which I should like to draw attention is a *Tetrevangelion* and *Praxapostolos*—or New Testament arranged for liturgical reading—copied in the year 1282.[12] (Fig. 2) We do not know where it was written; but it was certainly in Chios by 1389, when an owner wrote on a blank page at the end an account of the damage caused in the town by an earthquake. His long note provides interesting topographical and historical information on Chios in the early stages of Genoese rule. The evidence which it contains on Jewish residents in the citadel has been overlooked in recent studies of the Jewish community of Chios,[13] and the list of churches includes several not mentioned by Balard in his study of Genoese Chios. The manuscript now forms part of the Ottoboni collection in the Vatican Library.

The writer of the note on the earthquake was probably an Orthodox clergyman. But there were plenty of literate Greek laymen in Chios at this period. The Genoese archives mention Greek notaries in 1381 and 1408,[14] as well as a Greek 'scriba', Leon Vlastarches. In 1394 two members of the Greek family of Argenti are found administering the estate of a Genoese citizen,[15] and later members of the Schilizzi, Coressi, Agelasto, and Vestarchi families are recorded in positions which imply full literacy, if not learning.[16] As well as these members of the former aristocracy of the island, humbler Greeks also exercised functions calling for literacy, such as the four bankers Criti Cavalli, Theodore Sirichari, Criti Sepsi, and Theodore Calocetus.[17]

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[9] Cod, Hierosol. Patr. 57.

[10] Cod. Oxon. Cromwell 7.

[11] Cod. Cantab. Coll. Trin. B. 10. 16.

[12] Cod. Vat. Ottob. gr. 381.

[13] D. Jacoby, 'The Jews in Chios under Genoese Rule (1346–1566)', *Zion. A Quarterly for Research in Jewish History* (1960) 180–97; R. Balard, *La Romanie génoise* (Genoa and Rome 1978) 224, 281–2, 313, 350.

[14] Balard, op. cit. 269.

[15] Ibid., 316.

[16] Ibid., 275–6.

[17] Ibid., 276.

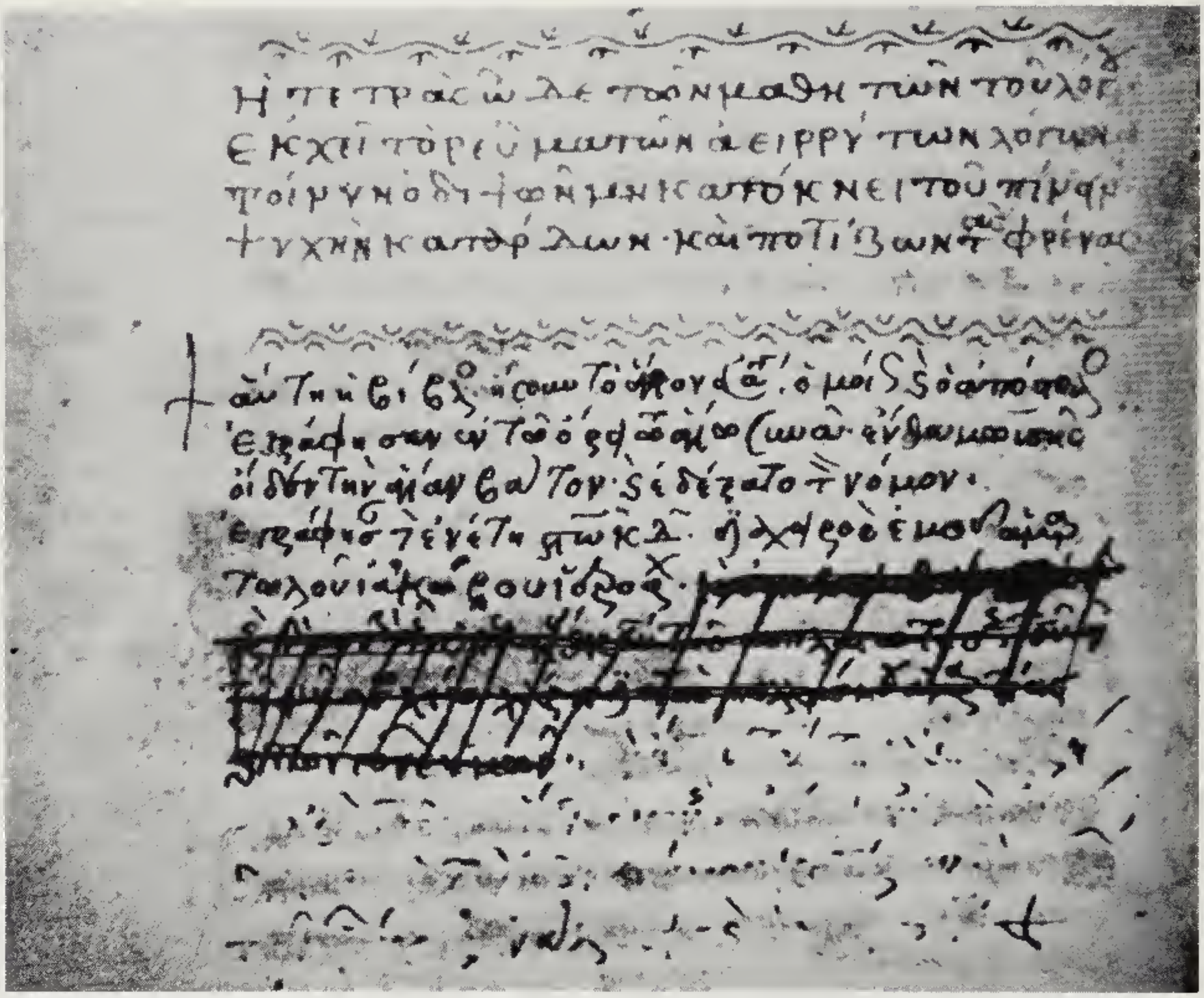

Fig. 1. Cod. Cantab. Coll. Trin. B. 10. 16; New Testament; 1315/16. Colophon on fol. 160^v by hieromonk Iakovos. An attempt has been made to erase the mention of the monastery on Chios for which the manuscript was written.

So it is no surprise to find manuscripts of classical Greek literature in Chios, whether or not they were written there. A copy of the Byzantine select plays of Sophocles and Euripides, in the so-called Moschopulean recension, with scholia and interlinear glosses, was bought in Chios on 21 April 1413 by the Sicilian Giovanni Aurispa, a pupil of Manuel Chrysoloras: in 1417 he sold it to Niccolò de' Niccoli, the learned Chancellor of Florence.[18] In Florence the manuscript remained, and is today in the Laurentian Library.[19] (Fig. 3) It is a schoolbook, no doubt used in Chios for teaching 'grammar'. It seems to be the earliest identifiable manuscript of Attic tragedy to reach western Europe.[20]

The indefatigable traveller and collector Cyriac of Ancona, 'the Schliemann of the Renaissance', brought manuscripts from Chios to Italy in the first half of the fifteenth

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[18] R. Sabbadini, *Carteggio di Giovanni Aurispa* (Rome 1931) 3–4; id., *Biografia documentata di Giovanni Aurispa* (Noto 1891) 11.

[19] Cod. Laur. Conv. Sopp. 71.

[20] R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge 1954) 497, 504.

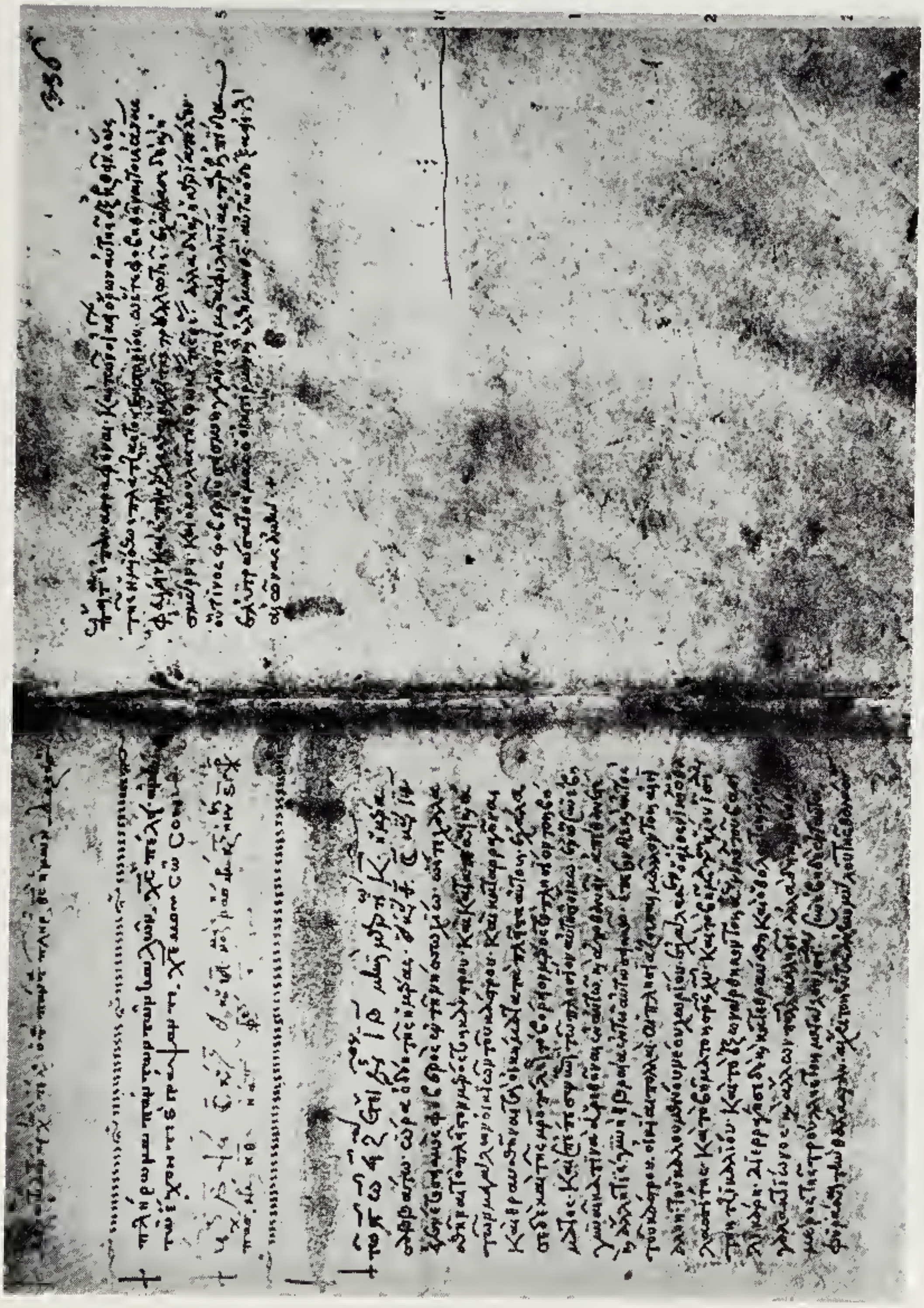

Fig. 2. Cod. Vat. Ottob. gr. 381; *Tetrevangelion* and *Praxapostolos*, 1282. Note on fols. 335^v–336^r describing earthquake in Chios on 20 Mar. 1389.

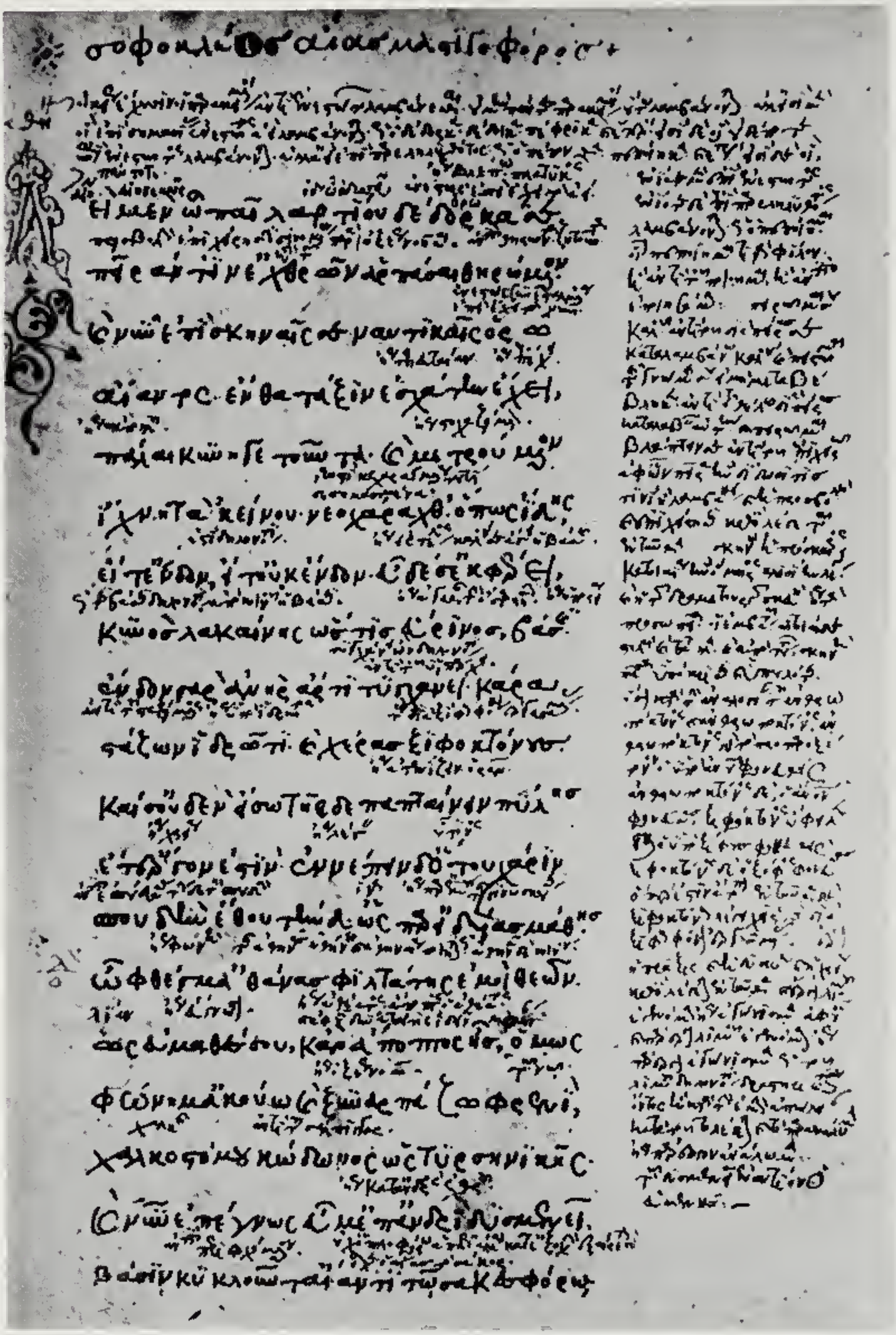

Fig. 3. Cod. Laur. Conv. Sopp. 71; Sophocles and Euripides; s. xiv. Bought in Chios by Giovanni Aurispa on 21 Apr. 1413. Fol. 8ʳ, beginning of *Ajax*, with scholia and interlinear glosses.

century.[21] But as his *Commentaria* were never published and survive only in fragments, none of them can now be identified.

As we move into the High Renaissance, manuscripts with Chian connections become more frequent. Sometimes they throw a surprising light on the range of literary culture on the island. A manuscript, now in the University Library in Leiden, and probably written in Italy in the second half of the fifteenth century, contains the Orphic *Argonautica* and *Hymns*, the *Hymns* of Proclus, most of the *Homeric Hymns*, Moschos' *Europa*, and the *Hero and Leander* of Musaeus.[22] A note on fol. 111$^{\text{v}}$ in a sixteenth-century hand reads τῆς ἁγίας μονῆς Χίου.[23] The reference is probably to the Nea Mone. The texts are not those normally read in school, and they have distinct pagan overtones. The book is in more ways than one an unlikely one to find a place on the shelves of a monastic library.

Several scribes born in Chios or working there are known during the sixteenth century. One was the monk Ἰσίδωρος, whose κοσμικὸν ὄνομα was Ἰγνάτιος.[24] A number of books from his hand survive, all of religious interest, and written between 1597 and 1619, e.g. a copy of some works of George Scholarios, copied in Chios and now in the library of the monastery of Dionysiou on Mount Athos. Another was a certain Demetrios, no doubt also a monk who copied a *Sticherarion* in Chios in the sixteenth century.[25]

Much more important than these are two laymen who made their living as copyists and eventually migrated to the west. Ἰάκωβος Διασωρινός[26] was a native of Rhodes, who may have left his native island after its conquest by the Turks in 1522. He studied in Chios under Hermodoros Lestarchos, on whom see below, and in 1541 copied there a manuscript of the *Hexabiblos* of Constantine Harmenopoulos, which now forms part of the Coislin collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.[27] The Ioannes Diasorinos who was cosignatory of a letter by Γρηγόριος ἱερομόναχος, πρώην ἡγούμενος and διδάσκαλος τοῦ Φροντιστηρίου in Chios to Leon Allatios in 1654 is probably a kinsman of his. By 1543 Iakobos Diasorinos was copying manuscripts in Venice. Later he became librarian at Fontainebleau, colleague and collaborator of Constantine Palaiokappa, and worked with Angelos Vergikios on the catalogue of the Fontainebleau Greek manuscripts. He copied books for Philip II of Spain and for several French patrons, and corresponded with Philip Melanchthon in Wittenberg and with Patriarch Ioasaph II in Constantinople, who had Lutheran leanings.[28] A man of some resource, he is probably the author of the spurious twentieth book of the Epitome of the καθολικὴ προσῳδία of Herodian.[29] At some time, presumably fairly early, in his western career he served as commander of a Greek cavalry squadron in the French and Italian campaigns of the emperor Charles V. Suddenly, from 1561, we find him working as a schoolmaster and doctor in Nicosia in Cyprus. The reason for his migration is wrapped in mystery. He fell under the suspicion of the Venetian authorities on the island, and was hanged by them in 1563 on a charge of conspiracy to revolt. Well over twenty manuscripts from his hand have been identified. There is clearly much more to Diasorinos than meets the eye. His life merits further study.

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[21] R. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici greci e latini ne' secoli XIV e XV* (Florence 1967, repr.) I 69.

[22] Cod. Leid. Bibl. Univ. BPG 74c.

[23] P. Eleuteri, *Storia della tradizione manoscritta di Museo* (Pisa 1981) 11. 40 n. 43.

[24] M. Vogel and V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig 1909) 164; K. I. Amantos, *Τὰ γράμματα εἰς τὴν Χίον κατὰ τὴν τουρκοκρατίαν 1566–1822* (Athens, 1976) 217–18.

[25] Cod. Athon. Iviron 5125.

[26] Vogel–Gardthausen, op. cit. 152–4; E. Gamillscheg and D. Harlfinger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600, 1. Teil: Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Großbritanniens* (Vienna 1981) 89–90.

[27] Cod. Paris. Coislin. gr. 153, 154.

[28] S. Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity* (Cambridge 1968) 243, 246–7.

[29] Cf. Christ–Schmid–Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* II. 2 (Munich 1924) 1078–9.

'Ιωάννης Εὐριππιώτης[30] was a Chiote by birth. He describes himself as priest and *γραμματεύς*; the latter word probably means no more than 'copyist'. It was in Chios that he copied in 1547 a manuscript of Andrew of Caesarea's Commentary on the *Apocalypse*, now in the Vatican Library,[31] and in 1576 a manuscript of Gregory of Nyssa, now in the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels.[32] It is a reasonable supposition that it was also in Chios that he wrote a patristic miscellany, now in Lincoln College, Oxford.[33] By 1580 he had migrated to the west. He copied a manuscript of Euclid and Ptolemy's *Harmonics* in Messina in that year.[34] By 1585 he was in Ancona, where he made a copy of Matthaios Blastares' *Syntagma*.[35] If he is to be identified with the *'Ιωάννης Εὐριππιώτης τάχα καὶ γραμματεύς* who in 1544 copied the Acts of the Apostles, now in the Monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai, he had a remarkably long career as a copyist.

Diasorinos and Eurippiotes were humble figures on the Renaissance stage, though their work as disseminators of Greek texts retained its importance long after the introduction of printing. However Chios produced stars as well as bit players. Michael Sophianos[36] was born in Chios, son of a Constantinopolitan father and a Chiote mother. Shortly after the middle of the sixteenth century he became professor of Greek at Padua, where he had probably studied. Respected in the world of the Italian humanists, he became a close friend of Pier Vettori, Castelvetro, and Pinelli. He helped Francesco Robortello with his edition of Aeschylus, and made useful conjectures in the text not only of Aeschylus, but also of Aristotle's *Poetics*, Apollonius Dyscolus, etc. Sophianos was a diplomat as well as a scholar, and acted as intermediary between Emanuele Filiberto, the ambitious Duke of Savoy, and Suleiman the Magnificent. In these negotiations he made use of the good offices of his kinsman Nikolaos Petrokokkinos in Constantinople. He died in 1565. Sophianos was a worthy representative of the last generation of Greek intellectual émigrés to Renaissance Italy, a man as passionately interested in the politics of his own age as they affected his fellow countrymen as he was in the heritage of ancient Greece. Several of his Greek letters survive in a London manuscript (BL Harley 5654, fols 25–32), while six of his Italian letters are preserved in the *carteggio* of Pier Vettori, also in London (BL Add, 10272 fols. 255–262^{v}). I hope to edit both sets of letters.

What is of importance for the present study is that Michael Sophianos amassed a collection of Greek manuscripts, which he left on his death to his nephew, the Chiote merchant Manuel Sophianos. In 1606 this collection was acquired by Cardinal Borromeo and brought from Chios to the Ambrosian Library in Milan,[37] where it is still preserved. The precise circumstances of its acquisition are not known. Of the thirty-eight manuscripts brought from Chios to Milan in 1606, twenty-two bear the name of Michael

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[30] Vogel–Gardthausen, op. cit. 171:; Gamillscheg–Harlfinger, op. cit. 96.

[31] Cod. Vat. Ottob. gr. 283.

[32] Cod Bruxell. gr. 18 (21836).

[33] Cod. Oxon. Coll. Lincoln. 3.

[34] Cod. Hierosol. 313; cf. Ch. G. Patrineles, "*"Ελληνες κωδικογράφοι τῶν χρόνων τῆς ἀναγεννήσεως*", *'Επετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ 'Αρχείου* 8/9 (1958/9) 85–6.

[35] Cod. Sinait. 2076; cf. Patrineles, loc. cit.

[36] Amantos, op. cit. (n. 24) 45–8; Ae. Martini and D. Bassi, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae* (Milan 1906) I, pp. xv–xvi.

[37] Cf. A. Ceruti, 'Biblioteca Ambrosiana', in *Gli istituti scientifici, letterari, ed artistici di Milano* (Memorie pubblicate per cura della Società storica lombarda in occasione del secondo Congresso Storico Italiano, Milan 1880) 105 n. 1.

Sophianos, fourteen that of Manuel Sophianos, and two that of Manuel's son or nephew Theodore. But there is little doubt that all belong to the library of Michael Sophianos.

The contents of the collection are worthy of attention. Poetry is represented only by a Homer[38] and a Sophocles[39]. There are two manuscripts of Demosthenes,[40] one of Aeschines,[41] two of Xenophon,[42] one of Isocrates,[43] one of Arrian,[44] three each of Plutarch[45] and Aelius Aristides.[46] Ptolemy is represented by the *Almagest*,[47] the *Harmonics*,[48] and the *Geography*.[49] There are several other mathematical texts, a few works on grammar and rhetoric, two Byzantine historians (Zonaras and Acropolites),[50] and some non-technical theology. The most noteworthy gap is philosophy—not a single work of Plato or Aristotle or the Neoplatonists. But we must remember that by Sophianos' time Plato and Aristotle had long been available in printed editions, Plotinus could be read in Marsilio Ficino's Latin translation since 1492, some of both Porphyry and Proclus had already been printed. The latest works in the collection are the *Dialogue with a Persian* of Manuel II[51] and a treatise by George Scholarios.[52] Most of Sophianos' manuscripts were written in the fifteenth century or later, but there are nine fourteenth-century books and two from the thirteenth century. He had older books too: an eleventh-century Sophocles, one of the copyists of which bore the typically Chiote name of Isidoros (he also wrote Paris. gr. 1750 in the Bibliothèque Nationale), two other eleventh-century books, a tenth-century copy of Aphthonius and Hermogenes, and a ninth-century Gregory of Nazianzus.

This library was apparently in Chios for forty years before and immediately after the end of the sixteenth century. It is unlikely that it remained unused during its long sojourn on the island. Philip Argenti dates the origin of the School of Chios to the days of the Genoese occupation.[53] Pachomios Rousanos taught in Chios in the thirties of the sixteenth century, and a number of his writings survive in manuscript.[54] Hermodoros Lestarchos from Zakynthos, a pupil of Janos Laskaris in the Hellenic College in Rome, who later studied medicine in Padua and taught Greek in Ferrara for a time, was established in Chios as a teacher before 1560. He had already visited the island on several occasions. During one of his early sojourns in Chios he taught Michael Sophianos, and remained in contact with him personally or by correspondence thereafter. Other pupils of Lestarchos included Iakovos Diasorinos, the adventurer Iakovos Basilikos, and Theodore Rentis. It is likely that his permanent settlement in Chios was in part due to the influence of Sophianos, and that Sophianos' decision to bequeath his books to his merchant cousin in Chios rather than to one of his Italian humanist colleagues was prompted by the presence there of his old teacher and friend.[55]

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[38] Cod. Ambros. E 29 sup.

[39] Cod. Ambros. H 105 sup.

[40] Cod. Ambros. G 60 sup., Z 129 sup.

[41] Cod. Ambros. E 87 sup.

[42] Cod. Ambros. P 121 sup., E 11 inf.

[43] Cod. Ambros. O 144 sup.

[44] Cod. Ambros. E 11 inf.

[45] Cod. Ambros. E 11 inf., A 151 sup., C 195 inf.

[46] Cod. Ambros. G 60 sup., A 175 sup., O 144 sup.

[47] Cod. Ambros. E 132 sup.

[48] Cod. Ambros. A 60 inf.

[49] Cod. Ambros. D 527 inf.

[50] Both in Cod, Ambros. G 73 sup., Zonaras alone in Cod. Ambros. Q 92 sup.

[51] Cod. Ambros. L 74 sup.

[52] Cod. Ambros. E 65 sup.

[53] P. Argenti, *Chios Vincta, 1566* (Cambridge 1941), pp. ccxvi–ccxviii.

[54] K. I. Amantos, "*Παχώμιος Ρουσάνος*". *Νέα Ἑστία* 2 (1927) 1061–4; I. N. Karmires, *Ὁ Παχώμιος Ρουσάνος καὶ τὰ ἀνέκδοτα δογματικὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἔργα αὐτοῦ* (Athens 1935); O. Lampsides, "*Ὁ Παχωμίος Ρουσάνος καὶ ὁ βίος τῶν συγχρόνων του*", *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν σπουδῶν* 13 (1937) 385–92.

[55] On Lestarchos cf. most recently Ph. K. Bouboulides, *Ἕλληνες μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν, Α' Μιχαὴλ ἤ Ἑρμόδωρος Λήσταρχος* (Athens 1959).

Whatever his Chiote fellow-citizens did with Michael Sophianos' library, they did not exhaust its resources. Among the still unpublished texts which it contained may be mentioned an anonymous commentary on the *Ἀριθμητικὴ εἰσαγωγή* of Nicomachus of Gerasa.[56] It was copied about 1300 by Arsenios, Metropolitan of Pergamum, and is an interesting reminder of the resurgence of mathematical studies in Byzantine circles at the end of the thirteenth and the early fourteenth century.

With the spread of printing the status of the handwritten book declined until little was left beyond copies of schoolbooks and lecture-notes passed from student to student. But this process was slower in the Greek east than in the Latin west. The first printing-press was not set up in the Ottoman empire till the Patriarchate of Cyril Loukaris, and did not long survive his execution by the Turkish authorities in 1638. In Chios scholars long continued to circulate their works in manuscript copies. George Koressios,[57] a Chiote who studied in Padua and taught Greek in Pisa (where he was a colleague of Galileo), Livorno, and perhaps Marseilles, returned to Chios in the 1620s, to practise medicine and teach in a school attached to the monastery of the *Ἅγιοι Ἀνάργυροι*.[58] There survive in autograph manuscripts and handwritten copies many of the works on medical, scientific, philosophical, and religious topics which he wrote in Chios. They included commentaries on Aristotle's *Physics*, *De Anima*, and *De Caelo*.[59]

Koressios' works enjoyed particular esteem in the princely academies of Bucharest and Jassy. Alexander of Tyrnavos, professor in the Bucharest academy, composed a panegyric on Koressios towards the middle of the eighteenth century.[60] This is an example of the role which Chiote writers and their works played in the dissemination and development of Greek culture in the Danubian Principalities. *Ἰγνάτιος Πετρίτζης* of Chios was cofounder and professor of Greek at the school of Tîrgoviste, founded in 1646, the forerunner of the Bucharest academy.[61] The Chiote doctor *Πανταλέων Καλλιάρχης*,[62] after studying in the Greek College of St Athanasius in Rome, and possibly also in Padua, became court physician to Prince John Constantine Băsarab by 1692, a post which he held till his death in 1725. He returned at least once to Chios. His medical notes, which suggest that he taught as well as practised medicine in Wallachia, are preserved in the Library of the Romanian Academy. In 1702 his *Ἀκολουθία τῆς ὁσίας Ματρώνης τῆς Χιοπολίτιδος* was printed in Bucharest. Another Chiote, *Ἀντώνιος Κοραῆς*,[63] also a former student of the Papal College, spent some time at the Wallachian court in the early eighteenth century, and may have taught in the Academy. His Ode to D'Aguesseau was published in Paris in 1702; the only known copy contains two autograph epigrams on the monastery of the Virgin at Cotroseni.

Theodore Photeinos[64] of Chios wrote in 1795 an *Ἱστορία τῆς Δακίας*, which circulated in manuscript copies throughout the Danubian countries. At the formal reopening of the

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[56] Cod. Ambros. H 58 sup.

[57] Amantos, op. cit. (n. 24) 81–3; id., "*Γεώργιος Κορέσσιος*", *Ἀθηνᾶ* 46 (1935) 191–204.

[58] On the School of the Anargyroi cf. P. G. Zerlentis, "*Περὶ τῶν ἐν Χίῳ φροντιστηρίων*", *Ἀθηνᾶ* 29 (1917) 231.

[59] For a provisional list of Koressios' unpublished works cf. E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique du XVII*^{e} *siècle* 3, 263–9.

[60] Ariadna Camariano-Cioran, *Les Académies princières de Bucarest et de Jassy et leurs professeurs* (Thessaloniki 1974) 388–93.

[61] Camariano-Cioran, op. cit. 21:; A. E. Karathanasis, *Οἱ Ἕλληνες λόγιοι στὴ Βλαχία* (1670–1714) (Thessalonica 1982) 25–6, 61–2.

[62] Karathanasis, op. cit. 196–8, where references to earlier literature will be found.

[63] G. I. Zolotas, *Ἱστορία τῆς Χίου, Γ', μέρος Α'* (Athens 1926) 487, 500–2; Karathanasis, op. cit. 198–9.

[64] Camariano-Cioran, op. cit. 242, 334, 344.

Bucharest Academy in February 1818, Beniamin Lesvios, the Director of the Academy, held up Chios as an example to be followed in the provision for education in the Principalities. 'To think that a small island like Chios', he said, 'has so many distinguished professors, so many learned books, so much scientific apparatus, while in all Dacia none of these are to be found'.[65] Behind this eulogy of Chios in distant Bucharest lay nearly two centuries of intellectual contact, maintained not only by Chiote scholars who taught beyond the Danube, but also by the countless handwritten books that made their way from Chios to Tîrgovisste, Bucharest, and Jassy, and so played no ignoble part in the developing culture of the whole Balkan region.[66]

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[65] Ibid. 71–3, 525–41.

[66] Ibid. 356–62.

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM CHIOS TO THE CLASSICAL REVIVAL

C. M. WOODHOUSE

PROFESSOR K. I. AMANTOS wrote at the beginning of his book on Letters in Chios during Turkish rule that 'in the period 1346–1566 [that is to say, the period of Genoese occupation] only a few Chiote scholars are recorded, and these outside Chios'.[1] He mentions only three by name, all of them in the sixteenth century. It is only in the seventeenth century that we come upon a Chiote scholar, Leon Allatios, with a first-class reputation throughout Europe.

Nevertheless even at a much earlier period Chios made a contribution to the revival of classical scholarship in western Europe. This was an indirect result of the interest of Italian humanists in Greek literature and history, which was a striking feature of what we call the European Renaissance in the first half of the fifteenth century.

Until the last years of the fourteenth century Greek was almost an unknown language in western Europe. Very few westerners knew anything of Greek literature except in Latin translation. Petrarch, for example, a great scholar as well as a great poet in fourteenth-century Italy, possessed a manuscript of Homer but could not read a word of it. But when interest in Greek studies revived, it was naturally the Italians who took the initiative, since much of the Greek mainland and many of the Greek islands were under Italian control, whether politically or economically or ecclesiastically.

Chios in particular, under its cultivated rulers of Genoese origin, was a natural starting-point for Italian travellers in quest of Greek antiquities or Greek manuscripts. It is with four of these early travellers that I am concerned: Guarino of Verona, Giovanni Aurispa, Cristoforo Buondelmonti, and Ciriaco of Ancona (known in Greek as *Κυριακὸς ὁ Ἀγκωνιεύς*).

Guarino and Aurispa were the oldest of these four. They were born within a few years of each other, between 1370 and 1376. Their careers followed much the same course. Both travelled in the eastern Mediterranean and collected Greek manuscripts; both learned Greek and taught the language in various Italian cities; both acted as interpreters at the Council of Union, which was held at Ferrara and Florence in 1438–9, to reconcile the Orthodox and Catholic Churches; and in particular both spent some time in Chios.

The date of Guarino's visit to Chios is uncertain, but it must have been before 1408, when he returned to Italy from his early travels with a collection of manuscripts. A letter from an unidentified writer speaks of 'the official post which he exercised with distinction in the celebrated island of Chios in the Aegean';[2] so his visit was evidently not a short one. He became a personal friend of Gabriele Racanelli, a leading member of the *Maona* which controlled Chios. Racanelli was Governor of the island at the time of Guarino's visit.

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[1] K. I. Amantos, *Τὰ γράμματα εἰς τὴν Χίον κατὰ τὴν Τουρκοκρατίαν, 1566–1822* (Athens 1976) 5: "*Κατὰ τὸ διάστημα* 1346–1566 *ἀναφέρονται ὀλίγοι μόνον Χῖοι λόγιοι καὶ οὗτοι ἐκτὸς τῆς Χίου.*"

As a result of this friendship Guarino was able to write to an Italian friend in 1418 that Gabriele Racanelli would give him hospitality 'in a house he owns, which I know personally'.[3] In another letter, also written in 1418, Guarino spoke warmly of Racanelli as 'one of the lords of Chios, the most famous island of the Cyclades, . . . who is also devoted to literary studies and gives the greatest encouragement to intellectuals'.[4] So it is reasonable to suppose that Racanelli helped Guarino in his quest for Greek manuscripts, though unfortunately it is not possible to identify any particular manuscript which Guarino found in Chios.

Rather more is known about the success of Aurispa, Guarino's contemporary. Aurispa was the keenest of all the Italian collectors of Greek manuscripts. His chief claim to fame is that in 1423 he brought back 238 manuscripts from the eastern Mediterranean, including all the surviving works of Plato, most of which had been unknown to scholars in the West for over a thousand years. But I am concerned now with an earlier visit by Aurispa to the Aegean, for it was in 1413 that he first set foot in Chios.

Like Guarino, Aurispa probably stayed for some time in Chios, and held an official position.[5] He also made the acquaintance of the Racanelli family. One of his Latin epigrams is addressed to Pietro Racanelli, a nephew of Guarino's friend Gabriele.[6] Since Pietro was only a child at the date of the epigram, it is possible that Aurispa acted as tutor to the family. There is a more interesting event, however, in Aurispa's stay in Chios. This was his discovery of a manuscript containing the surviving plays of both Sophocles and Euripides.

The event is commemorated in another epigram by Aurispa.[7] It is composed of ten hexameters in Latin. They are not very good hexameters: one of them actually has seven feet. But the epigram has the great merit of giving the exact date of the acquisition by Aurispa of the manuscript of Sophocles and Euripides. The last four lines read as follows:

> It happened that charming Chios gave me, Aurispa, hospitality when I wrote these verses. It was on the day when, from the accomplishment of the death of Christ, Titan (the Sun) had completed one thousand four hundred years, let five and eight be added.

If we do the arithmetic of that calculation, the result is that the manuscript was purchased on Good Friday, 21 April 1413.

This manuscript eventually passed into the collection of Cosimo de' Medici, probably through the hands of Niccolò Niccoli, who was an enthusiastic collector of manuscripts at Florence, and a personal friend of Guarino, Aurispa, and the Medici family. Today it is to be found in the Library which was established in Florence by Lorenzo the Magnificent, the grandson of Cosimo de' Medici.[8]

Not long after Aurispa, another Italian came to Chios in quest of manuscripts and antiquities. This was Cristoforo Buondelmonti, a priest and monk descended from an aristocratic family of Florence. The manuscripts which he collected in the eastern Mediterranean are also to be found in the same Laurentian Library at Florence, but unfortunately none of them can be positively identified as coming from Chios. It is certain, however, that he visited Chios between 1414 and 1422, for he wrote an account of the island and drew the earliest known map of Chios. Two versions of his map still survive, one in the British Museum, dated 1422, and one probably earlier, in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.[9]

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[2] R. Sabbadini, *Epistolario di Guarino* (Venice 1915) III 87.

[3] Ibid. I. 209.

[4] Ibid. I. 211.

[5] Sabbadini, *Carteggio di Giovanni Aurispa* (Rome 1931), pp. xii–xiii.

[6] C. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romaines* (Berlin 1873) 513.

[7] Sabbadini, op. cit. (n. 5), 3–4, and frontispiece; also on the date.

[8] Cod. Laur. *Conventi soppressi* 71; see Sabbadini, op. cit. (n. 5) 4. Illustrated here with Professor Browning's article, Fig. 3.

Buondelmonti's account of Chios was written in Latin. The autograph does not survive, but there are several manuscript copies in Latin and one manuscript in Greek translation, which is at Constantinople.[10] Buondelmonti has a good deal to say about the topography of Chios, but not much about the island's history. He had visited most of the harbours and many of the villages, churches, and monasteries. Among the villages he knew was Kardamyla, and among the monasteries the Nea Mone, which he found occupied by more than thirty monks. Possibly he stayed there himself, for he mentions that the monks gave hospitality to all travellers free of charge. Another feature of Chios which impressed him was the great expanse of *μαστιχιές*, which he recognized as the basis of the island's economy.

He was less impressed when he was shown the tomb of Homer, which was, in his own words, 'ruined by reason of its extreme antiquity'. He even seemed sceptical about its authenticity, for he added: 'I have nothing truthful to say about it, and for that reason I leave it to those who come after me to investigate it'.

The only other reference Buondelmonti made to Chios in antiquity is a quotation from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.[11] He thought that Ovid described how Theseus, returning from Crete to Athens with Ariadne, abandoned her on Chios. But he had misread the Latin manuscript. What Ovid wrote was not 'Chion', as he thought, but 'Diam'—in other words, the 'divine island', which was the ancient name for Naxos. It is surprising that after years of travel in the Aegean, Buondelmonti failed to observe that Chios could not possibly lie on the route from Crete to Athens, as Naxos did.

Buondelmonti makes other mistakes both in mythology and in geography. In his defence, his French editor, Émile Legrand, points out that he was a pioneer.[12] No western European before him had written such a travel-book about Greece, which describes more than fifty islands and many mainland sites as well. Nevertheless he suffers by comparison with the fourth and last of my Italian visitors to Chios, who came not long after him. This was Ciriaco Pizzicolli, usually known as Ciriaco or Cyriac of Ancona.

Ciriaco is certainly the most famous of the Italian travellers in the eastern Mediterranean, because he made so many journeys, visited so many different places, and described them so vividly. He made at least five journeys to the Near East between 1412 and 1452, partly on business and partly in quest of antiquities, especially inscriptions. He was equally familiar with the Greek islands, the Peloponnese, and with Constantinople. In fact we hear of him for the last time in the camp of the Sultan

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[9] P. Argenti, *Bibliography of Chios* (Oxford 1940) 805.

[10] Latin text in G. R. L. de Sinner, *Christoph. Bondelmontii Florentini, Librum Insularum Archipelagi* (Leipzig and Berlin 1824), 111–14; Greek text in E. Legrand, *Description des Iles de l'Archipel par Christophe Buondelmonti* (Paris 1897) 74–6; French tr., ibid. 230–3.

[11] Ovid, *Met.* 8. 174–9.

[12] Legrand, op. cit. (n. 10), p. xxix.

Mehmet II, the Conqueror, outside Constantinople.[13] But it is with his two visits to Athens and three to Chios that I am chiefly concerned.

Ciriaco's first visit to Chios was made in 1425, when he used the island as a base from which to make trips to other parts of the Aegean. It was in Chios that he acquired his first Greek manuscript, a copy of the New Testament which cost him 20 gold pieces.[14] He was helped in the negotiation of its purchase by a member of the ruling family, Andreolo Giustiniani, whom Ciriaco described in his diary as 'a collector of relics of antiquity and of important Greek inscriptions'.[15] This manuscript of the *New Testament* is unfortunately lost, and no other manuscript is specifically known to have been found by Ciriaco in Chios. But while he was there he made sketches of statues, coins, and gems; and he also studied Greek by reading Homer.

His second visit to Chios, in 1431, seems not to have been so productive, but his third, in 1444, was very interesting. In the interval he had broadened his knowledge of the Greek world in many directions. He had visited Mistra in the Peloponnese in 1437, and there become acquainted with the Neoplatonist philosopher George Gemistos, who later called himself Plethon.[16] He had been present at the Council of Union in Florence in 1439, and there become acquainted with the Pope, Eugenius IV, and the Byzantine Emperor, John VIII Palaiologos.[17] Most interesting of all, he had made two visits to Athens, one in 1436 and one early in 1444, a few weeks before his third and last visit to Chios.

During both his visits to Athens, Ciriaco wrote accounts of what he had seen, including of course the buildings on the Acropolis. He was in fact the first writer in Latin for a thousand years to call the Acropolis by that name, instead of using the usual Latin name of *Castrum*.[18] On each occasion also he made a drawing of the Parthenon. His earlier drawing, made in 1436, still survives. The later drawing, made in 1444, survives only in a copy made by an Italian architect about half a century later. Neither of them is perfectly accurate in all respects, but they have the great advantage of being the oldest drawings of the Parthenon in existence, dating from before the visitations of Count Königsmark and the Earl of Elgin.

My special reason for mentioning Ciriaco's visits to Athens, however, is that after his second visit in February 1444 his next port of call was Chios. It was in Chios, on 29 March 1444, that he wrote his second description of the sights of Athens, in a letter to his old friend Andreolo Giustiniani.[19] In this letter he described not only the Parthenon but also the Propylaea, which at that date had been converted into a palace for the Florentine Dukes of Athens; and also the Tower of the Winds and the Hephaesteum, which was then known as the Theseum.

During his last stay in Chios, Ciriaco corresponded with other eminent friends, including Pope Eugenius and the Emperor John. He then set out on a leisurely journey back to Italy through mainland Greece, where he visited Gemistos Plethon at Mistra for the second time. Among others whom he met at Mistra in 1447 were the Emperor's brother Constantine Palaiologos, who was to succeed John a year later as the last

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[13] E. W. Brodnar, *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens* (Brussels and Berchem 1960) 19.

[14] Bodnar, op. cit. 22.

[15] G. B. De Rossi, *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores* (Rome 1888) II 357–8.

[16] L. Bertalot and A. Campana, 'Gli scritti di Iacopo Zeno e il suo elogio di Ciriaco d'Ancona', *La Bibliofilia* 41, (1939) 374.

[17] De Rossi, op. cit. (n. 15), II 364–5.

[18] Bodnar, op. cit. (n. 13) 52 n. 1.

[19] Ibid., 51–3.

Emperor; and also a young pupil of Plethon's called Laonikos Chalkokondylis, who was to be the last of the great Byzantine historians.[20] It was fortunate for western Europe that such a man as Ciriaco of Ancona should have taken so keen an interest in Greece just in time before the dark age began in 1453.

It seems clear, in conclusion, that to all four of these travellers—Guarino, Aurispa, Buondelmonti, Ciriaco—Chios was of special interest for at least three reasons. The first reason lay in what they could find and see there: buildings, inscriptions, manuscripts, and other relics of antiquity. The second reason lay in the intellectual and antiquarian interests of the Genoese families which ruled the island. The third lay in the geographical position of Chios, which made it a convenient base for trips to other parts of the Aegean. In all these respects Chios made a useful, if indirect, contribution to the revival of Hellenic studies which was beginning in the West. But the third reason—the position of Chios on the map—was probably the most important in attracting the Italians. To confirm this, it is only necessary to point out that Chios is the only Aegean island which we know for certain to have been on the itinerary of all four of the travellers whom I have discussed.

[20] Ibid., 58.

CLASSICAL THEMES IN MODERN CHIAN POPULAR POETRY[*]

N. J. RICHARDSON

THE title of this paper begs some fundamental questions. It would be misleading to talk of Chian popular songs, if one meant to suggest that there is a special local tradition which differs from that of the rest of Greece. A few songs do have local historical connections, but many are found in variant forms in many other parts of Greece. Secondly, it would be misleading to speak of classical themes if this suggested that such themes derive directly from ancient Greek literature. Some may do so. Others may derive indirectly, through later European poetry. But in other cases it may be rather a question of a striking parallelism of thought or expression, which is not due to influence at all, but simply to the fact that in a similar environment the same themes tend to occur. This could be the result of the underlying continuity of certain aspects of Greek life, or (for example) of the unchanging character of the natural setting which is its background.

Modern scholars have classified Greek folk-songs into a series of types. It is important to remember that these classifications are artificial and do not necessarily reflect the way in which the songs are viewed by those who sing them. In fact, similar themes and forms of expression tend to recur in different types of song. However, there is some convenience in a classification of this kind, and it is striking to discover how many of the 'types' which are found in Chios and elsewhere also occurred in antiquity. An obvious example is the lament, whose development has been traced, from Homer through to the present day, by Margaret Alexiou in her book *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (Cambridge 1974). At other stages of life we find lullabies, children's songs, love-songs, wedding-songs, and work-songs (e.g. for harvesters, sheep-shearers, weavers, and fishermen). Among love songs we can, if we like, find many subgroups which have classical parallels: the so-called *παρακλαυσίθυρον*, sung by the lover outside the house of his girl (e.g. K. 198, A. 677); the theme of the 'teacher of the art of love' (A. 702, 746 ff.); dialogues between a boy and girl, sometimes teasing or abusive (K. 57, A. 740–1, 786–9); instructions from a lover to his girl about his death and funeral (A. 742–5); songs of love-magic (K. 32–4); etc.

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[*] I should like to thank Mary Coulton most warmly for her advice on a draft of this paper, and also Professor Robert Browning, Sir Kenneth Dover, and Mr John Petropoulos for their helpful comments and discussion.

The Chian songs considered here are drawn mainly from two collections, in the *Χιακὰ Ἀνάλεκτα* by Constantine Kanellakis (Athens 1890), and *The Folklore of Chios* by Philip Argenti and H. J. Rose (Cambridge 1949). These are referred to as K. and A. respectively, with page-numbers; translations of A. songs are by Argenti and Rose.

A number of songs from Chios are also collected by H. Pernot in *Mélodies populaires grecques de l'île de Chio* (Paris 1903). See also the works cited in P. Argenti, *Bibliography of Chios* (Oxford 1940) 516–24.

Shepherds tend to have their own songs, as they evidently did in ancient times. There are also, of course, many dance-songs, some in shorter lyric verses, some in fifteen-syllable lines.

Then we find popular songs associated with particular festivals (for example New Year's Day, Carnival), and some of these have classical analogues, such as the begging songs for the days of St Basil or St Lazarus. The most famous is the Rhodian 'swallow-song' (*χελιδόνισμα*), which really does seem to have survived in a very similar form from antiquity right down to recent times.[1] There are also narrative poems about the Virgin's lament and search for Christ at his death, which suggest comparisons with ancient songs about Demeter's search for her daughter, or (possibly) the death of Adonis.[2] A specifically local tradition is that of songs about the life and death of St Markella, a Chian saint (A. 820–3).

Related to these narrative poems are a number of ballads about 'heroic' figures, which tend to recur throughout Greece, and a few commemorating local historical events (the earthquake in Chios of 1881, K. 77–9; the liberation from the Turks in 1913, A. 688–91). These go on reusing similar motifs and formulae for different events throughout the centuries.

Finally we should remember the use of poetry for divination, as in the couplets called *κλήδονας*. These ultimately derive from the ancient use of chance utterances (*κληδόνες*) as omens, and the earliest examples occur in the *Odyssey* (18. 112–17, 20. 102–21). There are also charms, to cure diseases, etc.; and finally, there are many riddles.

Types of Song

1. Laments: K. 342–52, A. 760–5, 802–9
2. Lullabies: K. 209–12, A. 680–9, 754–61, 796–803
3. Love-songs: K. 149–60, A. 694–713, 752–3 (serenades), 786–9 (dialogue)
4. Wedding-songs: K. 131–4, 143–8, A. 792–5
5. Work-songs: harvest K. 3–90, A. 726–39
    shearing K. 103–4
    weaving (cloth) A. 828—37
    fishing A. 738–43, 788–93
6. Pastoral songs: K. 103–34
7. Dance songs: A. 654–81, 742–53, 792–3
8. Festivals: St Basil (New Year) A. 642–5, 712–15, 764–7
    St Lazarus A. I. 364–5
    Carnival K. 195–206, A. 792
    (Other religious songs A. 634–41, 644–5)
9. Virgin's lament and search for Christ: K. 93–100
10. St Markella: A. 820–3
11. Ballads and 'heroic' songs: (K. 3–90), A. 692–5, 717–27, 766–85, 822–9
12. Historical events: K. 77–9, A. 688–91 (A. 650–3), 784–7
13. Praise-songs: A. 646–51
14. Divination (*κλήδονας*): K. 321–6, A. 808–19
15. Charms: A. 636–9
16. Riddles: K. 163–90

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[1] Cf. R. Beaton, *Folk poetry of modern Greece* (Cambridge 1980) 137–41.

[2] Cf. Alexiou, op. cit. 62–78; Beaton, op. cit. 141–4.

Of course many of the types mentioned occur in popular songs from other countries besides Greece. We must look more closely, to see what themes are strikingly similar to those found in ancient Greek literature. I can select only a few examples here.

Let us begin with some rather questionable examples, which fall within the general area of family relationships and their scale of value. Professor Jannis Kakridis once raised the question of parallels between modern Greek songs and the theme of a famous passage in Sophocles' *Antigone*, in which the heroine justifies risking death to bury her brother: she says that she would not have done this for a husband or son, since they are replaceable, whereas a brother is not (904 ff.) [**1B**]. The theme is the same as that of a story in Herodotus, which has a Persian setting (3. 119). Kakridis also compared the Meleager story, where Meleager's mother causes her son's death, in revenge for his having killed her brother in battle.[3] At first sight a modern Chian song seems to have a parallel (K. 55–6). A man falls in love with his brother's wife, and she asks him to kill her husband. In the end, however, it is she who is killed in punishment because, as the brother-in-law says, 'one can get another sister-in-law but one cannot get another brother'. [**1A**] (Texts and translations are collected at the end of this article.)

The reasoning here is very like that of the ancient examples. But one should notice how in this case it is the wife who is killed. The point surely is that she is a woman who has been unfaithful to her husband. That is why she is regarded as being 'replaceable'. It is questionable whether a modern Greek song would make a similar point if it were a husband or a son who was at stake.

Another Chian song from the Turkish period makes an opposite point (A. 824–5) [**2**]. Here a man falls in love with a Jewish girl, and he has her baptized, intending to marry her as a Christian. Her parents appeal to the pasha, but when he orders her to go back home to her family she replies:

> 'This man is my mother, this man is my father too,
> This man is also my husband, the darling of my heart.'

Argenti and Rose naturally here recalled the famous words of Andromache to her husband Hector (*Il.* 6. 429–30):

> 'Hector, you are my father and my lady mother
> And my brother, and you are my strong husband.'

In this case all her family have died or been killed in battle, and Hector really is all to her. The resemblance with our Chian song is striking, and we cannot really say whether this is due to reminiscence (direct or indirect) of Homer, or not.[4] But again we should notice the difference of context. In the modern song, the girl's preference for her husband reflects the fact that on marriage a Greek girl really would transfer her allegiance very fully from her own family to her husband. But it is probably even more important that in this case she is also converted from her parents' *religion* to that of her husband. The recurrence of the classical motif remains interesting, but the situation is very different.

[3] *Homeric Researches* (Lund 1949), 152–64.

[4] Robert Browning has noted a use of this motif in the Byzantine epic *Achilleis* (ll 1268–9), where Polyxena says to Achilles:

> *πατέρας καὶ μητέρα μου ἡ αὐθεντία σου εἶναι,*
> *καὶ ἀδελφοὶ καὶ ἀδελφαὶ καὶ φῶς μου καὶ ζωή μου*

(*Viator* 6 (1975) 30, reprinted in *Studies in Byzantine History, Literature and Education* (London 1977) No. 18, p. 30).

This is not so much the case, however, with our next set of examples. One of the oldest story-patterns in European literature is that of the climax of the *Odyssey*, where a man returns after long absence and reveals himself to his wife, who has to be convinced that he is her husband by special signs of recognition. In the *Odyssey* this theme is associated with various scenes in which the hero tests other members of his household, and with the false tales which he tells them. In the last book of the poem, for example, he even deceives his own father, who supposes that his son has died, before Odysseus reveals his true identity (24. 235 ff.).

A similar story-pattern is common in modern Greek songs (and it recurs in other parts of the Balkans too, for example Yugoslavia).[5] There are several examples from Chios. In some, a man meets a girl at a spring or well. She is crying, because her husband has left long ago and not yet returned. He tells her that her husband has died, and that before doing so the husband asked him to marry her instead. She proves her fidelity by refusing to do so, and he then declares that he is her husband. She makes him prove his identity by a series of signs. Usually these begin with signs from outside or inside their house, but she objects that the neighbours could have told him of these, and in the end he gives her the signs of marks on her own body (e.g. K. 18, 31–2). This reminds one of Odysseus' scar, and similar tokens in later Greek drama. In one case, however, the order is different. Here the final proof is when the man says:

'On the bed where we used to lie I have your portrait painted' (A. 780–1) **[3]**. One cannot help recalling the scene where Penelope orders Odysseus' bed to be prepared outside his bedroom, and Odysseus protests that the bed was anchored to the spot and so should not have been moved, thus proving his identity (*Od.* 23. 177 ff.) **[4]**. It must be admitted, however, that this particular Chian song seems to be rather confused, since the girl begins by asking for signs of the house, but is given instead signs from her body, and she then refuses to accept these as proof! Possibly the bed has come in here because in other songs, after the recognition, the wife often orders their bed to be made up for them to sleep on (e.g. K. 18) **[5]**. Even this, however, is remarkably similar to the *Odyssey*, although here of course the order to make the bed comes at a different point in the story.

It would surely be impossible to trace the way in which themes such as these have travelled, between the time of the *Odyssey* and our modern songs. What we can do, however, is observe the remarkable popularity of such stories, and of all the irony and moral implications which they carry, in modern as well as ancient Greece.

It is also worth noticing a particular feature of the natural setting of these songs. This is that the meeting takes place at a spring or well (K. 106–8, A. 678, 732 ff., 742 f., 744 f., 778 f.) **[6]**. Sometimes the girl is washing clothes. This too is a motif which goes right back to the *Odyssey*. Odysseus twice meets a girl when she is fetching water (*Od.* 7. 18 ff.,

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[5] The relationship between the modern Greek songs and the *Odyssey* has been much discussed. Cf. N. Polites, *'Εκλογαὶ ἀπὸ τὰ τραγούδια τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ* (Athens 1932) 120–2; S. Baud-Bovy, *La Chanson populaire grecque du Dodécanèse* (Paris 1936) 227–35; S. Kyriakidis, *Λαογραφία* 12 (1938–48) 324; K. Rhomaios, *'Αρχεῖον Θρᾳκικοῦ Θησαυροῦ* 17 (1952) 334–54; J. T. Kakridis, *Homer Revisited* (Lund 1971) 151–63; K. Rhomaios, *'Η ποίηση ἑνὸς λαοῦ* (Athens 1968) 145–58.

Those who, like myself, have not had access to the first article by Professor Rhomaios mentioned above will find a useful summary in English of his valuable observations about the similarities between several of the recognition scenes in the *Odyssey* and the modern Greek songs in Kakridis, op. cit. 153–6. For another Chian example see G. Madias, *Λαογραφία* 8 (1921) 203 (No. 4).

The Serbo-Croat examples of the 'Return' theme are discussed by A. B. Lord in *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960).

10.105 ff.), and he meets Nausicaa and her maids when they come down to the sea-shore to do their washing at the river's mouth (*Od.* 6.1 ff.; cf. also 15. 420 ff.). Such meetings recur in later Greek literature and art. But here, of course, we see at once that the similarity with our folk-songs may be due to an underlying continuity of Greek life. At least until recently, it must have been the case that one of the few opportunities for a man to meet a woman outside the house was when she visited the local spring.[6]

This motif leads on to my second main area for examples, that of the natural world. Popular songs throughout the world make frequent use of natural symbolism. In modern Greek songs trees, flowers, birds, water, mountains, and nature in general have many roles to play: most commonly in connection with the two major themes of love and death. It is particularly interesting to take a specific motif and trace it throughout Greek literature, from antiquity to the present day: as has been done, for instance, by Antony Littlewood for the apple-tree and its fruit.[7] Apples were regularly symbols of love, or of marriage, in antiquity. In our modern Chian songs the apple is often a love-symbol. This can be used in all kinds of subtle and indirect ways, for of course these songs (especially the shorter lyric ones) often suggest a meaning only obliquely, and through the symbolism (cf. K. 22, 52–3, A. 654–5, 694–5, 702–3, 706–7, 710–11, 742–3, 754–5(9), 770–1, 780–1, 812–13(14), 816–17(53)).

A simple example is one of the *πατινάδες* (couplets of love poetry) from Pyrghi (A. 754–5(9)) **[7]**:

> 'If you want us to kiss without the neighbours knowing
> Put an apple-tree before your door and hide among the branches.'

A more complicated example begins with two trees quarrelling, the apple and the bay (in itself an ancient motif), and ends with a quarrel between a girl and an agha who wants to kiss her (K. 53–4) **[8]**: perhaps originally these were two quite separate themes, but the erotic symbolism may have something to do with their combination in this way. In another (A. 654–5) **[9]**, a man says that after thirty-six years of troubles he has decided to transplant trees. He plants his tree, it fruits, and he plucks an apple. Then passers-by say that his apple-tree is withering, ready to fall. At the end the tree calls out in a sweet voice to its master and mistress, who own and water it. This is a short lyric dance-song from Chalkios, charming in its allusive brevity, but at first sight baffling in its meaning. The answer is probably that the song is using the symbolism of marriage-songs, where the bride (here the apple-tree) laments as she is taken away from her parents by her bridegroom. It is remarkable that we find a very similar association between natural symbolism and the bride's lament in ancient marriage-songs also.

Another very interesting example comes from a song which recurs often throughout Greece (A. 770–1) **[10]**. In this, a little apple-tree stands on the edge of a cliff, laden with apples. The speaker says that he longs to pick its fruit, but fears the cliff. He is then told to 'come round by the path'. But the path takes him to a churchyard, and he steps on the tomb of a young man, which cries out in protest:

> 'Was I not also a young man, was I not a hero?
> Did I not walk at night by moonlight,

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[6] Cf. N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford 1979) pp. 179 ff., 339–43.

[7] *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 72 (1967), 147–81, *Jahrb. d. Öst. Byzantinistik* 23 (1974) 33–59, *Neo-Hellenika* 3 (1978) 37–55.

> And carry a sword forty cubits long and a lance of sixty cubits?
> And now you stamp upon my head?'

A puzzling and haunting song! Is the symbolism again one of love, and is it the girl's former lover, now dead, who protests? The symbolism of the apple tree here is surely made explicit by one of the *πατινάδες* (A. 706–7) **[11]**:

> Love is like an apple-tree rooted in the middle of a cliff:
> Whoever seeks its apples will fall down the precipice!

The apples on the cliff, so perilous to reach, remind one of those famous lines of Sappho's (fr. 105a L–P) **[12]**, which are thought to come from a wedding-song:

> As the sweet apple reddens on the top bough,
> On the top of the topmost bough, and the apple-gatherers forgot it:
> No, they did not forget, but they could not reach that far.

Comparison of a bride (or sometimes a groom) to a tree or a flower is common in Chian wedding-songs (A. I 308 ff., II 792 ff.), as it was in classical epithalamia, and Chian love-songs and *κλήδονας* use similar imagery (K. 149 ff., A. 694 ff., 752 ff., 810 ff.). But this is probably common to all love-poetry. In fact, although some of these comparisons are simple, the elaboration of others sometimes seems closer to Arabic or other Near Eastern poetry (e.g., A. 816–17(53)) **[13]**.

However, occasionally one is struck by something unusually close to a particular passage in classical poetry. One of the couplets which are used as a *κλήδονας* (A. 814–15(36)) **[14]** runs as follows:

> All the world I have travelled east and west:
> Like your figure I have not seen a cypress-tree.

This is like the elaborate compliment paid to Nausicaa by Odysseus at their first meeting (*Od.* 6. 149–69) **[15]**. After comparing her to Artemis he exclaims that her family are blessed to have such a flourishing offspring (*θάλος*), and most blessed of all is he who marries her. He has never seen such a form as hers, and he compares his admiration to the feelings he had on seeing the palm-tree growing by Apollo's altar on Delos. He ends with a prayer that Nausicaa will have a happy marriage.

Here we should not dream of speaking in terms of the direct influence of the *Odyssey*. But it is pleasing to find that in recent times a compliment could still be paid to an unmarried girl in Chios in a way which so much resembles Odysseus' courtesy towards Nausicaa. And in both cases the context is similar, for it is the possibility of future marriage which lies behind these compliments.

It may not be so surprising that one turns to the *Odyssey* often for parallels to modern Greek motifs, for this poem mirrors many aspects of Greek life which have not changed fundamentally. Is not Odysseus, as the islander who loves his home and yet must spend so much of his life away from it, a type who recurs throughout later Greek history down to the present day, the type of the resourceful shipowner?

When one turns from early Greek poetry (epic and lyric) to that of the Hellenistic period one continues to notice many parallels with the natural symbolism of the folk-songs. For example, Argenti and Rose have a poem (786–9) **[16]** in which a boy and a girl argue together, the boy swearing that he has kissed her many times before, and the girl denying it. At the end she tells him to go and pasture sheep and pigs, fifteen in number, as he is not fit for a woman! This teasing poem with its rustic setting is very similar in its atmosphere to one of the Idylls attributed to Theocritus, although not by him (*Id.* 20) [**17**], in which the town-girl Eunica mocks her lover and taunts him with being a herdsman.

Another motif which reminds one of classical pastoral (for example the *Lament for Bion*) is the invocation of nature to share in lamenting someone's death (A. 808–9(29)) [**18**]:

> Weep, mountains and hills, weep also, myrtles:
> I have lost the hopes of both my children.

This (which is from a *μοιρολόγι*) looks, however, suspiciously like a theme which may have come through the later European literary tradition.

A similar motif is that of going to a solitary place to lament one's troubles. For example (A. 812–13(18)) [**19**]:

> I shall go and find a tree that is all alone,
> That I may weep for my trouble, and it for its suffering. (Cf. also K. 127–8)

In classical literature from Euripides onwards it was a commonplace that one should do this, and especially in the Alexandrian love-poets and their Roman followers.[8] Sometimes trees are specifically asked to be witnesses to one's feelings, or to share in them, as when one carves the name of one's girl on the tree's bark.[9] In the Chian poem it is not immediately clear why the tree is mentioned, and again it seems probable that there is some influence here from the literary tradition.

Talking trees are also a feature of ancient poetry, which in its own turn could derive them from popular tradition.[10] We meet them in Chian poetry, as in the dance-song mentioned already about the apple-tree (A. 654–5; cf. 780–1), and the one about the quarrel between the apple and the bay (K. 53–4), which recalls ancient fables of trees quarrelling (Callim. fr. 194, Babrius 64). A Chian *κλήδονας* tells rather charmingly of how the jasmine and the lily quarrelled (A. 818–19(55)) [**20**]:

> The jasmine passed by and said to the lily 'good day':
> 'O scented jasmine, get on with your business' (was the reply)!

Likewise, talking birds are common in both ancient and modern popular traditions. There is nothing very specifically classical in the way they are used in Chian songs (e.g. A. 730–1). Rather, in both cases, one feels that poets are drawing on a store of popular beliefs which are fundamentally similar. The same may be true of what one might call the symbolism of natural fertility. Modern Greek harvest-songs tell of how a pregnant woman was reaping in a corn-field, and on one of her sheaves she brought forth a golden son (A. 726–7, 728–9) [**21**]. Sometimes he then performs heroic deeds (782–3).[11] One thinks of the ancient myths about how Demeter bore a son called Ploutos (Wealth) to Iasion, after sleeping with him in a 'thrice-ploughed field' (Hesiod, *Theog.* 969–74 **[23]**, Hom. *Od.* 5. 125–7).

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[8] E.g., Callim. fr. 714 (Pfeiffer); V. *Ecl.* 2. 3 ff., 10. 13 ff., 52 ff.; Prop. 1. 18. 1 ff.

[9] Callim. fr. 73; V. *Ecl.* 10. 53–4; Prop. 1. 18. 19–22; Aristaen. 1. 10.

[10] Cf. Callim. fr. 194. 7, and Pfeiffer ad loc., and my notes to *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 23.

[11] The identity of Nicephorus and Trembleneck is discussed by H. Grégoire in *Digenis Akritas* (New York 1942) 29 ff., and K. Rhomaios in *Τραγούδια τοῦ Ἀκριτικοῦ κύκλου* (Athens 1979) 56–76. In the folk-songs they usually appear together with Bardas Phocas, nephew of Nicephorus II Phocas, who was Emperor from 963 to 969. Bardas Phocas had himself proclaimed as a rival Emperor in 987, in the reign of Basil II, and died at the battle of Abydus in 989. 'Nicephorus' is his brother, and 'Trembleneck' is Bardas' son, also called Nicephorus, who headed another revolt in 1022.

Mention has already been made of the resemblance of songs about the Virgin's lament and search for Christ (K. 93–100) to ancient stories about Demeter's search for Persephone.[12] Both meet various people on their wanderings. Those who help are rewarded, those who do not are cursed. Both stop at a well, for refreshment or rest, and both are persuaded to break their fast with a simple meal. In Demeter's case this is a drink made of barley, mint and water, and this is also drunk by her worshippers at her festival. In the Virgin's case, Christ tells her to prepare wine and a freshly-baked rusk (*ἀφρᾶτο παξιμάδι*) for herself and her family. This is the traditional meal taken after a funeral.

In this case, religious occasions which have certain fundamental similarities (the preparations for initiation into the ancient Mysteries, and the preparations for Easter) have given rise to songs or stories which also share certain very striking resemblances.

If, as one often suspects, ancient Greek poetry drew on popular traditions for its natural symbolism in a way which resembles that of the modern folk-songs, I nevertheless want to end by stressing that in terms of general style and technique there are great differences between the two kinds of poetry. Whereas classical poets tended to organize their themes in a relatively explicit way, the folk-songs are often highly allusive, compressed, and apparently inconsequential. Argenti and Rose actually compare their frequent transitions from one theme to another to those of Pindar (A. 633). But this seems far-fetched to me. Pindar's apparently free association is really, when one looks more closely, a very studied and deliberate technique, which is designed to give an impression of spontaneity. The folk-songs of course have their own conventions too, which one needs to understand in order to appreciate them. But they often have a looseness of structure, and a strong strain of fantasy, which are the result of their very fluid, traditional character. Yet that is also what makes them so fresh and appealing. It is surely a good thing that modern Greek popular song (in Chios, as elsewhere in Greece) developed its own independent life, so that in the end any classical themes which do recur in it have experienced a kind of 'sea-change, into something rich and strange'. It would be a pity if it were too much like ancient poetry, for in that case much of its real originality and vigour would be lost.

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[12] Cf. *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, with my commentary.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

[1A] K. 56 *τότ' ἐποκότησε ὁ νηὸς κι' εἶπέν της· "'Αγαπῶ σε"·*
"Σάν μ' ἀγαπᾷς, ἀντράδελφε, σκότωσ'τὸν ἀδελφόν σου."
Κι'ἦντα 'φορμὴ νὰ τοῦ 'βρω. 'γὼ, νύφη μ', νὰ τὸν σκοτώσω;"
"'Εσᾶς ὁ Θειὸς σᾶς ἔδωκε ἀμπέλια καὶ χωράφια·
καὶ διάλεγε και μοίραζε, τὴν κάλλια μοῖρα πάρε·
ἐκεῖνος εἶν' ἀρᾴθυμος, πάντα θὰ σοῦ 'μιλήσῃ."
Πά' νὰ δέσῃ τὸν μαῦρό του κι' αὐτὸς δὲν τὸν ἀφίνει.
"Εὔχου, κάλ' ἀδελφάκι μου, γυναίκεια λόγι' ἀκοῦσες."

“’Εγ’ ἀδελφὸν δὲν κάμνω πιά, μὰ νύφη κάμνω κἰ ἄλλη.”
’Βγάλει ἀργυρομάχαιρο καὶ πέρνει της τὸ κεφάλι.

Then the young man plucked up courage and said to her: ‘I love you.’
‘If you love me, brother-in-law, kill your brother.’
‘And what excuse should I find, sister-in-law, to kill him?’
‘God gave you vineyards and fields:
Choose and divide them, take the better share:
He is quick-tempered, he will say everything to you.’
He goes to tie up his horse, and he does not allow him.
‘Pray, my good brother, you heard the woman’s words.’
‘I cannot get another brother, but another sister-in-law I can get.’
He takes out his silver knife and cuts off her head.

[**1B**] Soph. *Ant.* *καίτοι σ’ ἐγὼ ’τίμησα τοῖς φρονοῦσιν εὖ.*
904–12 *οὐ γάρ ποτ’ οὔτ’ ἂν εἰ τέκνων μήτηρ ἔφυν*
οὔτ’ εἰ πόσις μοι κατθανὼν ἐτήκετο,
βίᾳ πολιτῶν τόνδ’ ἂν ᾐρόμην πόνον.
τίνος νόμου δὴ ταῦτα πρὸς χάριν λέγω;
πόσις μὲν ἄν μοι κατθανόντος ἄλλος ἦν,
καὶ παῖς ἀπ’ ἄλλου φωτός, εἰ τοῦδ’ ἤμπλακον,
μητρὸς δ’ ἐν Ἅιδου καὶ πατρὸς κεκευθότοιν
οὐκ ἔστ’ ἀδελφὸς ὅστις ἂν βλάστοι ποτέ.

And yet I honoured you well, in the judgement of the wise.
For never if I had been a mother of children,
Or if my husband had died and lay decaying,
Against the citizens’ will should I have taken on this task.
By virtue of what law, you ask, do I say these things?
I could have had another husband, when one was dead,
And a child from another man, if I had lost this one,
But with my mother and father hidden in Hades
It is not possible that a brother could ever be born again.

[2] A. 824–5 *Καὶ ὁ πασᾶς τὴν ’πήρενε γιὰ νὰ τὴν ἐξετάσῃ,*
καὶ ’κείνη ἀποκρίθηκε σὰν ἄξιον παλληκάρι·
“Μὲ ζόρι δὲν μὲ ’πήρενε, ἐγώ ’θελα καὶ ’πῆγα.”
“”Αντε κόρη στὸ σπίτι σου, κάτσε ἡσυχασμένη,
κ’ ἡ μάννα καὶ ὁ κύρης σου θέλουν νὰ σὲ ’παντρέψουν
μὲ δούλους καὶ μὲ δούλισσες, σὰν πού ’σουν μαθημένη.”
“Τοῦτος εἶναι κ’ ἡ μάννα μου, τοῦτος εἶν’ κι’ ὁ μπαμπᾶς μου,
τοῦτος εἶνε κι’ ὁ ἄντρας μου, ἡ ἄμπρα τῆς καρδιᾶς μου.”

And the pasha took her to question her,
And she answered like a brave man,
‘He did not take me by force, I wanted to go and I went.’
‘Girl, go back to your home and sit there quietly,
And your mother and your father will marry you
And supply your home with menservants and maidservants, as
   you have been accustomed (to have).’
‘This man is my mother, this man is my father, too,
This man is also my husband, the darling of my heart.’

[3] A. 780–1

“Ἐγώ ’μαι κόρ’ ὁ ἄντρα τσου, ἐγώ ’μαι κι’ ὁ καλό τσου.”
“Πέ μου σημάδγκια τοῦ σπιτιοῦ κι’ ἀπὲ θὰ σοῦ πιστέψω.”
“Ἔχεις ἐληὰ στὸ μπράτσο τσου ποὺ δὲν τὴν ἔχει ἄλλη,
κι’ ἀνάμεσα στὸ στῆθό τσου ἥλιον καὶ τὸ φεγγάρι.”
“Ἀλλοὶ πρωτομαργιόλλου γυιέ, γειτόνοι σοῦ τὰ λέγουν,
’πέ μου σημάδγκια τοῦ σπιτιοῦ κι’ ἀπὲ θὰ σοῦ πιστέψω.”
“Ἔχω αὐλὲς μαρμαρωτὲς καὶ τάβλες ἀτσημένιες
στὴν κλίνημ ποὺ κοιμούμεστε σ’ ἔχωζ ζουγραφισμένη.”
“Καλῶς τὸ σεντουκάκιμ μου τ’ ἀργυροκλειδωμένο,
ὅπου τ’ ἀργυρωκλείδωσα καὶ τό ’βρα κλειδωμένο.”

‘Girl, I am your husband, I am your goodman.’
‘Tell me the tokens of the house and then I will believe you.’
‘You have a mole on your arm such as no other woman has,
And in the midst of your bosom the sun and the moon.’
‘Alack, you son of a cheat, the neighbours told you that!
Tell me the tokens of the house and then I will believe you.’
‘I have courtyards of marble and tables of silver;
On the bed where we used to lie I have your portrait painted.’
‘Welcome, my wooden chest locked with a silver key!
Which I closed with the silver key, and I found it locked.’

[4] Hom. *Od.* 23. 177–89

“ἀλλ’ ἄγε οἱ στόρεσον πυκινὸν λέχος, Εὐρύκλεια,
ἐκτὸς ἐϋσταθέος θαλάμου, τόν ῥ’ αὐτὸς ἐποίει·
ἔνθα οἱ ἐκθεῖσαι πυκινὸν λέχος ἐμβάλετ’ εὐνήν,
κώεα καὶ χλαίνας καὶ ῥήγεα σιγαλόεντα.”
Ὣς ἄρ’ ἔφη πόσιος πειρωμένη· αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς
ὀχθήσας ἄλοχον προσεφώνεε κεδνὰ ἰδυῖαν·
“ὦ γύναι, ἦ μάλα τοῦτο ἔπος θυμαλγὲς ἔειπες.
τίς δέ μοι ἄλλοσε θῆκε λέχος; χαλεπὸν δέ κεν εἴη
καὶ μάλ’ ἐπισταμένῳ, ὅτε μὴ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἐπελθὼν
ῥηϊδίως ἐθέλων θείῃ ἄλλῃ ἐνὶ χώρῃ.
ἀνδρῶν δ’ οὔ κέν τις ζωὸς βροτὸς, οὐδὲ μάλ’ ἡβῶν,
ῥεῖα μετοχλίσσειεν, ἐπεὶ μέγα σῆμα τέτυκται
ἐν λέχει ἀσκητῷ· τὸ δ’ ἐγὼ κάμον οὐδέ τις ἄλλος.”

‘But come, make up for him his sturdy bed, Eurycleia,
Outside the well-built room which he made himself:
There set out his sturdy bed and lay bedding on it,
Fleeces and blankets and shining rugs.’
So she spoke, testing her husband. Then Odysseus
Was deeply shocked, and addressed his prudent wife:
‘Woman, what you have said has wounded me to the heart.
Who has put my bed elsewhere? It would be difficult
Even for a man of skill, unless a god himself were to come
And easily if he wished should set it in another place.
But among mortals there is no living man, for all his youthful strength,
Who could easily shift it elsewhere, since a great mark is fashioned
In the workmanship of the bed: I made it myself, and no one else.’

[5] K. 18

“Πές μου σημάδια τοῦ κορμιοῦ καὶ νά σ’ ἀνοίξω νά ’μπῃς.”
“Ἔχεις ἐλῃὰ ’ς τὸ μάγουλο, ἐλῃὰ ’ς τὴν ἀμασκάλη,

ἔχεις καὶ μέσ’ ’ς τὰ στήθη σου τ’ ἄστρα μὲ τὸ φεγγάρι.”
“Σύρετε, σκλάβαις, στρώσετε τὴν ἀργυρῆ μου κλίνη,
βάλε τὸ μόσκο περισσό, ῥίψετε μαντζουράνα
νὰ κοίμηθ’ ὁ πραμματευτὴς μὲ τὴν ἀρχοντοποῦλα.”

‘Tell me signs of your body, so that I may open for you to enter.’
‘You have a mole on your cheek, a mole on your armpit,
And you have between your breasts the stars with the moon.’
‘Come on, servants, make up my silver bed,
Put much perfume on it, and throw marjoram,
So that the merchant may sleep with his princess.’

[6] A. 778–9 *Κοράσιν ἔκλαιν κι’ ἔπλυννεν κάτω στὴν Κρύα Βρύσι*
τ’ ἀντρός της τὰ μεταξωτὰ καὶ τὰ ’δικά της ροῦχα.
Χίλιους πεζζοὺς ἐμέτρησεν καὶ μύργιους καβαλλάρους,
τὸν ἄντραν της δὲν ἐγνωρᾷ, τὸν εὐλογιστικόν της.
Μὰ ’κεῖνος τὴν ἐγνώρισε, στέκει κι’ ἀνερωτᾷ την.

A girl wept as she washed, down at the Cold Fountain,
Her husband’s silks and her own clothes.
A thousand footmen she counted and ten thousand horsemen,
Yet did not recognize her man, her blessed one.
But he recognized her, stopped and questioned her.

[7] A. 754–5 *Σὰν θέλεις νὰ φιλιώμαστε κρυφὰ ἀπ’ τοὺς γειτόνους,*
βάλε μηλιὰ στὴν πόρτα σου καὶ κρύβου μέσ’ στοὺς κλώνους.

[8] K. 53–4 *Μέσα ’ς ἕνα περιβόλι*
Δάφνη τσαὶ Μηλιὰ μαλλόνει.
“Δάφνη, μοῦ ’κοψες κλωνάρι.”
“Ὄχι, μὰ τὸν Ἅγιο Γιάννη.”
“’Αμ’ ἂν σοῦ ’κοψα κλωνάρι,
τὸ ποτάμι νὰ μὲ πάρῃ,
νὰ μὲ ’πάγῃ δύση, δύση
κάτω ’ς τοῦ Πασσᾶ τὴ βρύση.”
’Πάγ’ ἡ κόρη νὰ γεμίσῃ,
’πάγ’ ἀγᾶς νὰ τὴν φιλήσῃ.
“Σήκωσ,’ κόρη, τὰ σαγιά σου,
μὴ λερώσῃς τὴν ποδιά σου.”
“Ἄν λερώσω τὴν ποδιά μου,
τί σὲ μέλει ’σέν’, ἀγᾶ μου;”
“Μέλει με ’τσαὶ λογαριάτζω
νὰ χηρέψῃς νὰ σὲ πάρω.”
“Κάλλια νὰ σὲ φά’ τὸ φεῖδι,
πάρ’ αὐτὸ ποῦ ’πες νὰ γείνῃ.”
“Γίνου σύ, πουλί μου, φεῖδι
τσ’ ἔλα φίλα με ’ς τὰ χείλη,
’ς τὸ λαιμὸ τσ’ εἰς τὸ τραχῆλι.”
“Πέφτω κάλλια ’ς τὸ γιαλό
νὰ μὲ φᾶνε τὰ ψαράτσια
τσαι τὸ ἁρμυρὸ νερό,
παρὰ σύ, κακὸ θεριό!”

Inside a garden
The bay-tree and the apple-tree are quarrelling.
'Bay-tree, you have cut my branch.'
'No, by Saint John.
If I have cut your branch,
Let the river take me,
To carry me away
Down to the Pasha's spring.'
The girl goes to fetch water,
The agha goes to kiss her.
'Lift up, girl, your dress,
So that you do not wet your apron.'
'If I wet my apron
What concern is that to you?'
'It *is* my concern, and I am thinking how
To make you a widow, so as to take you.'
'Better that the snake should eat you,
Than that what you say should happen.'
'My bird, you become a snake:
And come and kiss me on the lips,
On the throat and on the neck.'
'I should rather fall into the sea,
So that the fish should eat me,
And the salty water,
Than you, you wicked brute!'

[9] A. 654–5

Σήμμερα τριανταέξη χρόνους
ἐβαρέθηκα τοὺς πόνους.
Ἤρτεμ 'μέρα γιὰ νὰ κλέψω
δέντρη νὰ μεταφυτέψω·
τὴδ Δευτέραν τὸ φυτεύγκω
καὶ τὴν Τρίτην τὸ κλαδεύγκω·
τὴν Τετράδη βγκάλλει φύλλο
καὶ τὴ Πέφτη κόβγω μῆλο.
Τὴμ Παρασκευὴ 'περνοῦσα
Τοῦρκοι καὶ Ρωμιοὶ 'ρωτοῦσαν
"Τίνος εἶν' τὸ περιβόλιν
πού 'χει τόσομ πυκνοβόλι,
πού 'χει μνιὰμ μηλιὰ στὴμ μέση
καὶ μαραίνεται νὰπ πέσῃ;"
Πάγει ὁ υιὸς νὰ κόψῃ μῆλο
καὶ μαραίνεται τὸ φύλλο
κι' ἡ μηλιὰ γλυκοφωνάζζει,
τὸν περιβολάρη κράζζει·
"Ποῦ 'σ' ἀφέντη ποῦ μ' ὁρίζζεις
καὶ κυρὰ ποῦ μὲ ποτίζζεις;"

Thirty-six years to-day
I have been wearied with my woes.
The day has come for me to steal
Trees to transplant them.

I put them in on a Monday,
I pruned on Tuesday,
The tree fruited on Wednesday,
On Thursday I plucked an apple;
On Friday I was passing
And [I heard] Turks and Greeks ask,
'Whose garden is this
Which bears so well,
Which has an apple-tree in the middle
That is withered and ready to fall?'
The young man comes to cut an apple,
And the leaf forthwith withers,
And the tree says in a sweet voice
And cries to the gardener,
'Where are you, master, who own me,
And you, mistress, who water me?'

[**10**] A. 770–1 "Μηλίτσα πού 'σαι στὸν κρεμμὸν τὰ μῆλα φορτωμένη,
τὰ μῆλά σου 'λιμπίστηκα μὰ τὸν κρεμμὸφ φοβοῦμαι."
"Κι' 'απῆς φοβᾶσαι τôν κρεμμόν, ἔλ' ἀφ' τὸ μονοπάτιν."
Παίρνω στρατὶ στρατὶ στρατίν, παίρνω τὸ μονοπάτιν·
τὸ μονοπάτιμ μ' ἔβγκαλε τσ' ἕναν ἐρημοκλήσσιν,
κι' εἶχε τσαράντα μνήματα, ἀδέρφια κι' ἀξαδέρφια,
μὰ νὰ μνημειόν, καλὸν μνημειό, ξεχώριστ' ἀπὸ τ' ἄλλα·
δὲν εἶδα καὶ τὸ 'πάτησα ἀπάνω στὸ κεφάλι,
μ' ἀκοὺ τὸ μνῆμαν καὶ βογκᾷ καὶ βαρυανεστενάζζει,
"Τάχας δὲν ἤμουν κι' ἐγὼ νειός, δὲν ἤμουμ παλληκάρι;
Τάχας δὲν ἐπερπάτησα τὴν νύχταμ μὲφ φεγγάριν
κι' ἐβάστου τσαράντα ὀργκυῶ σπαθὶν κ' ἐξῆντα ὀργκυῶν κοντάριν
καὶ τώρα μὲ τσαλαπατεῖς ἀπάνω στὸ κεφάλιν;"

'Little apple-tree, on the edge of a precipice, laden with apples,
I have a fancy for your apples, but I fear the cliff.'
'And since you fear the cliff, come round by the path.'
I walked and walked and walked, I walked along the path,
And the path brought me to a lonely, deserted church,
And it had forty tombs, brothers and cousins,
But there was a tomb, a fine tomb, a tomb apart from the rest;
I did not see and stepped on the head of it,
And the tomb spoke and uttered a mournful sound,
'Was I not also a young man, was I not a hero?
Did I not walk o'nights by the moonlight?
Did I carry a forty-cubit sword and a sixty-cubit lance?
And now you stamp upon my head?'

[**11**] A. 706–7 Ριζών' ἡ ἀγάπη σὰν μηλιὰ σ' ἑνὸς γκρεμοῦ την μέση,
κι' ὅποιος τὰ μῆλα της ζητᾷ μέσ' τὸν γκρεμὸ θὰ πέση.

[**12**] Sappho, Fr. 105a
οἶον τὸ γλυκύμαλον ἐρεύθεται ἄκρῳ ἐπ' ὔσδῳ,
ἄκρον ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῳ, λελάθοντο δὲ μαλοδρόπηες·
οὐ μὰν ἐκλελάθοντ', ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐδύναντ' ἐπίκεσθαι.

[13] A. 816–7

Τὰ χείλη σου 'ναι ζίζιφο, τὸ μάγουλό σου μῆλο,
τὸ στῆθός σου παράδεισος, καὶ τὸ κορμί σου κρῖνος.
Νά 'μπαινα στὸν Παράδεισον νὰ ἀγκάλιαζα τὸ κρῖνο,
νὰ 'φίλουνε τὸ ζίζιφο, νὰ 'δάγκανα τὸ μῆλο.

Your lips are a jujube, your cheeks an apple,
Your bosom a paradise, and your body a lily.
Might I enter Paradise to clasp in my arms the lily,
Kiss the jujube, and bite the apple.

[14] A. 814–5

Ὅλον τὸν κόσμο 'γύρισα, ἀνατολὴν καὶ δύση,
σὰν τὸ 'δικό σου τὸ κορμὶ δὲν εἶδα κυπαρίσσι.

[15] Hom. *Od.* 6. 149–69

“*Γουνοῦμαί σε, ἄνασσα· θεός νύ τις ἦ βροτός ἐσσι;*
εἰ μέν τις θεός ἐσσι, τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν,
Ἀρτέμιδί σε ἐγώ γε, Διὸς κούρῃ μεγάλοιο,
εἶδός τε μέγεθός τε φυήν τ' ἄγχιστα ἐΐσκω·
εἰ δέ τίς ἐσσι βροτῶν, τοὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ ναιετάουσι,
τρισμάκαρες μὲν σοί γε πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ,
τρισμάκαρες δὲ κασίγνητοι· μάλα πού σφισι θυμὸς
αἰὲν ἐϋφροσύνῃσιν ἰαίνεται εἵνεκα σεῖο,
λευσσόντων τοιόνδε θάλος χορὸν εἰσοιχνεῦσαν.
κεῖνος δ' αὖ περὶ κῆρι μακάρτατος ἔξοχον ἄλλων,
ὅς κέ σ' ἐέδνοισι βρίσας οἶκόνδ' ἀγάγηται.
οὐ γάρ πω τοιοῦτον ἐγὼ ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν,
οὔτ' ἄνδρ' οὔτε γυναῖκα· σέβας μ' ἔχει εἰσορόωντα.
Δήλῳ δή ποτε τοῖον Ἀπόλλωνος παρὰ βωμῷ
φοίνικος νέον ἔρνος ἀνερχόμενον ἐνόησα·
ἦλθον γὰρ καὶ κεῖσε, πολὺς δέ μοι ἕσπετο λαὸς
τὴν ὁδὸν ᾗ δὴ μέλλεν ἐμοὶ κακὰ κήδε' ἔσεσθαι.
ὣς δ' αὔτως καὶ κεῖνο ἰδὼν ἐτεθήπεα θυμῷ
δήν, ἐπεὶ οὔ πω τοῖον ἀνήλυθεν ἐκ δόρυ γαίης,
ὡς σέ, γύναι, ἄγαμαί τε τέθηπά τε δείδιά τ' αἰνῶς
γούνων ἅψασθαι· χαλεπὸν δέ με πένθος ἱκάνει.”

‘I come to you in supplication, lady: are you goddess or mortal?
If you are a goddess, one of those who live in broad heaven,
Then to Artemis, daughter of great Zeus, do I for my part
Compare you, as nearest in appearance, stature, and build.
But if you are one of the mortals who dwell upon the earth,
Thrice blessed then are your father and lady mother,
Thrice blessed your brothers: greatly must their heart
Always be warmed with gladness because of you,
When they see such a flourishing offspring entering the dance.
But that man must be most blessed at heart above all others,
Whoever shall prevail with bridal gifts and bring you home.
For never yet have my eyes seen such a one,
Neither man nor woman: awe grips me when I gaze at you.
In Delos once by Apollo's altar such
A palm tree's young shoot springing up I saw:
For I went thither too, and a great host followed me
On that journey on which evil troubles were destined to beset me.

Just so when I saw that shoot I stood astonished at heart
A long time, for never did such a shaft grow up from the earth,
Even as now before you, lady, I am amazed and astonished, and terribly afraid
To touch your knees; and yet harsh grief has come upon me.'

[**16**] A. 786–9

Ἕνας νέος καὶ μιὰ νέα παραδικάζουνται.
Ὁ νέος ᾽γύρεβγε φιλὶ καὶ ἡ νέα ἀρραβῶνα.
Ὁ νέος: Θαρρεῖς πὼς εἶμαι χρυσουφὸς καὶ φτιάνω δακτυλίδια
καὶ τὰ πετῶ ἐδῶ καὶ ᾽κεῖ γιὰ μάτια καὶ γιὰ φρύδια;
Ἡ νέα: Πᾷς καὶ θαρρεῖς, ἡ μάννα μου πώς μ᾽ ἔκαμε γιὰ σένα;
μόνο γιὰ ἄλλον μ᾽ ἔκανε πού ᾽ν᾽ πιὸ καλὸς ᾽πὸ σένα.
Ὁ νέος: Τὴν μάνναν σου τὴν μάγισσαν ρακὶ θὰ τὴν ποτίσω,
νὰ πέσῃ ν᾽ ἀποκοιμηθῃ ν᾽ ἀρθῶ νὰ σὲ φιλήσω.
Ἡ νέα: Τὸ ρακί, ρακὶ τὸ λὲν καὶ τὸ γυαλὶ ποτῆρι,
ἔτσι καὶ μοῦ ἡ μάννα μου τόσον πολὺ δὲν πίνει.
Ὁ νέος: Ὅσα φτερὰ ἔχει ἡ πέρδικα καὶ ὅσα φτερὰ ἔχει ἡ κόττα,
τόσες φορὲς σ᾽ ἐφίλησα στοῦ καταγιοῦ τὴν πόρτα.
Ἡ νέα: Ἔτσι ψωμὶ νὰ φᾷς ἐσὺ καὶ νὰ ψωμοχορτάσῃς,
ἂν ξέρω ᾽γὼ καμμιὰ φορὰ τὸ χέρι μου νὰ πιάσῃς.
Ὁ νέος: Ἐγὼ ψωμὶν ἐχόρτασα καὶ ᾽ψωμοχόρτασά το,
καὶ μιὰ φορὰ σ᾽ ἐφίλησα στὰ χείλη ἀπὸ κάτω.
Ἡ νέα: Ἄντε νὰ βόσκῃς πρόβατα καὶ χοίρους πέντε δέκα,
καὶ σὺ καμένε μου λωλὲ δὲν εἶσαι γιὰ γυναῖκα.
Ὁ νέος: Ἐγὼ πρόβατα ἔβοσκα καὶ χοίρους πέντε δέκα,
ἐννηὰ κορίτσια ᾽φίλησα καὶ μετὰ δέκα σένα.

A young man and a young girl are debating;
The young man wanted a kiss and the girl a betrothal.
The Lad. Do you think I am a goldsmith and make rings,
And that I flit hither and thither for the sake of eyes and eyebrows?
The Lass. Do you think that my mother bore me for you?
No; she bore me for another, far better than you.
The Lad. Your mother, the witch, I'll give her *rakí* to drink,
So that she shall lie down and go to sleep, so I can come and kiss you:
The Lass. As surely as *rakí* is called *rakí* and the glass a drinking-cup,
So surely my mother does not drink so much.
The Lad. As many feathers as the partridge has, as many feathers as the hen has,
So many times have I kissed you at the door of the cellar.
The Lass. May you have as much bread as will satisfy your hunger,
If I know of a single time when you have held my hand.
The Lad. I have eaten bread, and have had enough of it,
And I have kissed you once on the lips from below.
The Lass. Go and pasture sheep and swine five or ten,
My poor lunatic, you are not fit for a wife.
The Lad. I have pastured sheep and swine, five or ten,
I have kissed nine girls and after them the tenth—you.

[**17**] [Theoc.] *Id.* 20. 1–10

Εὐνίκα μ' ἐγέλαξε θέλοντά μιν ἁδὺ φιλᾶσαι
καί μ' ἐπικερτομέοισα τάδ' ἔννεπεν· "ἔρρ' ἀπ' ἐμεῖο.
βουκόλος ὢν ἐθέλεις με κύσαι, τάλαν; οὐ μεμάθηκα
ἀγροίκως φιλέειν, ἀλλ' ἀστικὰ χείλεα θλίβειν.
μὴ τύγε μευ κύσσῃς τὸ καλὸν στόμα μηδ' ἐν ὀνείροις.
οἷα βλέπεις, ὁπποῖα λαλεῖς, ὡς ἄγρια παίσδεις.
χείλεά τοι νοσέοντι, χέρες δέ τοι ἐντὶ μέλαιναι,
καὶ κακὸν ἐξόσδεις. ἀπ' ἐμεῦ φύγε μή με μολύνῃς."

Eunica mocked me when I would have sweetly kissed her, and, taunting me, thus said: 'Begone from me. Wouldst thou kiss me, wretch, thou that art a neatherd? I have not learnt to kiss rustics but to press gentle lips; and as for thee, kiss not my fair lips even in thy dreams. What looks are thine, what talk, what rough sporting! Thy mouth is ailing, thy hands are black, and thy smell is foul. Away, lest thou defile me.'

[**18**] A. 808–9 *Κλιάψετε ὄρη καὶ βουνά, κλιάψετε καὶ μερσίνες,*
κι' ἀπὲ τὰ δγκυό μου τὰ παιδγκιὰ ἐχάσα τὲς ὀρπίδες.

[**19**] A. 812–13 *Θὰ 'πάγω νὰ 'βρῶ 'να δενδρὶ ποὺ νὰ 'ναι μοναχόν του,*
νὰ κληάψω 'γὼ τὸν πόνον μου καὶ 'κεῖνο τὸν καμόν του.

[**20**] A. 818–19 *Τὸ γιασεμὶν ἐπέρασε κι' εἶπε τοῦ κρίνου "γιά σου."*
"Ὦ μυρισμένο γιασεμί, πήγαινε στὴν δουλειά σου."

[**21**] A. 726–7

Μιὰ γκαστρωμένη θέριζε σ' ἕνα κοντὸ σιτάρι,
ἐθέριζεν κι' ἐδρόμιαζεν κι' ἤδεννεν κι' ἐκουβάλεν,
καὶ στὸ δεμάτι πού 'δεσεν, χρουσὸν υἵγιὸν ἐβγάλει,
χρουσὸν υἵγιόν, χρουσὸν βλαστόν, χρουσὸ μαργαριτάρι.

A pregnant woman was reaping in a little wheat-field;
She reaped and sheaved and bound the sheaves and carried them,
And on the sheaf she bound she brought forth a golden son,
A golden son, a golden scion, a golden pearl.

[**22**] A. 782–3 *Μνιὰγ γαστρωμένη 'θέριζζε τσένα κοντὸ τσιτάρι*
κι' εἰς τὸ δρομὶν ἐκούμπισε χρουσὸν ὑγιοῦκαν κάμνει.
Σαββάτον τὸν ἐγέννησεν, Σαββατιανὸν τὸθ θέττει
κι' ἀπὸ 'σπερὶς τὸν ἔκαμεν καὶ σὰν ταχὺ προγεύτη
κι' ἔφαν ἐννιὰ φουρνῶ ψωμὶν καὶ πέντε μέτρα λάδι·
στὸμ μῆναμ πιάννει τὸ σπαθί, στὸ χρόνον τὸ κοντάρι,
μέσα στοὺς δγκυό μισυ στοὺς τρεῖς ὄξω 'βγκεν κι' ἐκαυκίστη
"Μηδὲ ἀπὲ τὸβ βασιληᾶν κανέναδ δὲφ φοβοῦμαι,
μηδὲ τὸγ γέρον τὸ Σαψώμ μηδὲ τὸ Νικηφόρον,
μηδὲ τὸν Τρεμοτράχηλομ, ποὺ τρέμ' ἡ γῆ κι' ὁ κόσμος."

A pregnant woman was reaping in a wheat-field near by,
And on the path she was delivered, a golden son she bore.
On a Saturday she bore him, so she called him Saturday's-Child.

In the evening she brought him forth, and in the morning he breakfasted
And he ate nine ovens-full of bread and five measures of oil.
At one month old he took the sword, at one year the lance,
At two and a half or three years he went forth and boasted,
'I fear neither anyone from the king
Nor old Samson nor Nikephoros,
Nor the Tremble-neck, before whom the earth and the universe tremble.'

[23] Hes. *Theog.* 969–74

Δημήτηρ μὲν Πλοῦτον ἐγείνατο δῖα θεάων,
’Ιαϲίῳ ἥρωι μιγεῖς’ ἐρατῇ φιλότητι
νειῷ ἐνὶ τριπόλῳ, Κρήτηϲ έν πίονι δήμῳ,
ἐϲθλόν, ὃϲ εἶϲ’ ἐπὶ γῆν τε καὶ εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάϲϲηϲ
πᾶϲαν· τῷ δὲ τυχόντι καὶ οὗ κ’ ἐϲ χεῖραϲ ἵκηται,
τὸν δ’ ἀφνειὸν ἔθηκε, πολὺν δέ οἱ ὤπαϲεν ὄλβον.

Goddess Demeter gave birth to Ploutos,
Having lain with the hero Iasios in lovely union,
In thrice-ploughed fallow in Crete's fertile land:
He is good, for he travels over earth and the broad back of the sea
Everywhere: whoever meets him, into whose hands he comes,
Him he makes rich, and bestows much wealth upon him.

HISTORY

CHIOS IN THE SIXTH CENTURY BC

C. ROEBUCK

IN 494 BC the Ionian Greeks lost the sea-battle of Lade, the decisive action in their revolt against the Persians, begun five years earlier. Herodotus tells us of the part played by the Chiotes.[1] They provided 100 ships, more than any other member of the Ionian alliance. Probably the sailors and soldiers who manned and fought them were mainly Chiotes, although some may have come from smaller Ionian states who had few ships of their own. In any case, 'the men of Chios suffered most of those that remained in the fight (many other Ionian crews had pulled out early); they performed great deeds and would not play the coward.' Most of the ships were too badly damaged to get back to Chios. Other survivors of the battle tried to escape overland through the territory of Ephesus. These were killed by the Ephesians, perhaps by mistake, perhaps to curry favour from the Persians. Even of those who got home by sea, some were killed by the Milesian Histiaeus, trying to establish a base on Chios. In the following year the Persian commanders mopped up the eastern Aegean, sweeping the islands with a long line of soldiers who hunted out the luckless people of Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos. But Chiotes did survive. They built new ships and refounded their prosperity as members of the Delian League until they revolted again, this time from Athens, in the Peloponnesian War.

We are not concerned here, however, with Chian recovery but with the position of Chios in the sixth century before they lost and sought to regain their independence from Persia. How did Chios acquire the wealth and skilled manpower to build 100 warships, apparently new triremes, and the soldiers and sailors to man them? That was the effort of a large state, for the number of men on the ships, basing an estimate on the standard 200 per vessel, would have been about 20,000 free men of military age. This indicates a total population for Chios of 60,000 to 80,000 free men, women, and children.[2] Chios in the late sixth century should be regarded as large, like Miletus and Ephesus in the Ionian region and not markedly smaller than, say, Corinth in mainland Greece.

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[1] Hdt. 6. 8, 15–16 (Lade); 6. 26 (Histiaeus); 6. 31 (Persian sweep).

[2] C. Roebuck, *Economy and Society in the Early Greek World*, 23–4; *Ionian Trade and Colonization* (New York 1959) 21–2. The Chiotes placed 40 picked men, presumably the élite of its soldiers, on each ship (Hdt. 6. 15. 1). Probably we should include them in the standard complement of 200 men which Herodotus uses for estimate in the period of the Persian Wars (7. 184. 1; 8. 17). Even so, the figure of 20,000 Chiotes, projected to a free population of 60,000 to 80,000, does seem high. Probably the Chian levy called out every able-bodied man and boy and the ships' complements were filled as well as they could be by Ionians from other states. The use of slaves, even in such a crisis, seems dubious in the light of our knowledge of slave behaviour on Chios (see below). One hint of the numerous population of Chios in the late 6th c. is given in Herodotus' story of the collapse of a schoolhouse roof (6. 27. 1); only one of 120 children inside survived the disaster.

The main elements of Chios' strength demonstrated at Lade were its material wealth, its manpower, and the will and resolution to maintain the revolt against Persia to a very bitter end. As in all Greek states the primary base of the economy was agriculture but Chios, as well as having a relatively large amount of cultivable land, was an island state on a potentially important trade route, the mid-point on the coastal route along western Asia Minor to Thrace, the Propontis, and the Black Sea. The Chiotes could develop an extensive overseas trade. As for Chiote morale in the Revolt, perhaps some explanation lies in the political institutions. Throughout its early history Chios demonstrated a remarkable stability. Evidently the institutions well expressed the substantial strength of Chian society. First, to look briefly at that society and economy and then to review the political system.

While the cultivable land of Chios was relatively large, the production of cereals could scarcely supply the population indicated for the sixth century. In fact, much earlier, in the eighth century BC, land began to be used to produce wine, and perhaps olive oil, for export.[3] In addition to their own wine, Chiotes seem to have shipped from Maroneia in Thrace, their earliest overseas colony. Presumably settlers had brought vines from Chios of which the produce met the approval of Homer and Archilochus.[4] In the sixth century the representation of amphorae on the early coins symbolized the place held by wine-production. This production for export, of course, entailed bringing in some grain for food and using a large labour-force on the farms to tend the olive trees and the vines.

As in other Greek states the land in Chios would have been held by both large- and small-scale holders. The latter, the ordinary farmers, doubtless provided most of their own labour, while the holders of large estates would have used tenants, seasonal hired labour, and some slaves. Presumably, too, slaves and landless men were used to develop holdings in the *ἐσχατιά* as the limits of cultivation were extended in response to the growth of population. At the outset the slaves would have been descendants of those individual natives absorbed into Greek households at the time of settlement, for on Chios we do not hear of a specific serf group which had retained its identity, as, for example, in Miletus and Priene.[5] As Chian overseas trade developed, particularly with Thrace, purchased slaves would have formed the bulk of the slave population.[6] We have no idea how large these elements were, but at a later date the great number of slaves on Chios provoked the attention of Greek historians. The slaves seem to have become a significant factor in Chian economy.

Thucydides, describing the revolt of Chios from Athens in 412 BC, observed[7] that Chios had more slaves (*οἰκέται*, household slaves) than any other Greek state except

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[3] Roebuck, *Economy and Society* 27 n. 36: Chios apparently had to provide grain for more than one-third of its population. Wine: fragments of Chian wine-jars and some scraps of fine ware have been found in deposits of the second half of the 8th c. at Old Smyrna (J. M. Cook, *BSA* 53–4 (1958–9) 14). See also Theopompus, *FGrHist 115* F 276. Oil: Thales is said (Arist. *Pol.* 1251a) to have cornered the market for oil presses in Chios and Miletus. Mastic, so well-known a product of Chios in later times, is not attested for this early period. Perhaps its regular cultivation developed with the extension of Chian agriculture in the 5th c.

[4] Hom. *Il.* 9. 71–2; *Od.* 9. 196–8; *IEG* Archil., 2, K. J. Beloch (*Griechische Geschichte*^{2} (Berlin 1912–27) I. 1, 254) suggests that the foundation at Maroneia was earlier than that on Thasos. The two colonies quarrelled over Stryme in the 7th c. (Harpocration, s.v. *Στρύμη*).

[5] The Gergithes at Miletus and the Pedieis at Priene were probably descendants of the pre-Ionian native population (Roebuck, *Society and Economy* 82–3, n. 29). Theopompus (*FGrHist* 115 F 152) specifically notes that Chios used purchased slaves.

[6] Native chieftains in Thrace sold off their people (Hdt. 5. 6. 1; Roebuck, *Ionian Trade* 108 n. 19.

[7] Thuc. 8. 40. 2.

Sparta. When the slaves judged that the Athenian siege-force was thoroughly established, they deserted the farms and did a great deal of damage to the land, because, says Thucydides, they knew the countryside, the *χώρα*. Evidently from Thucydides' analogy of Spartan helots and reference to the slaves' knowledge of the countryside, we should assume that most worked on the farms and were attached to the household of their master. Thucydides, of course, is describing a condition of the late fifth century and probably throughout that century the number of slaves had grown rapidly. Many Chian men had been killed after the defeat at Lade. However, it is likely that already in the sixth century the slaves had become a substantial part of the agricultural labour-force, for Theopompus commented[8] that Chiotes were the first Greeks after the Spartans and Thessalians to use slaves. Again the comparisons are with farm labour. Agriculture, then, provided some basic goods for trade by Chian merchants, olive oil and wine, while slaves furnished a substantial part of the farm labour. Chiotes had the time, as well as the opportunity, for seafaring. They learnt well to build, sail, and fight ships in the two centuries before the revolt against Persia.

Already in the eighth century the Chiotes had begun to exploit their advantageous position off the coast for local trade with Old Smyrna, Erythrae and adjacent cities. The opportunities for wider trading were provided by the new framework built in the Near East as the Assyrian Empire broke up. Egypt re-emerged about 650 BC into active history under its Saite kings; shortly before Gyges had centralized the Lydian kingdom at Sardis; a generation later New Babylonia rose to control the Levant until the conquests of Cyrus the Great. The Greeks during this period were making the region of the Black Sea and the western Mediterranean their preserve by placing a ring of colonies and trading posts along the coasts. In this enlarging world the Chiotes, like many other Greeks, developed their overseas trade. For Chios some of the profits were immediate and direct: they could levy tolls on the shipping through the channels by the island, a right which they jealously preserved. For example, Phocaeans, refugees from the Persian conquest of their city by Harpagus about 540 BC, were refused permission to buy and settle on the Oenussae Islands, for fear that they would establish an *ἐμπόριον*.[9] Far more profitable in the long run than these tolls, however, were the profits to be made in the carrying trade serving the new markets.

In this process the Chiotes founded only one important colony overseas and that very early, Maroneia in Thrace, mentioned above. Otherwise they seem to have been content to exploit opportunities for joint profit with other Greeks, as in the establishment of Naucratis in Egypt. Evidently Chios did not feel the pressure of overpopulation to the degree of exporting its own citizens. A large population there was, but Chiote traders found grain to feed them and the means to pay in the new carrying trade. The regions of particular interest to them were Egypt, Thrace, and the Black Sea rather than the far west or mainland Greece.

In Egypt Greeks were allowed to settle in Naucratis in the last quarter of the seventh century and, a generation later, were organized by King Amasis on a more formal basis.[10] Chiote merchants frequented the port as the dedications of Chian pottery in the shrines indicate and may themselves have founded a sanctuary for Aphrodite. King Amasis included them in his collective establishment for the Greeks, the Hellenion. In Naucratis they could obtain grain for consumption in Chios and for trading in the Aegean, as well as the desirable commodities of papyrus, linen, and small luxury items. For payment they could exchange oil and wine with other Greeks in Naucratis and silver with Egyptians. To the silver the colony at Maroneia provided access through the Thracian natives as the latter developed their mining under this new stimulus. The evidence for the trade is the Chian and Greek silver pieces found with the large coins of Thraco–Macedonian mintage in the merchant hoards of the Nile Delta. So, with Chios as the pivot, a profitable circle of trade, Thrace–Chios–Egypt, was worked out in the course of the sixth century.[11]

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[8] Theopompus, *FGrHist* 115 F 152; Athenaeus (6. 265 D–266 E) tells a vivid story of a slave revolt on Chios settled by treaty between its leader, a sort of Greek 'Robin Hood,' and the Chians.

[9] Hdt. 1. 165. 1.

[10] M. M. Austin, 'Greece and Egypt in the Archaic Age'. *Proc. Cambridge Phil. Society* 1970, Suppl. 2; Roebuck, *Economy and Society* 44–52.

At the same time as Egypt was being reopened to sea trade, the Greeks began to penetrate into the Black Sea and to ring its northern coast in particular with trading posts. Milesians were the most enterprising, for civil strife there throughout most of the sixth century opened the safety-valve of colonization. Chios, a traditional ally of Miletus, was stable but its traders joined in this trade as their pottery on the important sites indicates. The trade amplified the Greek food supply with new specialities: at first, preserved fish, but very soon, by the mid sixth century, grain, as shown by Ionian inscriptions found recently on Berezan Island near Olbia.[12] Some of the goods from Egypt and the Black Sea, as well as from Chios itself, were probably carried by Chiotes across the Aegean to mainland Greece, where Aegina served as a depot and link for further trade. There the Chiote traders dedicated pottery in the temple of Athena Aphaea.[13] In all this activity, then, the Chiote role seems to have been primarily that of a carrier and, significantly for Greek trade, a carrier of basic goods in bulk, of grain, olive oil, and wine.

We have been referring glibly to Chiote landowners, shipbuilders, owners, and traders. While no Chiote wrote of himself in these terms, perhaps we may draw from Alcaeus of Lesbos to illustrate. He does refer to his life as farmer and merchant sailor, as well as warrior and dissatisfied revolutionary. War and revolution seem to have been absent from Chios in the early sixth century but surely Alcaeus' ordinary life cannot have been very different from that of the Chiote men of substance and established family position.

Alcaeus, as a farmer, knew, better than his neighbours, as farmers do, the proper time for pressing the grapes:[14] 'For already the time has passed for you and all the fruit there was has been gathered. The hope was that the vine-branch—for it was good—would bear not a few bunches of grapes, but now it is too late. For though the landowners expected such clusters from the vine, I am afraid that they have gathered unripe grapes which are too sour.' The other landowners were too eager.

Probably Alcaeus knew seafaring at first hand[15]: 'For the one wave rolls from this direction and the other from that; and we are carried in the midst with our black ship, after being much buffeted by the great storm. For the bilge is up to the masthold and all the sail is now transparent. And there are great rents in it . . . Let us patch up with all speed the timbers and run into a safe harbour. . . .'[16] 'Castor and Polydeuces . . . easily rescue men from freezing death; leaping up on the prows of their well-benched ships, shining from afar as you run up the forestays and bring light in a night of horror to a black ship.' As Bowra remarked,[17] 'Alcaeus' poem looks almost like such a prayer, written in an hour of need or at least inspired by it. It is perfectly probable that Alcaeus was in danger of shipwreck on some occasion in his life.' It is probable, too, that Alcaeus wrote of a merchant ship, for he describes the labour of a vessel *under sail* in a heavy sea. The landowners of the larger Ionian islands were seafarers and traders, as well as farmers and warriors.

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[11] Ibid. 33–4.

[12] Yu. G. Vinogradov, *Vestnik drevneĭ istorii* 115 (1971) 64–76; 118 (1971) 74–100.

[13] A. Furtwängler, *Aegina* (Munich 1906) 455–6. Only a small amount of archaic Chian pottery, fine ware and wine-jars, has been found at Corinth and Athens. After the Persian Wars Chian trade into both cities increased considerably, presumably Aeginetan trade declined as that of the Delian League grew and the reputation of Chian wine became more firmly established.

[14] Fr. 119 L–P; C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (Oxford 1961) 182.

[15] Fr. 6 L–P; Bowra, op. cit. 150.

The stability of such families rested primarily on the land but the new trading would strengthen their position. The long distance traffic to Egypt and the Black Sea and, for some, to the far west, necessitated lengthy absence from home and thrust the agricultural round upon other family members. It is difficult to see how such voyaging could have been developed otherwise. Members of the landowning families had the time and the capital, and produced the goods of trade; also, like Telemachus on Ithaca, they could pick up a crew among the more restless lads of their community. For the warrior-landowner, too, the steps from roving for plunder, through trading some of the plunder, to trading in available commodities were easy and logical. While they were taking these steps, their communities were growing into city-states of which they were the active citizens.

By the time of the Persian conquest of western Asia Minor, 547–540 BC, Chios had been long established as a city-state with its centre at Chios town, where the modern city is built, and the whole island as its rural territory. In tradition the unification is attributed to a semi-historical King Hector, apparently about 800 BC. Hector is also said to have brought his kingdom into the Ionian League, centred on the Panionion near Priene.[18] Since the League was primarily religious in function, exclusively for the Asiatic Ionians, Hector's adherence would have been a symbol of the predominantly Ionian culture of Chios. He did not seek military allies, for Chios' early warlike actions seem to have been almost entirely unilateral—unneighbourly attempts to expand across the channel at the expense of Erythrae. The Chiotes were, however, gradually drawn into the growing network of Greek political relationships: Chios formed a close alliance with Miletus, helping the latter against Alyattes of Lydia—perhaps by bringing grain to the beleaguered city.[19] During the formative years of the seventh century Chios was able to grow in insular security without outside interference or even the threat of invasion.

During much of the sixth century Chios continued to enjoy its security. Lydia offered no threat to the island Greeks and with King Croesus Chios enjoyed *ξενία*, friendship, so that Chiotes did not pay tribute or provide military service on call, as did most of the Greek states on the Asiatic mainland, except for Miletus.[20] Accordingly the Chiotes did not join Lydia against Cyrus of Persia in 547 or feel obliged to help the Ionians of the mainland who resisted Cyrus' generals after the fall of Sardis. Instead, Chios came to a profitable, if rather discreditable, arrangement with the Persians.[21] When Cyme and Mytilene handed over Pactyes, the Lydian leader of revolt, to the Chiotes, as too hot to handle themselves, the Chiotes surrendered him to Persia in exchange for the territory of Atarneus on the mainland. Perhaps they vaguely regarded this as an extension of their *ξενία* with Croesus, but, as has been suggested, they may well have paid a small tribute to Persia for possession of Atarneus. Certainly the latter was profitable—the land was fertile and provided some grain close at hand. Herodotus credited the Chiotes with shame about the transaction,[22] for he remarks that they prohibited dedications of grain from Atarneus. Darius, however, with a more formal view of empire than Cyrus, regarded the payment as tribute, for he counted the Islanders, 'the Ionians of the sea,' among his subjects. Some Chiotes evidently came to accept the relationship as normal, too, for by the time of the Scythian expedition in 513 a Chiote commander, Strattis, is listed among the so-called Ionian tyrants who were loyal to Darius.[23] Apparently, because Persian control was nominal rather than oppressive in its early years and Chios continued to profit from overseas trade to Persian territories, a pro-Persian group developed among the leading citizens, as in other Greek states.[24] There was little reason for discontent until after the Scythian expedition and political life on Chios remained stable. What we know of the form of government is derived from the well-known inscription frequently referred to as the 'Constitution of Chios.'[25]

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[16] Fr. 326 L–P; Bowra, op. cit. 151.

[17] Fr. 34 L–P; Bowra, op. cit. 176–7.

[18] Paus. 7. 4. 9–10 (based on Ion of Chios); H. T. Wade-Gery, *The Poet of the Iliad* (Cambridge 1952) 7. Perhaps Aristotle (*Politics* 1306b) has Hector's centralization of power in mind when he refers to the overthrow of the Basilidae; that could have been the reduction of local *Βασιλεῖς* ruling in territorial enclaves. There may be a hint of such a regional kingdom in the existence of the megaron hall at Emporio (J. Boardman, *Greek Emporio* (London 1967) 31–4). However, 'overthrow of the Basilidae' might refer to the change which brought the landowners into control at the expense of the kingship (see below p. 86). But on Chios that seems to have been accomplished without violence and *βασιλεῖς* continued to function as part of the government.

[19] Erythrae: G. Huxley, *The Early Ionians* (London 1966) 49; Miletus: Hdt. 1. 18.

The inscription was the public record of a *ῥήτρη*, a directive of the assembly of Chios. It arranged for the juridical duties of certain public officials, the disposition of some sacred funds, and for the hearing of appeals. Thus the document, although fragmentary, indicates to some degree the working system of government in the second quarter of the sixth century, to which it is dated by its letter forms. Just as the inscription itself modifies previous arrangements and is not the record of a new governmental establishment, its terms show traces of change from earlier periods. There is a reference to *βασιλεῖς*, to kings in the plural. Evidently the original kingship of King Hector's dynasty had been transformed at some time before the sixth century. There is a hint in an account of a Chian raid on Erythrae in Hippias of Erythrae[26] that by that time (early seventh century?) it had devolved into a dual kingship, for two kings are mentioned, Amphiclus, named after the original founder of the dynasty, and Polytecnus. This may have been one step in the change to a dynastic oligarchy of the type so frequent in Ionian states.[27] Be that as it may, the kingship had become a civic office by the time of the inscription, for the kings exercised specified jurisdiction and were not solely ceremonial officials. Evidently Chios had managed to change its system in this respect without violently repudiating an earlier form.

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[20] Hdt. 1. 27; Roebuck, *Economy and Society* 66 n. 29.

[21] For discussion see L. Boffo, 'La conquista persiana delle città greche d'Asia Minore', *Accad. dei Lincei*, ser. VIII, vol. 26. (1983) 29 ff. Despite Herodotus' notice (1. 169. 2) that the Islanders surrendered to Persia after Harpagus had subdued the mainland cities, he also observed that they remained in the same position as with Croesus (1. 163. 1 and 151. 2). Presumably the situation was amorphous until one or other party pressed the matter. Boffo's suggestion that the Islanders 'recognized' Persian authority on the mainland is sensible (op. cit. 47): with the deal for Atarneus went recognition of Persian authority and presumably with that a small tribute. Darius expressed the offical Persian view in the Behistun inscription.

[22] Hdt. 1. 160. 5.

[23] Hdt. 4. 138.

[24] On the condition of Ionia under the Persian regime and for recent discussion of the causes of revolt see P. Tozzi, *La rivolta ionica* (Pisa 1978), 114 ff.; D. Lateiner, *Historia* 31 (1982) 129–60; Boffo, op. cit. 59–65.

[25] L. H. Jeffery, 'The Courts of Justice in Archaic Chios,' *BSA* 51 (1956) 157–67; J. H. Oliver, 'Text of the So-called Constitution of Chios from the First Half of the Sixth Century B.C.,' *American Journal of Philology* 80 (1959) 296–301.

[26] *FGrHist* 421 F 1; Athen., 6. 259 B–C.

Another indication of such change was the simultaneous existence of two Councils: a public (δημοσίη) boule and, by implication at least, an older, aristocratic council. The public council was representative and elective, with fifty members from each tribe. We do not know the number of tribes in Chios at this period, but, to judge from the other Ionian states, there would have been at least three and perhaps as many as six.[28] The boule would have been large, 150 to 300 members. The other council was presumably a smaller and more exclusive body, probably selected by qualifications of birth, as well as wealth. Since the boule met at least once monthly to deal with appeals and other public business it should be regarded as the State Council proper, participating actively in government with the officials and public assembly.

Just as the boule represented the broadening of an earlier, more aristocratic, system so did the officials of whom we read: as well as the βασιλεῖς, the document mentions demarchs, leaders of the demos, of the people as a whole. While this may sound like Tribunes of the People and evoke images of a Struggle of the Orders, that would hardly have been the case in an early Greek state. It is probable that the demarchs were officials brought into a centralized government when the boule was created. Their presence would represent an assertion of power by the demos, presumably the landowners, γεωμόροι, collectively, as, for example, on Lesbos.[29] Their presence indicates, too, that the public assembly had acquired a formal, official character.

The assembly would have elected members of the boule, whether collectively as an assembly or through the tribes we do not know. We do know that the assembly possessed sovereignty to legislate—to pass ῥῆτραι such as the document itself; to dispose of moneys—in this case, sacred moneys; to instruct and presumably to elect some officials (e.g., the demarchs); presumably, too, of course, the assembly decided on war and peace. In short, the Chiotes had formalized the exercise of popular sovereignty, limited as in other Greek states of this period by recognition of some traditional privilege and probably, at least for holding office, by property qualifications. Above all, they provided for appeal to the people or its council from magistrates' decisions. The system could be described as a moderate oligarchy or an incipient democracy, depending through which end of the telescope it is viewed.

When the inscription was first discussed in the early twentieth century, its governmental arrangements were compared, of course, with those of Solon for Athens. It was dated a generation earlier (about 600) than at present (575–50) and hailed as an Ionian example to Solon. Perhaps it was, for some would prefer to lower Solon's date a generation from 594 BC and deny him a boule like that of Chios.[30] Such arguments, however, shift matters only within a single generation and raise hard questions of institutional change. Moreover, the Chian document is not the first step in the process of the change on Chios. For that island the important points are that its people experienced a rhythm of institutional growth similar to that of other leading states of Greece. Well before the second quarter of the sixth century, probably in the mid-seventh, to judge again from the example of neighbouring Lesbos,[31] where Alcaeus lamented that he did not enjoy participation in the Assembly and Council, as his father and grandfather had before him, the Chiotes had established the typical form of a classical Greek city-state. But throughout the whole process Chios demonstrated a remarkable stability, making fundamental changes without stirring up stasis to produce a crop of political exiles and tyrants. Chios had skilfully preserved its balance between country and city and between agriculture and commerce.

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[27] In Aeolis and northern Ionia there were Basilidae, family dynasties, at Erythrae: Hippias of Erythrae (see last note; Arist. *Pol.* 1305^b); Mytilene: Arist. *Pol.* 1312^a; Cyme: as in Chios the kingship became a regular civic office, albeit uncomfortable for a brief period each year, when the king was jailed while his conduct was reviewed by the Council (Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 2; Arist. fr. 524).

[28] Roebuck, *Economy and Society* 73–8; for evidence of the tribes in the 4th c. see W. G. Forrest, *BSA* 55 (1960) 178–9; on 'democracy' in Chios, 180–1, 187–9.

[29] Fr 119. 9–16 L–P; Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry* 182; Jeffery collects other examples of demarchs in Ionian states (op. cit. (n. 25) 164).

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[30] C. Hignett, *History of the Athenian Constitution* (Oxford 1952) 92 ff.

[31] Fr. 130 L–P.

CHIOS IN THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

J. P. BARRON

THEY say that 'no news is good news'; and certainly it is the common experience that only disasters make the headlines. In Thucydides' *History* Chios comes to real prominence only in 412 BC, when she joined almost all the cities of Athens' Aegean Empire in revolt, following the disastrous defeat at Syracuse in the preceding year. On that occasion Thucydides pauses in his account to reflect on the contrast with Chios' earlier policies in the Delian League and Athenian Empire:[1]

> *Χῖοι γὰρ μόνοι μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίους ὧν ἐγὼ ᾐσθόμην ηὐδαιμόνησάν τε ἅμα καὶ ἐσωφρόνησαν, καὶ ὅσῳ ἐπεδίδου ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον, τόσῳ δὲ καὶ ἐκοσμοῦντο ἐχυρώτερον.*
>
> To my knowledge the Chians were second only to the Spartans in combining prosperity with prudence in public policy; and the greater their city became, the more stable was their government and society.

Good news, then; and our literary sources have correspondingly little to say.

Ever since Aristotle joined them together as 'guardians of the Empire' (*Ath. Pol.* 24. 2), historians have tended to see Athens' three major allies or subjects—Samos, Chios, Lesbos—as a distinctive group. Yet their story is very different. Samos, in modern parlance, kept the highest profile of the three, receiving awards of *ἀριστεῖα* for Cimon's great battle at the Eurymedon and for the ill-fated expedition to Egypt;[2] urging the removal of the allied Treasury from Delos to Athens when disaster in Egypt and revolt in Ionia threatened to draw the Persians back into the Aegean;[3] or, on the other hand, declining to close her mint in obedience to the currency decree of about 448,[4] waging war with Miletus for the possession of territory on the mainland, and so provoking Athenian intervention which led to her own attempt at secession in 440/39, followed by conquest and (in Thucydides' view) her reduction to something like tributary status;[5] and then, in a further reversal of role to end with as fierce a loyalty as she began, a final decade as Athens' truest and most steadfast ally, recognized at last in 405 by the rare gift of *συμπολιτεία*.[6] For Lesbos, certainly, there is less to be told. But one can feel one knows about Lesbos, since Thucydides chose to make much of the island's secession in 428–7, and through the mouths of Athenian and Mytilenaean speakers allows us an inner view of the Athenian Empire as it appeared to both rulers and ruled. But for Chios, there is scarcely the bare skeleton of a record.[7]

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[1] Thuc. 8. 24. 4. Here *ἐσωφρόνησαν* appears to refer to caution in external affairs (as the next sentence in the text makes clear), while *ἐκοσμοῦντο* refers to the internal stability of the regime: see A. W. Gomme, A. Andrewes, and K. J. Dover, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* V, Book 8 (Oxford 1981) ad loc. *Sophrosyne* is commonly for Thuc. a specifically oligarchic virtue; ibid. 8. 64. 5 n.; see also H. North, *Sophrosyne, Cornell Studies in Classical Philology* 35 (Ithaca, NY, 1966) 100–15, esp. 111–13. See also below for evidence that Chios was in fact an oligarchy at this time.

[2] G. Dunst, 'Archaische Inschriften und Dokumente der Pentekonaetie aus Samos', *AM* 87 (1972) 99–163: 149–55 nos. 22–4; G. F. Hill, R. Meiggs, and A. Andrewes, *Sources for Greek History between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars*² (Oxford, 1951) 324, B 123 (Eurymedon); 322, B 113 (Memphis).

[3] Plut. *Arist.* 25. 3, cf. *Per.* 12. 1; R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford 1971) 48, 109 ff.; J. P. Barron, *JHS* 82 (1962) 5.

[4] J. P. Barron, *The Silver Coins of Samos* (London 1966) 83–7; and see below.

In this paper I want to look a little more deeply into the uneventfulness of more than two whole generations of Chian history, and to try to determine whether, as with Sherlock Holmes's dog in the night, the silence betokens something more sinister, or whether it was indeed the case that there is no news simply because the news was good. I shall concentrate on three phases: the first two decades of the Delian League, the years shortly after mid-century which saw what Russell Meiggs has called 'the crisis of Athenian imperialism',[8] and the stirrings of unease occasioned by the stress of the Peloponnesian War.

I

The later quietness of Chios is quite out of character with the island's active stance in the years after 480. In the spring of 479 it was a party of dissident Chians, come without the knowledge of their veteran tyrant Strattis, who approached Leotychidas' little fleet at Aegina and managed to draw him as far as Delos (Hdt. 8. 132. 1–2); though it was not until the further appeal of a Samian group some months later that Leotychidas, now greatly reinforced, was persuaded to sail on to Mycale and to victory (id. 9. 90–105). By his actions after the campaign, Leotychidas showed that he and the Spartans had little stomach for continuing the struggle, now that Persian forces had been driven from the mainland,[9] and it was inevitable that the East Greeks should look to Athens to take over the hegemony of the united forces. At Byzantium in 478 they made their appeal, and Plutarch discloses that Chios and Samos were again in the lead, conspiring a provocative incident which left Athens no choice but to present herself as their champion.[10]

The appeal was made, Thucydides says, *κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές*, on ground of kinship; and both Herodotus and Thucydides elsewhere clarify the meaning of the phrase. At one level, it is a matter of Ionian solidarity in the face of Dorians; at another, it is a more specific appeal to the obligation of Athens as mother-city to take her daughters under her protective wing.[11] It is an argument much reported of the time of the Persian Wars and later. Aristagoras is said to have employed it to get Athenian help for the Ionian Revolt, and Themistocles at Artemisium to persuade the Ionians in Xerxes' fleet to desert or at least to avoid fighting against their kin (Hdt. 5. 97. 2; 8. 22; cf. 9. 98. 2–4). At the council of Samos which followed the victory at Mycale, the Athenians used it for the first time against Sparta, championing the right of their colonies to remain in Asia rather than be transported into the lands of the traitor-states—Argos and Thebes presumably—on the mainland (id., 9. 106. 2–3). A recent study of relations between Athens and the three great islands holds that this kind of argument will have cut little ice.[12] If that were so, the recurrent emphasis of Herodotus and Thucydides on the theme would be very strange indeed. Thucydides' speeches are full of the ethnic argument,[13] and it was plainly the belief of his contemporaries in its overwhelming power of persuasion that led him to give his account of the Sicilian expedition its otherwise very surprising preface (6. 1–5) in which he lists the origins of the Greek settlements there but says almost nothing of their more immediately relevant recent history.

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[5] Thuc. 1. 115. 2–117; cf. 7. 57. 4 (*φόρου ὑποτελῶν*). The island's name does not, however, appear on any of the surviving quota-lists. See, in general, Meiggs, op. cit. 188–94.

[6] Thuc. 8. *passim*; *συμπολιτεία*, *IG* II^2 1; R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, *Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford 1969), no. 94.

[7] Hence the relatively little said of Chios by T. J. Quinn, *Athens and Samos, Lesbos and Chios, 478–404 B.C.* (Manchester, 1981), to which the reader is referred for discussion of the sparse evidence for the internal politics of the island in this period.

[8] *Harvard Studies* 67 (1963) 1–36.

[9] Proposal to transplant Ionians to the mainland, Hdt. 9. 106. 2–3; withdrawal from the Hellespont campaign, ibid. 114.

[10] Thuc. 1. 95–96. 1; Plut. *Arist.* 23. 4–5; Meiggs, *Athenian Empire* 42 f.

[11] For a careful estimate of the strength of these ethnic feelings, see J. Alty, 'Dorians and Ionians', *JHS* 102 (1982) 1–14, an effective reply to the dismissive conclusions of E. Will, *Doriens et Ioniens* (Strasburg 1956).

The myth-historical basis of the appeal to kinship differed in detail from place to place and from time to time. When Aristagoras of Miletus appealed on behalf of the twelve cities of the Panionion to Athens their metropolis for help in the Ionian Revolt, his shadowy fellow-Milesian Cadmus published his *Κτίσις Μιλήτου καὶ τῆς ὅλης Ἰωνίας*, a version of the story in which Athenian settlement of the twelve cities was led by Neileos the son of Codrus, and Miletus given the central role.[14] Another early version whose context is lost made Ephesus the centre and another Codrid, Androclus, the leader.[15] In Samos the Codrid legend never took root: Samos was founded by refugees from Epidaurus led by a descendant of the eponymous Ion.[16] Traces remain of an attempt to harmonize or blur the story *c.* 450 in two series of horoi from Samos which marked out the property of two cults, of Ion and of his four sons the tribal eponyms, both characterized as *Ἀθήνηθεν*.[17] In Chios too an interest in Ion is attested, at a date close to that of the war against Xerxes, in the naming of the future man of letters born probably a very few years before 480, Ion of Chios.[18] And, as in Samos, the Codrid legend failed to become established.[19] But the founding hero who excited most interest and devotion belonged to an earlier generation: the Cretan Oenopion, generally (together with his brother Staphylus) reputed the son of Dionysus and Ariadne.[20] An account of the founding of Chios by Oenopion was given by Ion in a prose history of the island, composed no earlier than the mid-460s. As reported by Pausanias, the author says nothing of Oenopion's parentage.[21] But in a fragment from a different work, in verse, Ion speaks of Chios

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[12] Quinn, op. cit. 1–9.

[13] Cf. for instance 1. 124. 1; 6. 77. 1, 80. 3, 82. 2–3.

[14] Hdt. 5. 97. 2; Cadmus, *FGrHist* 489 T 16. Cadmus' date is inferred from the belief that he was one of the first writers of prose (T 2–3, cf. 4). Jacoby's assertion that his work was a Hellenistic forgery and Cadmus himself non-existent, ibid., *Komm.* IIIB 402 f, is not a necessary inference from the evidence of confusion about him in, e.g., the *Suda*. See M. B. Sakellariou, *La Migration grecque en Ionie* (Paris 1958) 64 f, 367–75 on the name Cadmus in Miletus and Milesian legend.

[15] Pherecydes *FGrHist* 3 F 155, *ap.* Strabo 632. This variant may have arisen no later than the mid 6th c.: see *Suda* s.v. *Ἀρίσταρχος*, and A. Momigliano, *Stud. Ital.* n.s. 10 (1933) 259–97. See also Sakellariou, op. cit. 123 ff.

[16] Paus. 7. 4. 2–3; cf. 2. 26. 1; cf. the 'Dorians from Epidaurus', Hdt. 1. 146. 1; and Sakellariou, op. cit. 93 ff.

[17] J. P. Barron, 'Religious Propaganda of the Delian League', *JHS* 84 (1964) 35–48, esp. 37–40, 46 f.; K. Tsakos, "*Ἐπιγραφές Σάμου* I", *ADelt* 32A (1977) 70–9.

[18] First tragedies produced 451/48, *FGrHist* 392 T 1. See G. L. Huxley, 'Ion of Chios', *GRBS* 6 (1965) 29–46, and bibliography there cited; K. von Fritz, *Die griech. Geschichtsschreibung* I (Berlin 1967) 94–103. H. B. Mattingly, in K. H. Kinzl (ed.), *Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean in Ancient History and Archaeology* (Festschr. Schachermeyr: Berlin and New York 1977) 236–9, supposes Ion rather younger, born after the Persian Wars. (I owe the two latter references to the kindness of Professor M. L. West.) We do not know at what date the ethnic reference was reinforced, when his father Orthomenes received the nickname Xuthus (T1): perhaps in Attic comedy? (So F. Jacoby, *CQ* 41 (1947) 1 n. 7.)

[19] Unless the otherwise unattested Egertius of Strabo 633 was in fact a Codrid, as nearly but not quite all of the *οἰκισταί* there listed. However, Paus. 7. 4. 8–10, summarizing Ion's account (n. 21 below), makes it clear that Ion, at least, recognized no Neleid phase in Chios. Neleid names occur there later, but can be explained otherwise: W. G. Forrest, *JHS* 101 (1981) 134. On the foundation legends, see Sakellariou, op. cit. 186 ff.

τήν ποτε Θησηίδης ἔκτισεν Οἰνοπίων.[22]

Oenopion, that is, was a child of Ariadne not by Dionysus but by Theseus. According to Plutarch, who preserves the fragment, the allegation was repeated by other authors. But we cannot yet say whether Ion invented it or found it already in local currency. But to find Theseus so far outside his usual habitat is remarkable, and should be significant.

As is well known, there is little evidence of interest in Theseus in myth, legend, or cult outside Athens. Even in Athens, the great popularity of Theseus which we observe in the fifth century developed only in the last decade of the sixth. Before that he was merely a slayer of monsters—Minotaur, Centaurs—and a rather disreputable ladies' man: so disreputable, in fact, that, as the *Odyssey* hints and Epimenides described, Ariadne was in some quarters imagined not as 'ageless and immortal' (in Hesiod's phrase) but as the faithless wife of Dionysus, slain for her adultery with the Athenian hero.[23] By the last decade of the sixth century all has changed. Theseus' heroic deeds on his youthful journey from Troezen to Athens now first become known, springing to sudden popularity in the repertory of vase-painting and a little later on the metopes of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi. Moreover, the hero's adventures with Ariadne were now set safely in her salad days, and he loved and left her before, not after, she first caught the fancy of the vinous god.[24] Exciting as the remodelled story was, it had little impact outside Athens. Only two other places apart from Chios seem to have shown any serious interest in Theseus in our period, Eretria and Carthaea in Ceos, both of which included the story of Theseus and the Amazon Antiope in the decorative scheme of their Late Archaic temples. The abduction of Antiope from her homeland filled a pediment of the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria, a building erected in the second half of the sixth century and ruined by the Persians on their way to Marathon in 490; the style of the sculpture places this pediment in the last decade of the sixth century or the first of the fifth.[25] The explanation for this choice of subject appears to be in the political closeness between Eretria and Athens at this time: thrown together by their common hostility to Chalcis, whom Athens convincingly defeated in 506, the two cities are the only ones to have sent help from Old Greece to the Ionian Revolt (Hdt. 5. 99. 1). A possibly parallel and certainly intriguing case is that of the temple of Athena at Carthaea in Ceos. Here the material is not yet adequately published, and the date is in question. A recent study of the architectural remains and of their affinities with work in central Greece and the Peloponnese has suggested a Late Archaic date. But the style of the very damaged pedimental sculpture has appeared to favour a date close to that of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, that is about 470–460.[26] A full publication of the sculpture is keenly awaited, and we must hope for a decisive date either before or after Xerxes' invasion of Greece. For one of the pediments bore as akroteria Theseus and Antiope; all that is so far published is the inscribed plinth of *Θησευς*, its letter-forms not decisively datable.[27] If, in general terms, we may look to the first third of the fifth century, it is particularly tantalizing to find Theseus among the circle of Athenians in Ceos—and particularly important to know whether the akroteria are earlier or later than the Persian Wars—because it was of course from this same island that Bacchylides came, author of two of the more remarkable poems of our period, his two odes on the legend of Theseus. It was, indeed, for a performance at Delos by a chorus of his fellow-Ceans that Bacchylides wrote *Ode* 17, the story of Theseus' voyage to Crete and of his retrieval of Minos' ring from the sea—the same rare subject which Micon depicted about this time in a mural of the Theseum at Athens, founded by the Athenian commander-in-chief Cimon in 476/5 to contain the hero's bones brought back from Scyros.[28] I have tried to show elsewhere that for Bacchylides Cimon was not merely, as is well known, an admirer and devotee of Theseus, but in some sense the new embodiment of Theseus himself. Every detail of the description of the hero in 18. 50–60 is meant to evoke an echo of Cimon: the Laconian hat and woolly (*οὔλιον*) Thessalian cloak recall his three sons Lakedaimonios, Oulios, Thettalos; the hero's red hair is a reminder of Cimon's Thracian mother, the Lemnian fire in his eyes an allusion to the conquest of the island by Cimon's father Miltiades.[29] I argued too that the Ceans' song at Delos, *Ode* 17, is meant equally to stir thoughts of Cimon, if in more veiled terms, with a reference to the great admiral's victory at Eion in 476/5 (l.112), and a parallel between the thalassocracy of Athens under Theseus, achieved by the hero's defeat of, in Bacchylides' phrase, 'the son of the Phoenician woman' (54, cf. 31), and the thalassocracy of Athens under Cimon, achieved by the latter's defeat of sons of Phoenician women in the Persian fleet of his own day. In the same study I hoped to show that for another contemporary writer, Pherecydes the Athenian, Cimon was not only the new embodiment of Theseus but even, if more prosaically, his lineal descendant. This Pherecydes achieved by substituting Theseus for

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[20] Schol. Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 3. 997–1004a Wendel; cf. Hes. fr. 238 MW; Theopompus, *FGrHist* 115 F 276; Apollod. 1. 9. 16. See also the local inscription giving lists of Oinopion's family and followers: N. M. Kontoleon, *Rev. Phil.*, ser. 3, 23 (1949) 5–9.

[21] 392 F 1 (Paus. 7. 4. 8).

[22] *IEG* Ion. 29 West, *ap.* Plut. *Thes.* 20, 2. See Huxley, op. cit. 35 f; also H. Herter, *Rhein. Mus.* 91 (1942) 228–35; id., *RE* s.v. 'Theseus' (Suppl. 13) 1131, 1134.

[23] *Od.* 11. 321–5; Epimenides *ap.* [Eratosth.], *Cataster.* 5 (*Mythogr. Gr.* 3. 1, ed. A. Olivieri (Leipzig 1897) 5 ff.).See T. B. L. Webster, *Greece and Rome* 13 (1966) 22–31.

[24] Pherecydes, *FGrHist* 3 F 148; Webster, loc. cit. For sudden popularity at the end of the 6th c., see F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage*^{3} (Marburg 1973) 210 ff.; H. Herter, *RE* s.v. 'Theseus' 1061 ff., etc.; K. Schefold, *Mus. Helv.* 3 (1946) 65 ff.

[25] M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge 1975) 163 f. and pl. 50b; D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art* (Oxford 1957) 124–6, pl. 67. 1–2. Destruction of the temple, Hdt. 6. 101. 3. Against the recent attempt of D. Francis and M. Vickers to assign the pediment to a later date, after the Persian Wars (*JHS* 103 (1983) 49–67), see J. Boardman, ibid. 104 (1984) 161–3.

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[26] E. Østby, 'The Athenaion of Karthaia', *Opusc. Athen.* 13 (1980) 189–223; H. Lauter, 'Bemerkungen zum archaischen Tempel von Koressia', *AA* 1979, 6–16, esp. 13–16. Mrs E. Walter-Karydi is preparing a publication of the sculpture.

[27] Chr. Doumas, *ADelt* 18 B (1983) 282; *SEG* 25 948; cf. Østby, op. cit. 208; G. Daux, *BCH* 89 (1965) 858 f. I am most grateful to Mrs E. Touloupa, Ephor of Antiquities, for permitting me to examine this material in spring 1984.

[28] Bacch. 17, esp. 130; Paus. 1. 17. 3; date, Plut. *Thes.* 36; cf. *Cim.* 8. 3–7. I cannot accept the down-dating of these events to 469/8 proposed by J. D. Smart, *JHS* 87 (1967) 136–8, which would leave the first decade of the Delian League's existence implausibly uneventful. A. J. Podlecki, *JHS* 91 (1971) 141–3, points out that, properly, the date given by Plutarch is that of the oracle which sent Cimon to Scyros for Theseus' bones, and follows Busolt in lowering the date of the conquest of Scyros to 474 or 473. It seems more likely, however, that Plutarch's source dated the oracle from the capture than vice versa. Moreover, the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia is based on another of the murals in the Theseum, and no substantially lower date would allow time for the mural to be completed, and then to have its influence on an ambitious sculptural programme which was itself complete by 457. (See J. P. Barron, *Bull. Inst. Class. Stud. London* 31 (1984) 201 f.)

[29] 'Bacchylides, Theseus and a Woolly Cloak', ibid 27 (1980) 1–8.

Telamon as father of Cimon's ancestor Ajax, by none other than Eriboea, the girl Theseus saved from Minos' attentions on the voyage to Crete in Bacchylides' poem and Micon's painting.

This same mechanism of a change of paternity, displacing an established figure to make room for Theseus, is precisely that adopted by Ion of Chios for Oenopion. Ion was early admitted to the circle of Cimon's admirers, *παντάπασι μειράκιον*, at a dinner-party at which the great man boasted of his canny division of the spoils of Sestos and Byzantium; and the fragments of his reminiscences speak admiringly of Cimon's appearance and powers of eloquence.[30] It was as a Cimonian, then, that Ion contributed to the same fulsome propaganda as Bacchylides, Micon, and Pherecydes; and it becomes likely that it was Ion himself who forged for Chios a link not only with Athens but with her new Theseus, Cimon the commander-in-chief.[31]

II

No doubt the Chian fleet regularly played its part in Cimon's brilliant campaigns. But we hear little of this side of Chian activity—very different from the buccaneering Samians to the south. Chians, indeed, were among the Eurymedon force about 465, and at a critical moment prevailed upon Phaselis to allow base-facilities for the final phase of the campaign.[32] Phaselis entered the Delian League at a modest fee or fine of ten talents imposed for her initial reluctance, and shortly afterwards received a special privilege or obligation—it is hard to know which—in the hearing of legal disputes between her citizens and Athenians: to sue and be sued in the Polemarch's court at Athens. The procedure, the inscription says, is to follow precedent established for the Chians.[33]

Interstate disputes requiring regulations such as those framed for Chios and Phaselis were most likely to arise from trade, and it is particularly interesting that Chios is the first state for which Athens is known to have made this provision. Certainly Chios traded with Athens in this period; witness the wine-amphorae of which Professor Sarikakis writes in this volume. It was not for nothing that the founder of Chios was called Oenopion, the 'wine-drinker'. Ion in his *Χίου Κτίσις* gave some prominence to the local product, discussing the practice of mixing wine and water in certain set proportions (F 2 = Athen. 426 E); and he is said to have advertised it further by giving every Athenian a keramion of it to celebrate his own victory at the Dionysia (Athen. 3F). Ion also wrote of one of Oenopion's sons, Euanthes (F 1 = Paus. 7. 4. 8). In Chios of all places, the reader would remember his Homer, the story of the blinding of Polyphemus, and recall Euanthes the father of Maron of Ismaros, where Odysseus got the best wine of all (*Od.* 9. 197). Now Maron was the eponym of Maroneia, a colony of Chios. But in the fifth century it was Chian wine that was reckoned the best of all. In Socrates' day, says Plutarch (*Mor.* 470 F), an amphora of Chian wine sold for a hundred drachmae, three months' wages: a wild exaggeration, no doubt; but we have the contemporary assurance of Hermippus (fr. 82. 5. K, *ap.* Athen. 29 E) that Dionysus himself took Chian to be the finest of all mortal-made wines. And what was this ambrosial brew? According to Theopompus the Chian (*FGrHist* 115 F 276), Oenopion's wine was dark in colour, *μέλανα οἶνον*; in Athenaeus' day (32 F) it was available sweet, medium, or dry. Analysis of deposits found in Chian amphorae in the Athenian Agora proved fifth-century wine to have been none other than Retsina.[34]

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[30] *FGrHist* 392 F 13; cf. 12, 14, 15.

[31] It has been suggested, however, that Theseus and Ariadne with Oenopion and Staphylus are to be identified on an early skyphos by the Lewis Painter ('Polygnotus II') which may well be as early as *c.* 475, and so presumably earlier than the beginning of Ion's literary career. Vienna KHM 1773: on one side, Theseus and Athena; on the other, a woman extending two small boys to a nymph (*N*[*υ*]*φϵ*, retrograde). See W. Klein, *ap.* R. von Schneider, *AA* 1892, 173 no. 94; accepted by H. R. W. Smith, *Der Lewismaler* (Leipzig 1939) 12 f., pl. 2. Beazley, *ARV*² 972. 2, says cautiously, 'children of Theseus'; and they might of course be Acamas and Demophon with Phaedra. With this alternative interpretation available, and without a precise chronology of either Ion or the Lewis Painter, it would be rash to say more.

[32] Plut. *Cim.* 12. 3–4: at first Phaselis refused and Cimon mounted a siege.

[33] *IG* i³. 10 (i². 16), and bibliography; Meiggs and Lewis (n. 6 above) no. 31. Further discussion of the implications of the decree, Meiggs, *Athenian Empire* 231 f.; more recently, C. W. Fornara, *CQ* NS 29 (1979) 49–52.

A great deal is known of the Chian wine-trade in our period, and characteristically bulbous-necked amphorae of the second quarter of the fifth century turn up not only in the Athenian Agora and in Corinth but as far afield as South Russia—where their contents complemented Athenian olive oil as a product to be exchanged for grain—and also at Naucratis.[35] There, no doubt, Chian wine was an essential part of the victualling of that great force of 40,000 men whom Athens and Samos and the other allies so rashly committed to the six years' fight for Egyptian independence in the 450s, and with such a disastrous outcome.[36]

It may be unfair to leap to the conclusion, but it would certainly appear that while Samos bore the brunt of much of the League's campaigning, Chios more prudently attended to the merchant marine, where the profits were less dramatic, but sure. So the island prospered, and its prosperity is reflected in religious buildings of the period—or, rather, with one very important exception, in fragments of buildings. In his important study of Chian architecture, Professor Boardman identified fragments of temples or altars of the second quarter or middle of the fifth century at Phanai, at Emporio, and in Chios town.[37] But the construction which survives in more than fragments is far away across the Aegean, the great altar of Apollo at Delphi. Even though Professor Daux's judgement that the altar was first built by Chios soon after the Persian Wars may have to be revised in the light of Professor Amandry's observation on the apparently early style of its mouldings, the lettering of its dedication *Χῖοι Ἀπόλλωνι τὸν βωμόν* is manifestly of the second quarter of the fifth century.[38] The omegas are not yet of the wide-open, flat-footed form which Ionia adopted by mid-century, whereas the letter nu has reached the developed form with side-strokes vertical and equal in length which is associated elsewhere, at least, with the second half of the century. For a compromise, I suppose a date in the sixties would be convenient; and the inscription, whether or not it accompanied the building or rebuilding of the altar, indicates a renewal of interest and activity on the part of Chios at Delphi then. Reconstructed in Hellenistic and again in Roman times, like so many of the monuments of Delphi, the altar served the god's needs throughout antiquity. No other allied state has left any offering quite so blatantly self-advertising as this at either Delphi or Olympia. The inscribed advertisement must have had Athenian approval. There, perhaps, is an indication of the favour which Cimon, the new Theseus, felt for Ion's island, the Theseid foundation of Oenopion.

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[34] V. Grace, *Hesperia* 3 (1934) 297 and n. 1. It would be interesting to know whether the particular desirability of Chian Retsina may have lain in the use of mastic rather than, or as well as, pine-resin: cf. J. Boardman, *Greek Emporio* 252. The mastic-tree, *Pistacia lentiscus* (Gk σχῖνος), today so characteristic of the southern part of the island, has of course grown in Chios since antiquity: see Pliny, *NH* 12. 72; Diosc. *de Mat. Medica* 1. 70; see also Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* 9. 1. 2, 4. 7. But the earliest reference I have found to the wine μαστιχᾶτον is in Alexander of Tralles in the 6th c. AD (8. 2).

[35] V. Grace, *Amphoras and the Ancient Wine Trade* (Agora Picture Books 6: Princeton, NJ, 1961) figs. 43–51 and text; V. Grace and M. Savvatianou-Petropoulakou, in *Expl. Arch. Délos* 27, *L'Îlot de la maison des Comédiens* (Paris, 1970) 359 f. and n. 1; V. Grace, *Hesperia* 22 (1953) 105, referring to B. N. Grabov, *Bull of the Hist. of Material Culture* 1935, 177 f.; W. F. Petrie, *Naukratis* 1 (London 1886) pls. 16. 7, 17. 23. See also J. K. Anderson, *BSA* 49 (1934) 168–70; J. Boardman, *BSA* 53–4 (1958–9) 300 and n. 1; id., *Greek Emporio* 178 ff.

[36] Thuc. 1. 104, 109–10; n. 2 above. For discussion of the scale, Meiggs, *Athenian Empire* 104–8.

[37] J. Boardman, 'Chian and Early Ionic Architecture', *AntJ* 39 (1959) 170–218, cf. id. *CR* NS 14 (1964) 83.

[38] See Amandry's article in this volume; G. Daux, *FD* III 3 (Paris 1943) 173 no 212; see also F. Courby, *La Terrasse du Temple*, *FD* II (Paris 1927) 136 f., who dates it to the second half of the 5th c.; Th. Homolle, *BCH* 20 (1896) 617, not before 480; L. H. Jeffery, *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford 1961) 338, just after Mycale.

III

We come to the crisis of the mid-century. As is so clearly documented in the language of Athenian decrees of the period, the heady atmosphere of partnership in a crusade of revenge against the barbarian was rudely dissipated in the decision to hold the alliance together forcibly as an empire rather than let it drift apart after the formal end of fighting in 449.[39] The three great island allies will not have been slow to see that times had changed, and that their independent status was threatened. No document demonstrates the ruthlessness of Pericles' determination more clearly than the decree, to be dated about 448–446 on the ground of its letter-forms, which forbade the allied cities to strike *silver* coins of their own or to use any but Athenian weights, measures and coinage.[40] So fieree was this determination that the decree sets the penalty of death for anyone who even seeks to have the matter reconsidered. What was its impact on the 'autonomous' allies? Samos, buccaneering as ever, seems simply to have disregarded it, and to have continued striking coins until she was forced to close her mint in 439 at the end of her attempted secession from the Athenian Empire.[41] Mytilene in Lesbos, on the other hand, striking electrum rather than silver, was effectively exempt from interference with her mint, as were the prosperous electrum-coining cities of the Propontis, Cyzicus and Lampsacus. But what about Chios, a minter of silver whose staple product hitherto had travelled in containers not adjusted to Attic measures of capacity? The implications of this decree for so great a trading-city, with traditional ties of commerce in every direction, would be far-reaching indeed; and its results must be still with us in the record of archaeology.

Up to this time Chios had been striking silver coinage of the traditional and familiar Asiatic denominations of stater and trite—didrachms and tetrobols the books misleadingly call them, in the European Greek manner—following an Asiatic weight-standard shared with Lampsacus and others. The obverse type was of a sphinx, seated, gazing at an amphora over which hung a bunch of grapes, sometimes shown attached to a length of vine which occasionally even encircles the type. The amphora on the latest of the staters shows a bulb-like swelling at the top of its neck which on surviving pottery amphorae of Chios is characteristic of the second and third quarters of the fifth century.[42] This issue of staters and tritae ceased. After an interval expressed stylistically in a new and very different manner of sphinx and a new type of amphora with longer handles and no swelling of the longer neck, coinage recommenced on the same weight-standard but in a different range of denominations in the European way of division, tetradrachms, drachmae, and fractions.[43] It is certain that the new coinage had begun before 429/8, for in that year the Treasurers of the Other Gods at Athens recorded the receipt of $485^{4}/_{6}$ *Χῖα* [*ι δραχμαὶ*] *ἀργυρ*[*αῖ*], a sum which can only be composed of the denominations of the new coinage and which is indeed expressed in terms inapplicable to the old, which was of staters, not drachmae.[44] In the interval between the two silver series falls a rare issue of electrum represented by a unique stater in Berlin which shares stylistic features of old and new silver: the neck of the amphora is bulbous; the sphinx's wing is of the earlier type, with the orders of feathers undifferentiated, while the leg and general build rather resemble the monumentality of the tetradrachms.[45] The electrum stater has a complete wreath of vine surrounding its obverse type. This is, as we have noted, a rare feature of the silver staters. It persisted into the new-style silver coinage; for Dr Philip Kinns has drawn my attention to an issue of early tetradrachms represented by a specimen in the Schottenstift in Vienna, on which the obverse type is enclosed within a vine-wreath, just as on the electrum.[46] It might be argued that the very rarity of this wreath draws the electrum and the old and new silver into close proximity. Nevertheless the substantial stylistic development in sphinx and amphora continues to argue strongly for separation. All this is hard to quantify in terms of absolute dates. But the obvious hypothesis is that the Chians dutifully gave up their silver staters and closed their mint about 448, but had the right of coinage restored shortly before 429/8; and that the electrum stater, falling in the interval between, represented an attempt to follow Mytilene and others in circumventing the decree legally.[47]

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[39] See Meiggs, op. cit. 152–74; id., 'The Crisis of Athenian Imperialism', *Harvard Studies* 67 (1963) 1–36.

[40] Meiggs and Lewis, op. cit., no. 45. For the stylistic argument, see R. Meiggs, 'The Dating of Fifth-century Attic Inscriptions', *JHS* 86 (1966) 86–98; M. B. Walbank, 'Criteria for the Dating of Fifth-Century Attic Inscriptions', in D. W. Bradeen and M. B. Walbank (eds.), *Φόρος, Tribute to B. D. Meritt* (Locust Valley, NY, 1974) 161–9. It has been questioned whether general decrees of this kind would have applied to the 'autonomous' allies. Though the early part of the decree is missing, in which its scope must have been spelt out unambiguously, the wording of a new clause to be added to the Athenian Council-members' oath of office, by which they swore to impose the terms of the decree, and in which the scope would have had to be repeated, says nothing of any limitation or exception: Barron, *Silver Coins* (above n. 4) 86.

[41] Barron, op. cit. 83–7; cf. C. M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (London 1976) 240 f. For an examination of the scope for an alternative chronology, ibid. 332–4.

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[42] J. Mavrogordato, *Num. Chron.* 1915, 364–73 pl. 18. 1–9 (repr. as *Chronology of the Coins of Chios* (Oxford 1918) 56–65 pl. 3. 1–9); A. Baldwin, *Am. Journ. Num.* 48 (1914) 21–4 pls. 3. 8–4. 10; Kraay, op. cit. 242. That 'stater' was the accepted contemporary name for the main denomination is shown by the graffito on a Chian amphora: M. Lang, *Hesperia* 25 (1956) 14 no. 62. For the bunch of grapes attached to an encircling vine, see B. V. Head, *BMC Ionia* (London 1892) no. 12; Mavrogordato, p. 18(3). 5; and for a bunch on a substantial length of vine, N. Davis, *Greek Coins and Cities* (London 1967) 107 no. 49. For the changing shape of the bulbous-necked amphora—wrongly described as 'stoppered' by Mavrogordato—see *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 18, repeated in *JHS* 101 (1981) 79 fig. 1; and n. 35 above.

[43] Mavrogordato, *Num. Chron.* 1915, 373–94 pls. 18. 10–19. 3 (*Chronology* 65–86 pls. 3. 10–4. 3); Baldwin, op. cit. 24–6 pl. 4. 12–24; Kraay, op. cit. 242 f.

[44] *IG* i^3 383. 27–8 (i^2 310. 112–3). See Barron, op. cit. 86; Boardman, *BSA* 53–4 (1958–9) 300 and n. 1.

[45] Mavrogordato, op. cit. 371 ff., no. 31 pl. 18. 9 (*Chronology* 63 ff., pl. 3. 9); Baldwin, op. cit. 24 no. 52 pl. 4. 11; Kraay, op. cit. 243 fig. 889. The attribution to Chios has occasionally been doubted. The coin was found with a group of Cyzicene electrum staters (F. Lenormant, *Rev. Num.* 1864, 8), and for its reverse shares their normal scheme of an incuse square subdivided into four smaller squares set at an angle to the plane of the flan, like the sails of a windmill, instead of the normal Chian reverse of an incuse square subdivided into four by crossing bars. However, the weight, 15. 34 g, is not Cyzicene (16. 50–16.00 g), there is no tunny-fish to identify the mint of Cyzicus, and above all the amphora shows the unique Chian bulge of its neck. See further E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines* II. 1 (Paris 1907) 191 no. 336, pl. 8. 9, and below.

[46] A. Hübl, *Die Münzensammlung des Stiftes Schotten in Wien* II (Vienna, 1920) no. 3360 (the wreath is not mentioned).

[47] It is interesting to note an extraordinary issue of electrum staters by Mytilene which is probably to be associated with her revolt: J. F. Healy, *ANS Mus. Notes* 8 (1958) 1 ff.; F. Bodenstadt, *Die Elektronmünzen von Phokaia und Mytilene* (Tübingen, 1981) 24.

Thanks to an attack by Professor H. B. Mattingly on this elaboration of the 'orthodox' view of the Athenian decree, our attention has been drawn to some very interesting parallel evidence about another of the subjects with which it dealt, measures of capacity, namely the evidence of the surviving Chian amphorae themselves.[48] The bulbous-necked amphorae already mentioned can be assigned to groups or phases of production according to changes in the form of the bulb. If we take the two latest phases, an observation of the first importance emerges. The capacity of the penultimate phase is seven Chian choes, incommensurable with the Attic chous. In the latest phase, however, the capacity is increased to eight Chian choes, equal to seven Attic.[49] It will take some imagination to find a better reason for this change than conformity with the Athenian decree which ordered the use of Athenian measures and weights as well as coins. In conformity, too, I take it, the silver staters with their bulbous-necked amphorae ceased with the last amphorae of Chian capacity. The tetradrachms show an amphora of quite different design, with longer proportions and no bulging of the neck, made to Attic capacity. The electrum stater whose style points both backwards and forwards has then its counterpart in pottery, the latest of the bulbous-necked amphorae, with capacity already adjusted to the newly imposed Attic standard. This relationship between the amphorae and the coin-types which illustrate them establishes one absolute date. If the tetradrachms began to be minted before 429/8, then since they represent the new straight-necked amphora the actual clay vessels of that shape must have replaced the bulbous-necked amphorae before 429/8.

We deal here not in theories, but in actual classes of real clay amphorae, found commonly in datable contexts, in Athens and in Corinth. They may bring us closer to the truth. In adducing this material for his own purpose, the lowering of the date of the Athenian Decree by some two decades, Professor Mattingly is led to assume that the Chian amphorae were made at the same time as the latest datable pottery—chiefly Attic red-figure or black-glaze—on each of the relevant sites. That assumption is of course unwarranted. Moreover it takes no account either of the fact that this fine wine was customarily aged in the amphora before drinking, probably for a decade or more, or of the fact that amphorae normally enjoyed a further span of second-hand service once their original contents were consumed.[50] The facts are these:

(1) A well-deposit in the Athenian Agora, closed about 430–425, had bulbous-necked

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[48] For what follows, see H. B. Mattingly, 'Coins and Amphoras—Chios, Samos and Thasos in the Fifth Century B.C.', *JHS* 101 (1981) 78–86, esp. 78, 80. I intend to discuss the Samian material in the forthcoming memorial volume for C. M. Kraay and O. Mørkholm; the material from Thasos is both sparse and inconclusive, as is clear from Mattingly, op. cit. 85 f.

[49] V. Grace and M. Savvatianou, loc. cit. (n. 35); W. G. Forrest, 'A Chian Wine-Measure', *BSA* 51 (1956) 63–7, pl. 5; M. Lang, 'Numerical Notation on Greek Vases', *Hesperia* 25 (1956) 1–24. Mattingly, op. cit. 80 and n. 17, compares this 8:7 ratio with that of the coin-weights; but the coins are in fact more closely commensurate on a ratio of 9:8 (15.36 × 9 = 138.24; 138.24 ÷ 8 = 17.28).

[50] For the ageing of wine in this period, see Pindar, *Ol.* 9. 48 f., *αἴνει δὲ παλαιὸν μὲν οἶνον, ἄνθεα δ' ὕμνων|νεωτέρων*, and for Chian in particular (with Thasian and Lesbian), Eubulus fr. 124–5 K—both cited together with other texts by Athen. 25 F–26 B. There seems to be no detailed evidence as to the length of time for which Greek wines were aged. Later, fine Italian wines were commonly kept from ten to twenty years or even more (Athen. 26 C–D; Pliny, *NH* 14. 55–7), and occasionally much longer, as the 'Opimian' vintage (Pliny, loc. cit.; Petr. *Satyr.* 34. 6–7; note also Juv. 5. 30–7). For second-hand use, see below and n. 52. For Chian amphorae reused (for olives) in the third century BC, see *PSI* 428. 17, 105: D. W. Rathbone, *Opus* 2 (1983) 83, to whom I am grateful for help with this question.

fragments of the final Attic phase as well as fragments of the new straight-necked class, some of them identified by a Chian stamp based on the coin-type of the staters.[51]

(2) The recently excavated 'Punic amphora building' in Corinth, abandoned about 430 according to the latest Attic black-glaze pottery, had bulbous necks of both the last two phases packed in the fill *under the floor*—Chian and Attic capacity, then—and the new straight-necked class round about but not under the floor. The business carried on in this building was the import, in the amphorae, of salt or pickled fish. These amphorae were therefore second-hand. The pungent nature of their new contents precluded their further reuse for any other purpose: hence the quantity of broken pieces in the underfloor fill. Their original manufacture will have been significantly earlier than the date at which the building was abandoned.[52]

(3) A Corinthian well into which a quantity of material, ranging in date from 460 to 420 BC, was thrown all at once about 420 contained Attic pottery, for the most part earlier than 430, and Chian amphora-fragments of the final bulbous phase, of Attic capacity.[53]

(4) The South Hill cemetery in the Kerameikos at Athens went out of use in the 430s, and can show two child burials in second-hand bulbous-necked amphorae of the final Attic phase. They are the only examples of this shape, though Chian amphorae were not uncommonly used for burials here from the late sixth century onwards.[54]

(5) Another well-deposit in the Agora with red-figure ware mainly of 460 to 450, but with a little material of the 440s and an ostrakon prepared for use against Pericles probably in 443, has bulbous fragments of the penultimate Chian capacity phase.[55]

(6) Finally, the rubbish tip from the public dining-room near the Royal Stoa, in use from about 460 and containing Attic craters of 470–440, black-glaze of mid-century, and only a very few later pieces, has Chian amphorae of the penultimate bulbous phase, the latest of native Chian capacity.[56]

None of these amphorae, obviously, is datable to a year or two. In fact, all are likely to be older rather than younger than the other pottery found with them. Moreover, even if the Chian pieces were in every case contemporary with the latest of the accompanying finds, sites nos. 2 and 4, the 'Punic amphora building' and the South Hill cemetery, supported by site no. 1, would virtually prove that the adaptation of the Chian amphora to the Attic chous occurred before the end of the 430s, and therefore not in response to a decree of the 420s. But, as already indicated, there is no reason at all to regard the amphorae as the latest material in their contexts, and some reason not to. It is fair, then, to say this at least: a closer study of the sites adduced by Professor Mattingly himself shows that, so far as the Chian material is concerned, they offer a coherent sequence; and that the evidence of the Chian amphorae is entirely consistent with, and perhaps even confirms, the inference already drawn from the coinage, and the stylistic dating of the Athenian Decree.

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[51] L. Talcott, 'Attic Black-Glazed Stamped Ware and other Pottery from a Fifth-Century Well', *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 477–523, esp. 495 f., 514–6 nos. 85–6; cf. V. Grace, *Hesperia* 3 (1934) 202 fig. 1. 1, 296 f., 303 f.; B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *Black and Plain Pottery; The Athenian Agora* xii (Princeton, NJ 1970) 398, Deposit R 13: 4 ('Ca. 440–425').

[52] C. K. Williams II, *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 15–20; 48 (1979) 106–24; 49 (1980) 109–11; cf. Mattingly, op. cit. 78 and n. 2.

[53] M. Z. Pease, 'A Well of the Late Fifth Century at Corinth', *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 257–316, esp. 303 no. 202, with 310 fig. 33.

[54] U. Knigge, *Der Sudhügel, Kerameikos* IX (Berlin 1976) Graves 290, 304, pp. 11–14, 20–5, 151 f., 155, pl. 65. 4, 8. For earlier 5th-c. reuse of Chian amphorae for burials in this cemetery, see list of graves, ibid. 23, 'Form C', pls. 54. 7, 55. 4, 60. 1, 62. 5.

[55] V. Grace, *ap.* C. Boulter, 'Pottery of the Mid-Fifth Century from a Well in the Athenian Agora', *Hesperia* 22 (1953) 59–115, esp. 104 f. nos. 150–2, pls. 39–40; ostrakon, ibid. 99 no. 131 pl. 38; Sparkes and Talcott, op. cit. 395, Deposit N:7:3 ('Ca. 460–440 B.C.'). For an attempt, not wholly convincing, to redate the test of ostracism between Pericles and Thucydides son of Melesias to 437 or 436, see P. Krentz, *Historia* 33 (1984) 499–504. Even if right, the new date would not *substantially* affect the date of this deposit.

[56] T. L. Shear, Jr., *Hesperia* 42 (1973) 383–5, Deposit H 4: 5.

The monetary and metrological changes of these years may now be summarized. In obedience to the Athenian Decree, still to be dated to the early 440s, Chios closed her mint and changed the capacity of her amphorae to fit the Attic standard. In this latter she had no choice, for as the Old Oligarch reminds us ([Xen] *Ath. Pol.* 2. 3), an export-based economy must rely on the goodwill of the dominant naval power. However, during the currency of the earliest Attic-capacity amphorae, still with bulbous neck, a brief issue of electrum coins was struck. The weight of the sole surviving example, 15.34 g., is double that of the now obsolete silver staters. Perhaps significantly, it is that of the flourishing coinage of the electrum staters of Lampsacus, whose quadripartite incuse reverse as well as their weight-standard had long set them beside the Chian silver: the conventional relative value of silver to electrum, 1 : 10, had given them a simple exchange-rate of one for twenty, the same exchange rate established for gold and silver Croeseids, and more recently for darics against sigloi.[57] Even more intriguingly, the Chian electrum stater itself abandons the Chian–Lampsacene reverse pattern, and instead carries the 'mill-sail' reverse of the great electrum coinage of Cyzicus. Indeed this unique specimen was actually found in a hoard together with Cyzicene staters, where, but for its lighter weight and lack of the Cyzicene badge of the tunny-fish, it might have passed as one of them.[58] We may be sure that the Chian issue was designed to be acceptable in the trading areas of the two Propontid cities; it would not have been particularly welcome at Athens.[59] The last stage was reached not long afterwards, and before the end of the 430s, when a new design of amphora became current, still of Attic capacity but with elongated and bulgeless neck; and Chios was given back the right to strike silver on her own standard, but in tetradrachms, drachmae, and fractions. Professor Mattingly suggests that the new coins which reached Athens by 429/8 were brought by the Chian sailors who came to join Pericles' expedition against the Argolid in 430 (Thuc. 2. 56. 2). I expect he is right—and that the right to mint silver had been restored as a concession to an indispensable ally when the Peloponnesian War approached.

IV

If the electrum issue, circumventing the Athenian ban on the minting of silver, appears to carry a hint of disaffection in the late 440s or early 430s—we cannot date the issue more closely—we must set against it the decisive support which Chios gave Athens against the Samian secession of 440–39. The fact that the reinforcing squadrons from Chios and Lesbos on that occasion arrived in two instalments has been held to indicate hesitation on the part of the two islands. There is nothing in this argument: Athens' own forces arrived in instalments too.[60] Among the Athenian commanders was Sophocles, fresh from his triumph with *Antigone* in 441. Pericles judged that the dramatist's talents lay rather in persuasion than in the tactics of naval warfare, and sent him to Chios to seek the help he needed. It is worth noticing that the Athenian's Chian friend Ion was present at a convivial gathering during Sophocles' visit, treasuring the sparkle of the playwright's conversation in his diary.[61] But it was not necessarily with approval that he reported Pericles' subsequent boast, to have defeated the greatest city of the Ionians in nine months, when Troy took Agamemnon ten years (F 16 = Plut. *Per.* 28. 7).

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[57] Cf. E. S. G. Robinson, *Num. Chron.* 1958, 190 f.

[58] F. Lenormant, *Rev. Num.* 1864, 8; Babelon, loc, cit. (n. 45 above).

[59] Cyzicene and Lampsacene staters are carried forward from year to year from the beginning to the end of the building accounts of the Parthenon, presumably because they could not conveniently be spent: *IG* I^3. 436–51 (I^2. 339–53), ll. 32 f., cf. 42 f., 60 f., etc., up to 406–9; Meiggs and Lewis, op. cit. (n. 6 above), no. 59 ll. 13–16, cf. 38–41.

After Samos, Chios continued to share in Athens' more routine campaigns, such as that against the Argolid in the second year of the Peloponnesian War (Thuc. 2. 56. 2). But the secession of Mytilene in 428/7 left Chios in the honoured but exposed position of Athens' only remaining substantial naval ally, and this naturally caused a frisson of doubt in the island. In 427 the Spartan admiral Alcidas was at Ephesos, visited by secret delegations of Ionians and receiving promises of support (Thuc. 3. 31–33. 1). This still seems the most likely date for an inscription surviving near Sparta, which records contributions to the Spartan war-chest. There is a sum from τοὶ Ἐφέσιοι, presumably an official payment to Alcidas, alongside a sum of Aeginetan staters given by τὸν Χίον τοὶ φίλοι, Sparta's friends among the Chians, the party of disaffection.[62] If word of this got out, well may the Athenians two years later, in 425, have seen in the sudden fortification of Chios, whatever its actual motive, the promise of secession; the same preparation indeed had foreshadowed the recent revolt of Mytilene (Thuc. 4. 51; cf. 3. 2. 2; 3. 3). At any rate, despite Chios' loyal participation in the Pylus campaign that year, they demanded the demolition of Chios' walls; and this was done after an exchange of assurances, πίστεις, between Athens and Chios. But who warned Athens what was afoot, and who negotiated the πίστεις? Was it Ion, now nearing sixty but still active enough to have competed in the Dionysia of 428, the year of Euripides' *Hippolytos*?[63] Certainly his son Tydeus was leader of the loyalist resistance to the final secession of Chios in 412, and lost his life because of it (Thuc. 8. 38. 3). In fact, we know the identity of some of Athens' friends of 425; for the decree survives in which the Athenians honour two Chians for their services and refer to the maintenance of the πίστεις.[64] One was called Philippos. The name of the other Chian is nowhere wholly preserved. But it began with Αχ-, in the accusative case ended in -εα, had three letters between, was of the same length in the dative as in the accusative and had one more letter in the genitive case. In publishing this text, Professor Meritt's mind leapt, surely rightly, to Achilles. But who was he? Heroic names are noticeably rare in the fifth century, in Chios as elsewhere.[65] But if we recall that there was indeed in Chios at this time a family of leading loyalists in which heroic names were revived, the family of Ion and Tydeus, it cannot be altogether fanciful to suggest that the loyalist of 425 with the most heroic of all names was an elder son of the same father, Ion.[66]

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[60] Thuc. 1. 116. 1–2, 117. 2. See Gomme (n. 1 above) on 1. 115. 3; answered by Quinn, op. cit. (n. 7 above) 24 f., cf. 39 f.

[61] *FGrHist* 392 F 6 (Athen. 603 E–604 D): see Huxley, op. cit. (n. 18 above) 33 f.

[62] Meiggs and Lewis, op. cit., no. 67 (with some doubt about the date expressed by Dr Lewis); L. H. Jeffery, *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* 197 no. 55, dates the text on historical rather than stylistic grounds. As Quinn points out, op. cit. 40, Alcidas' seizure and execution of Chian prisoners at this time (Thuc. 3. 32) shows that the Chian government cannot have come to a friendly understanding with the Spartans.

[63] *FGrHist* 392 T 6 (Argum. Eur. *Hipp.*).

[64] B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia* 14 (1945) 115–19. Despite the mention of πίστεις in l. 8 and of Chians in l. 11, D. M. Lewis (on *IG* I^3. 70) does not accept that the document necessarily relates to events in Chios at this time. Meritt notes, op. cit. 116 n. 110, that Cleonymus, who moved an amendment to the decree, is known to have been a Council member in 426/5.

[65] Note, however, the name Tydeus borne by Athenians at this time: Lysias 20. 26; Xen. *Hell.* 2. 1. 16; Plut. *Alc.* 36–7, *Lys.* 10.

Chios played a substantial role in Nicias' reduction of Mende and Scione in 423 (Thuc. 4. 129. 2). Ion died in 422, the year before the Peace of Nicias.[67] A decade remained in which Chios was the sole survivor of the great autonomous allies—as it were the 'self-governing dominions' of Athens' Empire. Eupolis praised her at this time in the *Cities* (fr. 232 K):

> *αὔτη Χίος, καλὴ πόλις . . .*
> *πέμπει γὰρ ὑμῖν ναῦς μακρὰς ἄνδρας θ' ὅταν δεήσῃ,*
> *καὶ τἄλλα πειθαρχεῖ καλῶς, ἄπληκτος ὥσπερ ἵππος.*

Still autonomous, she joined the Athenian expeditions to Melos in 416 (Thuc. 5. 84) and to Sicily in 415.[68] In the following spring Aristophanes produced his comedy *The Birds*. In a scene of this play (ll. 878–80) the priest beseeches the gods to grant

> *ὑγιείαν καὶ σωτηρίαν*
> *αὐτοῖσι καὶ Χίοισι,*

and Peisthetairos comments,

> *Χίοισιν ἥσθην πανταχοῦ προσκειμένοις.*

The humourless Theopompus and others in the fourth century deduced that the prayer mirrored contemporary practice, that whenever Chios sent help the Athenians at public festivals prayed for Chios and themselves: and Hypereides supposed the practice reciprocal.[69] But the prayer in real life is more likely to have been for Athens and her allies in general, however few remained. Aristophanes' joke is to parody this, alluding to the fewness of the allies, and the uniqueness of Chios in her category. The jest must have seemed even grimmer in retrospect than it did at the time.

The following year saw disaster in Sicily. Now the theatre of war shifted to the east Aegean, where the three great islands which had been the 'pillars of the Empire' seemed a glittering prize. Chios in particular is described by Thucydides as 'the greatest allied city in Ionia', 'the wealthiest of the Greeks', and simply 'the greatest city' (Thuc. 8. 40. 1; 45. 4; 15. 1). Athens' long-steadfast ally was now among the first to desert her. During the winter of 413–12 envoys of her stable, oligarchic government came with a representative of Tissaphernes the satrap, to join Alcibiades in pressing Sparta to go on to the offensive. They were successful in negotiating a secret alliance. When spring came, resolute action by Alcibiades and the Spartan Chalcideus, playing for high stakes, brought the island into open revolt.[70] It was premature: the Athenians were determined not to let

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[66] In this connection it is interesting, but not necessarily significant, that Ion in his *Χίου Κτίσις* wrote at length of an important early king heroically named: *FGrHist* 392 F 1 Paus. 7. 4. 9–10). See H. T. Wade-Gery, *The Poet of the Iliad* (Cambridge 1952) 6 ff. It may well be that Ion's penchant for heroic names for his children reflected his own preoccupations as a tragedian.

[67] Aristoph. *Peace* 832–7 and schol.; Huxley, *op. cit.* 29.

[68] Thuc. 6. 31. 2, 50 ships from Chios and Lesbos; cf. 6. 43, 85. 2, 7. 20. 2, 57. 4.

[69] *FGrHist* 115 F 104 (schol Aristoph. *Birds* 880); Hyp. fr. 194 Blass/Jensen.

[70] Thuc. 8. 5. 4, 6–12, 14. 1–2—where, to the dismay of the *πολλοί*, the decision was taken by the Boule. For the latter as the sovereign body, cf. *SIG*³ 986, a decree introduced by the formula *βολῆς γνώμ[η*. See also W. G. Forrest, *BSA* 55 (1960) 180. On the stability of government of this complexion at Chios, Thuc. 8. 24. 4, quoted above, and n. 1. See also Quinn, op. cit. (n. 7 above) 43–9.

Chios go. They forced a landing at Kardamyla in the north and at Volissos on the west coast, and fought also at Phanai and Leukonion (perhaps Emporio) in the south.[71] In all their engagements the Athenians were victorious, and they followed their success with widespread ravaging of the island (Thuc. 8. 15–24). Yet it is no accident that Thucydides chooses that context for the reflection with which this paper began. For despite the best and repeated efforts of the Athenians, Chios did not return to the fold: the era of stability and prudent adherence to imperial Athens was gone. In its place came the bitterness of divided loyalties and unwelcome counsel. Hence came the execution by the Spartans of Ion's son Tydeus and his friends for *ἀττικισμός* (Thuc. 8. 38. 3): oligarchs or democrats we know not; but they had persisted in saying what no one in Chios any longer wished to hear.

Thucydides' judgement accords well with what we have seen of the Chians. More stolid than their neighbours in Samos, with none of their traditional buccaneering spirit, they did well out of the Athenian Empire. So long as that was so, they had no wish to leave it, or, apparently, to change the moderately oligarchic form of government whose stability Thucydides records. The only signs of doubt come when their prosperity is threatened, by the removal of the right to strike their own silver coins or by the heavy drain of their involvement in an unwinnable war. And within the prudent governing class we have seen here and there the role of Chios linked with the role of one family, of Ion, born when the Delian League began, whose fortune rose and fell with Athens' power. Drawn by the magnet of the capital city, Ion lent his literary skill to the mythological propaganda of Athenian imperialism by forging a link between a Theseid Oenopion and the Theseid Cimon whom he admired. In return, he found in Athens the chance to beat the great tragedians at their own trade. We saw Ion at hand to ease the task of Sophocles in raising reinforcements against Samos in 440; and we saw his sons endeavouring to hold the alliance stable until the pressure became too great to resist. With the execution of Tydeus son of Ion in 412 the story of Chios in the Athenian Empire reaches its end.

[71] For the geography, J. Boardman, *Greek Emporio* 253–6.

THEOPOMPUS OF CHIOS AND THE GREEK WORLD

411–322 BC

R. LANE FOX

Theopompus was the most prolific of the authors who were born on Chios in antiquity.[1] He was also the most spirited: Theopompus needed the bridle, his tutor Isocrates was believed to have said, whereas Ephorus needed the spur.[2] Modern scholars would not dispute either half of this *bon mot*. We know Ephorus for his flat *Universal History*, discernible in other authors' use of it, whereas Theopompus is famed for his *Philippica* in fifty-eight books, of which we have a few fragmentary quotations and paraphrases. The criticisms which Polybius devoted to this work make its loss seem all the more tantalizing: so do quotations of its views on the dissolute court of King Philip when Alexander the Great was still young. Can Chios, perhaps, claim credit for an author who was uniquely aware of the menace of the new Macedonian power, who saw through the claims of King Philip and realized what his monarchy would mean to freedom, political life and honest morality? Some have seen Theopompus in this light. Certainly, the *Philippica* showed a remarkable range. Theopompus was considered to be the first Greek author to have mentioned Rome, referring to its attack by the Gauls; his comments on Etruscan morality still interest archaeologists; he takes us into the kingdoms of barbarian Europe, painting a lurid picture of their habits; histories of Greek slavery still welcome his comments on the prime role of Chios in the slave-trade and the difference between a slave and a Helot; his views on the 'fictitious' Oath of Plataea and the epigraphy of the Peace of Callias have kept a generation of historians in business.[3] Yet the *Philippica* also contained detail on the campaigns of fourth-century Persian kings and satraps. It referred to their subjects' obligation to provide the king's dinner when he visited them, the dinner's cost, and the traditional 'dinner assessment' which had been imposed on cities together with the tribute. It also mentioned Zoroastrian beliefs 'according to the Magi'.[4] When Jews in Hellenistic Alexandria wished to explain why no Greek author had publicized their Scriptures, they thought naturally of Theopompus and constructed a story to excuse him.[5] He had wanted to research into the Jewish Laws, they said, but he had lost his wits for more than thirty days. A vision then informed him that he was meddling with sacred matters and intending to publicize them to common people. So he desisted and was restored to his right mind: as a result, we have nothing from Theopompus on Moses. People, clearly, might have expected it.

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[1] Theopompus is no. 115 in Jacoby's *FGrHist*: the most pertinent modern article is by W. R. Connor, 'History without Heroes', *GRBS* 8 (1967) 142, whose bibliography I presuppose here; the most recent survey is I. A. F. Bruce, 'Theopompus and Greek Historiography', *History and Theory* 9 (1970) 86.

[2] Ephorus, 70 T 28 (*Suda*); Cicero, *Brutus* 204; for the image elsewhere, Longinus, *Περὶ Ὕψους* 2.2 and D. A. Russell's n. ad loc.

[3] F 317, 204, 122, 153 respectively.

[4] F 103, 113, 64–5 respectively.

[5] 'Letter of Aristeas' in T 11.

Here I wish to explore his work again, both for the sake of intellectual history and also for the sake of Chios. It hardly needs emphasizing that not one work by Theopompus survives intact, that many of the fragments are paraphrased or likely to be unrepresentative, and that generalizations are risky. While rejecting some, I believe that we have just enough to venture others. The *Philippica* is not the sum of Theopompus' achievements. Other works, and their titles, also help us to appreciate his relationship to Macedonian power. Lastly, I hope to add the words which he addressed to Alexander and composed in connection with Chios itself. The addition is small, but it reveals something of the quality of his thought.

Theopompus, the critic Dionysius tells us, wrote 'many panegyrics and many works of advice', distinct from his researches into history.[6] Some of their titles can be recovered from the list of works which were ascribed to him by the Rhodians and inscribed on their famous 'book-list', about 100 BC.[7] Their inscription is fragmentary and poses problems of reading and interpretation, but I take it as established that Theopompus was the author whom it credited with a *Λακωνικός*, a *Παναθηναϊκός*, an *'Ολυμπικός*, and (probably) a *Κορινθιακός*, a *Letter of Advice to Alexander*, a *Letter* and an *Encomium* to an unknown person, almost certainly a *Μαυσσωλός*, a *Running-Down* (literally) of a 'school' which is surely Plato's and (probably) a *Φίλιππος*, a work which is evidently distinct from our *Philippica*. The list is not complete, neither in its surviving lettering nor in its list of Theopompus's writings. However, it allows two firm conclusions. Theopompus addressed a sequence of the 'great men' who characterized the fourth century BC. He also wrote as a rhetor, not simply as a historian. He composed letters of 'counsel', panegyrics, and speeches on city-states. In the fourth century, historians were no longer pure historians: we could say the same of Xenophon and, to a degree, of Callisthenes.

An important source for Theopompus' work is the voluminous Byzantine scholar Photius. In the mid ninth century, he completed summaries of 279 books for the benefit of his brother, in case he himself did not return from an embassy to the Muslim world. Theopompus attracted one of the longest summaries and was defended by Photius against his critics.[8] Photius had read him thoroughly, and it is from his paraphrase that we have a passage in which Theopompus praises and contrasts himself with his predecessors. The praises would sit well in the preface of the *Philippica*. He boasts of 'not less than 200,000' lines of epideictic prose and 'more than 150,000' lines which concern the 'deeds of Greeks and barbarians' down to his time of writing: these words suggest a man of some age, introducing a work of the *Philippica*'s scale.[9] 'He says that there is no common centre of the Greeks nor worthwhile city he himself has not visited, performing epideictic works and leaving a great repute for his own excellence in speaking.' Theopompus flourished in the golden age of international rhetoric which was performed at the festivals of Olympia and elsewhere. Like his teacher Isocrates, he was conscious that the art of rhetoric had progressed greatly in his own lifetime:[10] here, the 'concept of progress' had not died with the eclipse of Periclean Athens. Indeed, we have Theopompus' improvement of a contorted piece by Thucydides: its style is clearer and smoother, qualities which the literary critics ascribed to Theopompus' work as a whole.[11] For it was as a literary stylist, above all, that Theopompus continued to be read and praised. Cicero[12] approved of Ephorus' and Theopompus' introduction of the periodic style into history; perhaps, though, he thought that Theopompus' 'eclipse' of Thucydides in 'loftiness and height' was rather excessive.[13] Duris remarked acutely[14] that this style lacked 'vivid representation'; it was for its smoothness and fluency, above all, that Dionysius admired it. So far as we can see, these qualities were constant in Theopompus's historical works: like Isocrates, he fell into a pattern and then stayed with it.[15] On grounds of style, therefore, it is impossible to support him as author of the anonymous, but dry, Oxyrhynchus *Hellenica*. The case against him was admirably argued in 1908,[16] soon after the work's publication, and his 'authorship' of it ought not to have been revived.[17] As a fluent stylist, Theopompus continued to be studied in detail throughout antiquity. Porphyry[18] gives a fascinating glimpse of the literary culture of Athens in the mid-third century AD (between about 250 and 262): seven prominent men of letters (like Seven Wise Men?) had met to dine in honour of Plato and found themselves listening to a passionate dispute on the relative merits of Ephorus and Theopompus. The participants showed a minute grasp of Theopompus' work and its small errors and plagiarisms: the party included some of the great names of Athenian society and contemporary literary life. It is not, then, surprising that in the later third century AD Theopompus was still being urged as a model for aspiring orators, a 'testimony' which Jacoby's collection omitted.[19]

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[6] T 20A.

[7] T 48.

[8] Photius, Codex 176: in general, W. T. Treadgold, *The Nature of the* Bibliotheca *of Photius* (Washington 1980).

[9] F 25; Bruce, op. cit. (n. 1) 89 argues, unconvincingly, that these words refer back to the *Hellenica*.

[10] Isocr. *Panegyr.* 7–10.

Among Theopompus' praises of his own writings, it seems that he exalted his fortunate financial position. Isocrates and Theodectes, he said, had had to be tutors for their living, whereas he was a man of independent means. Later readers, Athenaeus and Dionysius, also refer to the 'great personal expense' of Theopompus' researches into history, and it looks as if the words derive from the author himself.[20] Who, then, was this fortunate rhetor, able to devote himself to writing, speaking and travelling without the bother of the tutorial life?

The name of Theopompus's father is given in two forms: Damostratus and Damasistratus. Although the former stands in our text of Photius, it is corrupt or mistaken, whereas the latter is given twice, independently.[21] There is a further point in its favour. It is attested in a handsomely-cut list of names from the classical period, of uncertain purpose, found at Mesta on Chios.[22] Of the two dates given for his birth, modern opinion favours 378/7, though it is not clear on what authority it rests. It derives from Photius's view of Theopompus' age in (probably) 333/2, and if the numerals are not corrupt, they were possibly discovered by him in one or other of Theopompus' works. However, his short sketch of Theopompus' life is prefaced cautiously by 'it is said', and we should not claim certainty.[23]

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[11] Theon, *Progymn.* 1. 4 with Thuc. 2. 45. 2.

[12] Cic. *De Orat.* 207 = T 37.

[13] T 36.

[14] T 34; Hermog. 2.6 says the Greeks rank Theopompus and others below Thucydides, Xenophon, Herodotus, and Hecataeus (!) as models of style. Demetr., *De Eloc.* 75 and 240 condemns aspects of Theopompus; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, however, admires him: T 20.

[15] T 20 A 9–10.

[16] W. Rhys Roberts, 'Theopompus in the Greek Literary Critics', *Classical Review* 22 (1908) 118: an admirable study.

[17] E. Ruschenbusch, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 39 (1980) 82 has revived it, on the basis of three (allegedly) 'Theopompan' words: ἀντιπολιτεύσθαι, βραβεύειν, and μετεωρίζειν, and a supposed similarity of the authors' digressions on Pedaritos, who was present on Chios in 409. Theop. F 8 mentions Pedaritos, as may Hell. Oxy. II (Bertoletti), but we know nothing of their respective treatments, or context. This case does not stand up to Rhys Roberts, op. cit.

[18] Porphyry *ap.* Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 464 B = X. 3 with F. Millar, *Journal of Roman Studies* 59 (1969) 16–17 on the date and participants.

[19] Men. Rhetor p. 86. 30 (ed. Russell–Wilson).

[20] F 25 with F 20A2 and F 28A.

[21] By the *Suda* (T 1) and Pausanias (F 312).

[22] Damasistratos Leosebeos occurs in this handsome list of names, in *SGDI* 5657: the purpose of the list is unclear,

The same qualifications apply to the comments on Theopompus' wanderings, although they fit well (perhaps too well) with patterns in his work. As Photius may have found them in the author himself, I have used them in what follows, but again, we do not know their source. Theopompus's father 'is said' to have been convicted of Spartan sympathies and exiled, together with Theopompus. Since 394, Chios had been freed from Spartan power, and in 384 we have the text of her democracy's 'perpetual alliance' with Athens, reasserted in 378/7: we can well imagine 'Laconism' as a cause of exile at a point between 394 and about 375, the heyday of the Athenians' Second Confederacy.[24] Even in exile, the family could afford to pay for Theopompus to attend the great Isocrates' classes in Athens. The city's glorious past did not impress its every claim on his mind, but Isocrates' manner did; Theopompus and Ephorus are said to have won the crowns which their teacher used to offer as prizes in monthly competitions. In the early fourth century, classical education was already divided between a literary and a philosophic option.[25] Theopompus chose the literary option, putting expression before hard thought.

After his schooling, Theopompus wrote, performed, and travelled. Like many other historians, he did not return to his home city: in Greece, men wrote histories in exile: in Rome, they were exiled for writing histories. Theopompus was not alone in these enforced travels, but unlike his predecessors', they had beset him (so far as we know) since childhood. He grew up, never having participated in local political life or discussion. Though he boasted of his travels and researches, he could not point to his own years of power and political experiences. In war and politics, he lacked that *αὐτοπάθεια* (personal experience) which Polybius so rightly valued.[26] His literary work had none of the hard, empirical edge of a Thucydides: cut off from politics, he saw only the worst in politicians and their motives. In Theopompus, the bias was not born from a realism, learned in political life, but from a detached irresponsibility. As we shall see, he tempered his tone, where necessary, to patrons who might avail him. If we cannot trust his flatteries, we must be very wary of his slanders.

Theopompus' known career is marked by the revival of literary patronage during the fourth century BC: this type of support by individuals returned to prominence in literary history before the Hellenistic age of kings. It is in this context that we can first date one of his works: in spring/early summer 352, we find him performing as a rhetor in Halicarnassus, at the funeral games for Maussolus, the barbarian dynast of Caria. The games were held by his surviving wife (and sister) Artemisia; Theopompus won the

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but the persons should be of some high status. I owe knowledge of this to W. G. Forrest: the lettering is not inconsistent with a date about 400, but comparable texts are few.

[23] Treadgold, op. cit. (n. 8) 65 suggests that Photius drew his facts from Pamphila of Epidaurus, whom he cited in the preceding Codex 175. We do not even know that her book mentioned Theopompus. On the problem of Photius' use of memory (especially after Codex 236) and written sources, T. Hägg, *GRBS* 14 (1973) 213, with bibliography.

[24] Diod. Sic. 14. 84. 3 with M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford 1948) II 118 (perpetual alliance: l. 36) and 121 l. 7; 123 l. 24, 79.

[25] H. I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'education* (Paris 1965, 6th ed.) 131–47 is a classic account.

[26] Polyb. 12. 25H. 4 and 28. 6 (criticizing Timaeus).

prose-competition with a speech, probably entitled *Μαυσσωλός*:[27] did he defeat, among others, his own teacher, the great Isocrates? One of his learned readers at Athens in the third century AD, was explicit that he had, and that he said so himself in his own writings.[28] Others were less certain, and one tradition understood his rival as a lesser Isocrates from Pontus.[29] It seems better to accept his reader's word, especially as he refers to Theopompus' own statement. If so, the victory at Halicarnassus was a remarkable triumph of pupil over master. Typically, it did not stop Theopompus making a barbed reference to Maussolus' character in a later work.[30]

By spring 352, Maussolus' influence had been obvious on Chios. He was allied with the island and its constitution had changed to an oligarchy:[31] two coin-hoards, one at Pityos, the other at Pindakas (just outside Emporio) suggest that Theopompus was not the only Chiote to benefit from contact with Caria.[32] The former contained a Maussolan tetradrachm, the latter a Maussolan silver drachm, minted on the Chian standard: pay, perhaps, for mercenaries, not rhetors? Had Theopompus, perhaps, returned home to the new oligarchy and then gone to perform at Halicarnassus, following Chios' new alignment? Such a link is not necessary: the contestants were international, and Theopompus' subsequent travels do not suggest that politics helped him to choose his performances.

As Quintilian remarked, Theopompus had made his name as a rhetor before he ventured to work on history.[33] After about 355, and before 344, he published twelve books of *Hellenica* or *Greek Affairs*, beginning with the sea-battle off Kynossema (411/10) and ending with the sea-battle off Cnidus (394). We know the title and time-span of the work, but as we only have twenty-three random fragments,[34] quoted or mentioned in other authors, the *Hellenica* cannot be assessed on its own merits.[35] Something, however, can be said, thanks to two verbatim quotations and the impressions of subsequent critics. Polybius blamed Theopompus for 'abandoning Greek affairs' when he had set out to write Greek affairs from the point where Thucydides left off.[36] Instead, Polybius complained, Theopompus had turned to Philip, thereby changing his plan. His complaint has been thought to derive from a remark by Theopompus himself, perhaps made in the *Philippica*'s preface.[37] If so, the *Hellenica* becomes a work of unfinished proportions which the author had intended to continue to his own day. This view is quite unfounded. Polybius attacks Theopompus in language which is obviously his own: Theopompus gave up, he protested, 'just when he was drawing near to the time of Leuctra and the most glorious of Greek events'. The perspective is Polybius' own, writing as a loyal Arcadian to whom the early 360s were a peculiar time of glory. The entire complaint is nothing more than his personal attack, aimed at Theopompus for ending his work so early.

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[27] T 6, T 48.

[28] Apollonius the grammarian, in Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 464 c, stressing Theopompus' own statement.

[29] Doubters in Aul. Gell. 10. 18. 6; *Suda* s.v. *Ἰσοκράτης Ἀμύκλα*. F. Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit* II^2 (Leipzig 1893) 76, 450 sees chronological problems with the lesser Isocrates.

[30] F 299.

[31] Dem. 15. 19, 15. 3.

[32] A. Löbbecke, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 14 (1887) 148; J. Boardman, *BSA* 53/4 (1958/9) 304.

[33] T 21.

[34] F 5–23, 288 (probably), 332–3.

[35] A. Momigliano, 'Teopompo', *Terzo Contributo* i (Rome 1966) 367 ff., esp. 372 ff., and 'La storia di Eforo e le Elleniche di Teopompo', *Quinto contributo* i–ii (Rome 1975) 683 ff., tried to place the *Hellenica* in the development of Theopompus' own outlook.

[36] Polyb. 8. 11. 3.

[37] *Contra*, Momigliano, *Quinto contributo* 691: it is not from a 'confessione autobiografica'.

Why did Theopompus stop so deliberately in 394 BC? It is an old and convincing guess that he ended with the battle of Cnidus because it had represented the end of an era in Sparta's hegemony over the Greek world. After Cnidus, a Spartan garrison was ejected from Chios and the island left the Spartans' camp for ever.[38] The tenth book of the *Hellenica* contained a notable tribute to Lysander, which was presumably a retrospective judgement on his life.[39] It emphasized his sobriety, his self-control in matters of sex and drink, his 'love of labours'. One fragment of book eleven casts a similar light on an action by Agesilaus.[40] Some forty years after a Spartan hegemony, whose brutalities were still resented by most sensitive Greeks, Theopompus wrote twelve books of history, defined by its first 'era' and marked by idealization of its harshest architect. The work befitted the author of a *Λακωνικός*, a rhetorical piece in praise of Sparta.

To Nicagoras the sophist, in the mid-third century AD, we owe the precious fact that Theopompus' history drew closely on Xenophon's own *Hellenica*.[41] Nicagoras was a reliable witness: he belonged to one of Athens' great literary families; he held high office at Eleusis and wrote many books himself. As a recognized sophist, he would have read Theopompus closely as an aid to his own literary and rhetorical style. Three surviving quotations from the *Hellenica* show the familiar smoothness and emphasis of Theopompus' later style.[42] When we hear that Theopompus had 'borrowed' the scene of meeting between Agesilaus and Pharnabazus in Xenophon's fourth book[43] and had tried to make it more forceful and more showy, we can guess at the spirit of his alterations. They lengthened and slowed the original, we learn: its contrast between Spartan austerity and Persian luxury offered ample scope for Theopompus' talents. So, too, did the scene between Agesilaus and a Persian boy, concluding with a note on Agesilaus' homosexual loves. Did Theopompus idealize the scene, or denounce it, as he later denounced the Macedonians' morals? Our best hope of adding to the few hints of the *Hellenica* lie in Plutarch's and Nepos' biographies of Alcibiades and Lysander.[44] It is hard to be sure where Theopompus might begin and end in them, but there is a Theopompan ring to the scenes before Notium, which stress Alcibiades' inebriation and his deputy's impudence and tomfoolery. Nepos lists Theopompus as one of the three 'most weighty' authors whom he used:[45] perhaps his account of Aegospotami derives from Theopompus alone.[46]

It is worth dwelling on these few hints, because such claims have been made for the *Hellenica* and for Theopompus' early development as a historian. There is no trace of a 'Panhellenic' focus in the work, idealizing the Greeks against Persia: such a focus sits ill with any view of the period from 411 to 404. The title *Hellenica* was not original, nor was it a new conception of 'Greek events': Xenophon had used it already, and he was not the first to do so.[47] To continue Thucydides was to pay an obvious tribute to his genius: his style, but not his history, could be improved. However, Theopompus was not alone in this continuation, nor in centring his history on wars: fighting, anyway, was the central matter of these years. Thucydidean history did not serve Theopompus as a serious model. The rhetorical praises of Lysander and the deliberate rewriting of Xenophon's story belong to work of an altogether lower order; moralizing literature, concerned to point a moral and convey a style. It was much longer than Xenophon's, averaging a year and a half to each book.

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[38] Diod. Sic, 14. 84. 3.

[39] F 20 and esp. F 333 (surely from the *Hellenica*).

[40] F 22.

[41] F 21: on Nicagoras, Millar, op. cit. (n. 18) 17; *Suda N* 373.

[42] F 13, 20, 22.

[43] Xen. *Hell.* 4. 1. 29 ff.

[44] Most recently, A. Andrewes, 'Notion and Kyzikos: The Sources Compared', *JHS* 102 (1982) 18, 22–3.

[45] Nepos, *Alc.* 11 is basic; also Plut. *Alc.* 32. 3; Lys. 17. 2, 30. 2.

[46] Momigliano, *Quinto contributo* 685 ff, argues that the mention of 'Chians and the rest of Ionia' at Plut. *Alc.* 35. 3 is local patriotism, and Theopompan: his further argument, that 35. 5 implies Theopompus' *Hellenica* used Ephorus is not convincing (they could have used the same source, and Ephorus' dates are against direct use). None the less 35. 6 (Antiochus at Notium) is Theopompan in tone; Andrewes suggest Plut. *Alc.* 28, too. F 288 suggests Theopompus was frequently favourable to Alc., if so, Plut. *Alc.* 23. 3–6 may be Theopompan, and perhaps 23.7 with Plut. *Lys.* 22. 4 (Agis' wife): the latter would be characteristic reworking of Xen. *Hellenica* 3. 3. 2 ff. Plut. *Alc.* 24. 5–7 is also Theopompan, if we go by F 288. C. Zagaria, 'Teopompo e la tradizione sul Egospotami.' *Quaderni di storia* 12 (Bari 1980) 299–319 has the full bibliography, and a useful argument, on this type of question.

The *Hellenica*, we know, attracted comment.[48] By winter 343/2, the Macedonian court had entered Theopompus' life. Again, we cannot link these travels to any political context. During the 340s, the Carian influence over Chios had become more direct,[49] but Theopompus need only have travelled to Macedon, as formerly he had travelled to Caria, to benefit from a new source of patronage. We know of his presence at Pella from the letter ascribed to Speusippus the Platonist. Its authenticity is not entirely above suspicion,[50] but even if it is a fiction, it shows such a grasp of persons, events, and issues in 343/2 that its author intended it to be plausible. The comments on Theopompus, then, may be allowed a contemporary aptness, whatever the status of the letter itself. 'I hear Theopompus is with you', 'Speusippus' writes to Philip, 'not merely a frigid author, but one who denies Plato's role in helping King Perdiccas. Ask Antipater to read you his *Hellenica*: then, Theopompus will know that he is justly decried by everyone, and unjustly enjoys patronage from you . . .'.

Theopompus' *Hellenica*, then, was already familiar. So, it seems, was the work *Running Down Plato*, which belongs with the spirit of Theopompus' comments about Plato and Perdiccas. Should we, perhaps, add the *Epitome of Herodotus*, boiled down for King Philip, a man with avowed designs on Persia? To this phase, too, we can surely trace the *Φίλιππος*, a separate work from the *Philippica*, of which two interesting fragments survive. In one, Theopompus belittles the Asian dynast, Hermias of Atarneus, and his pretensions to being a man of culture. His words presuppose that Hermias is still alive, and thus they were written before 341/40.[51] Hermias, Theopompus notes, is the patron of Platonists, among whom, of course, we can point to Aristotle. In the *Φίλιππος*, these comments would sit well as a contrast with Philip himself, a true man of culture, greater than Hermias, patron not of Platonists but of rhetors and Isocrateans—people like Theopompus.[52] A second quotation is ascribed to an 'Encomium of Philip',[53] but it is surely from this *Φίλιππος* too: its date excludes it from the later *Philippica*. 'If Philip were willing to abide by these same pursuits, then he would rule all Europe too'. A date in the years before the Thracian campaigns of 342/40 is implied: Philip does not yet rule much of 'Europe's' extent. Is the comment rather barbed: Europe, but not Greece,[54] 'such pursuits', but not 'good pursuits'? Like Isocrates' *Philippus*, this work ought to be complimentary to its eponym, and if so, these ambiguities should not be pressed. To Isocrates, too, 'Europe' could include the Greek states: Theopompus, here, was paying a compliment. Perhaps he was referring to 'rule over all Europe' as well as victory in Asia, an open secret in Philip's ambitions since 346 BC.

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[47] The Oxyrhynchus Historian preceded him; A. Andrewes, K. J. Dover, *Hist. Comm. Thuc.* (Oxford 1981) 207–8 on overlap with and continuation of Thuc. 8.

[48] T 7.

[49] Dem. 5. 25, contrasted with 15. 27.

[50] Recently, M. M. Markle, *JHS* 96 (1976) 80, regarding the issue of authenticity as settled by E. Bickermann and J. Sykutris. I cannot pursue the matter here, but L. Bertelli, 'La lettera di Speusippo a Filippo: il problema dell' autenticità,' *Atti dell'Accad. delle Scienz. di Torino* 111 (1977) 75–111 is a necessary counter to uncritical acceptance of this fascinating document.

[51] F 250, F291 shows that Hermias double-crossed Chios at some point: for Chian control of land at Atarneus, note Hdt. 8. 106. 1–2. It is presumably behind F 291, but the tone of F 250 need not be connected.

[52] F 256, called the 'Encomium of Philip'.

[53] F 255.

[54] A. Momigliano, 'L'Europa come concetto politico presso Isocrate e gli isocratei', in his *Terzo contributo* I.

What is the setting of the Speusippan attack on Theopompus, who might seem, from these works, to be angling for Philip's favour? In winter 343/2, Philip was considering the choice of a tutor for his son, Alexander. The battle of the options in higher education was not an empty battle, as it also concerned the education of future kings. Was Alexander to learn philosophy or literary rhetoric? The Platonists stood for the former, Theopompus, Isocrates, and others for the latter. Theopompus was already present at Pella, and surely had high hopes of the job: had the attack on Plato and the writing of a favourable *Φίλιππος* been his attempts to advance his own claims? Academic appointments have a long history of animosity, to which the Speusippan letter surely attaches. It was written as if to advance the Platonists' candidature and to do down their rivals, the rhetors. To us, it is a sad compound of polemic with egregious flattery of the new master of northern Greece.

In the event, Philip did not choose Theopompus, but a Platonist, Aristotle, who was living at the reviled Hermias' court. So far as we know, Theopompus then left Pella and never returned. Alexander, in turn, was to patronize Callisthenes, kinsman of Aristotle.[55] There is a suggestive parallel between the works of Theopompus and Callisthenes.[56] Theopompus wrote a *Hellenica* from 411 to 394; Callisthenes took the more obvious period, writing a *Hellenica* from 386 to 357/6; Callisthenes wrote a work *On the Sacred War*; Theopompus, more pointedly, wrote a work *On the Moneys Burgled at Delphi*. Theopompus insulted Hermias, Callisthenes wrote an encomium of him. Callisthenes, lastly, was engaged to write up *The Deeds of Alexander*: Theopompus, meanwhile, was engaged on his long *Philippica*, a work of very different scope and manner.

It is hard not to suspect a degree of rivalry, which the affair of the tutorship may possibly have sharpened. Like many rivals, the two men had considerable ground in common. Both had an antiquarian turn to their minds: they liked to explain the origin of place-names, and although they both rejected the older Greek myths as history, they attached persons and places in their narratives to myths in the Greek tradition.[57] Like Theopompus, Callisthenes expressed an admiration for Sparta, approving her constitution.[58] Like Theopompus, he could cite an inscription in his history, although Theopompus' most famous citation belonged, characteristically, in an attempt to deflate other people's glory.[59] Their treatment of Philip and Alexander was strongly coloured by rhetoric, albeit in different shades; while Callisthenes was praising, Theopompus was busy blaming. Of the two, Callisthenes was the more scholarly: Theopompus never undertook such a task as a list of the victors in the Pythian Games.[60]

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489 ff.: on p. 495, he argues that Theopompus was opposing Isocrates' *Philippus* and its plea for Asian conquest. The force of Theopompus' *καὶ* tells against this: 'all Europe, too', i.e. Europe besides Asia.

[55] Chares 125 T 15 answers the doubts of A. B. Bosworth, *Historia* 19 (1970) 407.

[56] L. Pearson, *Lost Histories of Alexander* (New York 1960) 25 notes the 'similarity', but only considers the *Hellenica*. Callisthenes is *FGrHist* no. 124.

[57] Callisth. T 24 (Theop. T 12); Callisth. F. 32 (Theop. F 103. 15–16).

[58] Callisth. F 50 (Sparta and Crete).

[59] Callisth. F. 34 and Theop. F 154 (Peace of Callias).

[60] Callisth. T 23.

In the end, Callisthenes died for the Greek values which Alexander's court was betraying. Theopompus would have spared no abuse for the heavy drinking and the Persian obeisance, but if it had suited his career, I suspect that he would have paid προσκύνησις and kept his invective quietly for his memoirs.

Theopompus' *Philippica* ran to fifty-eight books, and once again, we have nothing but fragments and an approximate idea of its skeleton. None the less, large claims are still made for it, that it represented a new phase of 'Herodotean' history for the author of 'Thucydidean' *Hellenica*; that it showed a profound appreciation of the prominence of King Philip; that it upheld 'Panhellenism' against the menace of Macedon; that it was particularly alert to Philip's rise; that its criticism of individuals varied in intensity according to their distance from the Macedonian court.[61]

Some of its aspects are clear enough. The *Philippica* did not confine itself to Philip. The sections on the king amounted to only fifteen books when abbreviated for the subsequent interest of King Philip V.[62] It discussed Sicilian affairs at length[63] and included such a range of 'wonders' that they were later grouped into an independent book. Books 6 to 8 contained major digressions, ranging from a long Utopian myth which was ascribed to the seer Silenus to comments on Zoroastrian beliefs or events in the Peloponnese in 370 BC.[64] Book 10 contained the notorious attacks on the Athenian 'demagogues', arranged in sequence like a 'king-list': they ran from Themistocles to Eubulus. It is evident that Theopompus, like Ephorus, did not follow a strict chronological order. Perhaps the fragments have only preserved the more picturesque episodes. However, we also know the contents of specific books, and Philip's actions, again, are not central: Book 12[65] for instance, was summarized in detail by Photius, because one of the ancients had claimed it was no longer extant. As a result, we happen to know that it contained the campaigns and diplomacy of Acoris the Pharaoh, and Euagoras of Cyprus; the Persian king's war against Cyprus; the King's Peace and the affairs of Cyprus, Egypt, and south-western Asia Minor, with digressions on myth and local oddities. We misjudge the enterprise if we limit it to Philip, or even to Philip's actions, broken up by fanciful digressions wherever possible. Its heirs knew better. In the late first century BC, Trogus entitled his compendious history the *Philippica*, and in places he used Theopompus as an ultimate source. Why did he choose this title?[66] The question is still open. A Roman meaning has been suggested for Trogus' 'Philippic', but a Greek allusion is surely more relevant. By the first century BC, Theopompus' *Philippica* was not the only work of that name in Greek history. However, was Trogus drawn to his title by Theopompus' combination of digressions, stories of kings and dynasts, and a wide geographical span? A closer connection, in moral tone or Macedonian content, has not been established.

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[61] Modern views in W. R. Connor *GRBS* 8 (1967) 133: 'Panhellenism', A. Momigliano, *Rivista di Filologia* 59 (1931) 335, whence others; varying scale of criticism, suggested by G. Shrimpton, *Phoenix* 31 (1977) 123.

[62] T 31.

[63] H. D. Westlake, *Historia* 2 (1953/4) 288.

[64] F 75, with G. J. D. Aalders, *Historia* 27 (1978) 317 (unconvincing); F 64–5; S. Dušanić, 'On Theopompus' *Philippica*, VI–VIII', *Aevum* 51 (1977) 27 ff. is valuable on F 60 and the context.

[65] F 103: the word ἐβράβευσεν in § 5 matches, interestingly, Plut. *Artax.* 21. 5: did Plut. use Theopompus in this Life? 'Umpiring' was not, in my view, a function of the Great King after 386.

[66] O. Seel, *Eine Römische Weltgeschichte* (Nuremberg 1972) 287 ff.: criticism by M. Rambaud, *Gnomon* 50 (1978) 29–30, whose own view, that Trogus' first plan was a work as far as book 33, ending with Macedon's eclipse, does not seem to me to be supported by Justin's text at 33.2. Most recently, R. Urban, "'Historiae Philippicae' bis Pompeius Trogus: Versuch einer Deutung', *Historia* 31 (1982) 82 has tried an ingenious answer, based on the number of Hellenistic kings, but it is rather forced.

The *Philippica* was not a 'tragic' history.[67] The interventions of the gods occurred in the digressions, among the wonders; they were not a unifying, 'tragic' plan. Was the book the fruit of Theopompus' own researches? The preface stressed his travels and their expense, but the man who plundered Xenophon's *Hellenica* could surely plunder Ephorus' long history too and enliven its tedious style. Some of the research was personal: the scenes at the Macedonian court, perhaps the Utopian myth of the Macedonian Silenus, the Zoroastrian stories, the sketches of Etruscan and Illyrian society. Some were exaggerated, some distorted: the one which we can best check is the most accurate. Theopompus is the first Greek author whom we know to have transmitted accurate details of Zoroastrian theology:[68] his statements are proof that Zurvanite teachings already circulated among Iranians of the fourth century BC. They also confirm the early Zoroastrian emphasis on a resurrection of the dead. He referred these views 'to the Magi': how did he know them? He had travelled to Caria and perhaps into Ionia. We should remember, too, how cosmopolitan Pella had become in the 340s: there, Theopompus could have heard stories told by Artabazus and his family in exile. There, too, he could have heard stories of the barbarian courts of Europe. He told them because they were readable and interesting. An antiquarian strand in him kept company with the rhetor and trained stylist: Theopompus gave some interesting 'origins' for the cult-practices of Attic festivals.[69] However, the results are so variable that we cannot credit him with clear canons of evidence or a critical attitude to sources. This interest in curiosities and remote people did not derive from any one model. He himself said he handled myths 'better' (perhaps more entertainingly?) than Herodotus, Ctesias, Hellanicus, and authors on India.[70] The history of Greek history writing can easily become too schematic, as if an author could only decide to write about wars because Thucydides had written on wars, or on foreign customs, because Herodotus had written on them. In truth, the tone of the *Philippica* is no more 'Herodotean' than the *Hellenica* is 'Thucydidean'.

The point is best made by its opinion of Philip. Polybius, notoriously, thought it inconsistent. In the preface, Theopompus said that he was drawn to the subject by Philip: a man 'such as Europe has never borne'.[71] Then, in the selfsame preface, he went on to denounce Philip and his Companions: one later piece of this invective is our best example of Theopompus' style. Different sections of it were quoted accurately by two later authors, and it seems that the whole stood in a carefully chosen place, just before Philip's final return to fight Athens and the Greek allies.[72] The passage is full of word-play and antithesis, attacking the Macedonian Companions' drinking, gambling, and unbridled homosexuality. 'Some, men though they were, were clean-shaven and smooth-skinned, while others used to mount one another, even though they had beards . . .'. They were ἑταῖραι (tarts), not ἑταῖροι (Companions); ἀνδρόπορνοι (male prostitutes) by habit, ἀνδροφόνοι (man-slayers) by nature. In short, they were creatures 'such as not even the Centaurs were . . .'. Unfair, perhaps, to the Macedonians, Theopompus was also unfair to the Centaurs, as a greater historian of 'decline' could have told him: in 1764, in Modena, Gibbon records his own surprise, while leafing through a book of the paintings from Herculaneum, to see 'des Centaures femelles', so very different from 'cette liaison si insensible de l'homme et du cheval'.[73]

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[67] A. Momigliano, *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography* (Oxford 1977) 142–3.

[68] A. Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom* (Cambridge 1975) 142 suggests that allusions to Zoroaster were a commonplace with 4th-c. historians. However, Theop. F 65 ('according to the Magi') is in a special class. M. Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism* II (1982) 235–6 vindicates it as a very early source for Zurvanism. The '9000' years conform to Iranian material of this type. F 64, on the resurrection, is also correct: cf. Boyce, 193. For another example of Theopompus' antiquarianism, cf. F 31 (Thrace) with F. Pfister, *Studies Pres. to D. M. Robinson* (St Louis, Mo., 1953) I, 112 ff.

[69] F 347.

[70] F 381; for T.'s many myths, T26A, B: 'innumerabiles fabulae'.

[71] F 27.

[72] F 225 A–B, with R. D. Milns, *Parola del passato* 23 (1968) 361; P. A. Brunt, *CQ* 30 (1980) 480–1 on Athenaeus' accurate quotations: A. Tronson, *JHS* (1984) 125 n. 54 announces a paper arguing the contrary, but it remains to be seen if his figures (90 out of 162 citations) largely concern abbreviation, not rewriting.

The Macedonian court was not alone in suffering such misrepresentation. The Etruscans, the *Philippica* showed, were, if anything, worse.[74] They were unusually open about sex: women frequently exercised stark naked in male company and reclined at dinner with men who were not their husbands. They shared in the toasts and the drinking: they raised every one of their children whether or not they knew the father's identity. At dinners, they engaged in love-making before their fellow guests, sometimes stringing up nets for the purposes, like a 'live show' in some Dutch night-club. Sex with women was followed by sex with young boys. Many of Theopompus' comments here are an interesting reflection on the contrary attitudes of Greeks, but there are antiquarian details, not least on Etruscan body-care, which suggest a degree of research. The archaeological record does give some support to his description. In several Etruscan tomb-paintings, women do recline at dinner with men and do watch athletic sports in their company.[75] The after-dinner sport was not so likely to be shown in funerary art, but even so, Theopompus' interpretations have been challenged by Etruscologists. The mixed diners are thought to be married or betrothed couples, while even the male athletes wear modest shorts. Theopompus was probably exaggerating the 'freedom' of Etruscan women and perhaps, too, the taste for young boys: his 'misunderstanding is comparable to the misconceptions regarding Swedish girls which are current among men in Italy today'.[76]

None the less, the *Philippica* has received some fine accolades, not least from late nineteenth-century scholars, concerned with books on the 'great man' and the 'unity' of a nation.[77] Yet, as Gilbert Murray realized in 1928 and W. R. Connor re-emphasized in 1967, Theopompus' subtlety was of a different order.[78] The *Philippica*'s preface had used a heavy irony which Polybius chose to ignore: Philip was without parallel, it said, a 'phenomenon such as Europe never bore', conspicuous for his vices, not his virtues. There was no contradiction between the other sections of the book and this, the first known judgement by a Greek on the moral qualities of a leader of 'Europe'.

In this light, the *Philippica* is not 'Herodotean' history in any serious sense of the term: we need only contrast the subtle implications of Herodotus' successive stories about Xerxes with the excess of the *Philippica*'s invective against barbarian courts. Theopompus described Philip in extreme rhetorical language as the host to every sort of gambler, drinker, and pervert.[79] Modern work on Philip could do with a degree of realism about the king's aims and diplomacy, but not 'realism' of this kind. Was Theopompus' slander of Macedon balanced by favour for anything else?

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[73] *Gibbon's Travels from Geneva to Rome* (ed. G. A. Bonnard, 1961) 106: I owe this reference to Francis Haskell.

[74] F 204.

[75] L. Bonfante Warren, *Archaeology* 26 (1973) 242 and *Arethusa* 6 (1973) 91.

[76] Ibid. 92. She only discusses the start of this fragment: Connor, op. cit. (n. 1) 153, thinks the rest reads 'like the notebooks of a voyeur'.

[77] W. R. Connor, op. cit. (n. 1), 142, on modern views.

[78] G. Murray, *Greek Studies* (Oxford 1946) 149; Connor, 137–9.

[79] F 81, 110, 162, 205, 209, 224–5, 236, 282: F 237 on Philip's 'good fortune' is surely a back-handed remark. Philip's drinking is confirmed by contemporaries. Aeschin. 2.47.

Some scholars believe it was, and the case has recently been revived. It founders on the view which Theopompus took of Demosthenes. Here, it is essential to understand Plutarch's subsequent rebuttal.[80] Demosthenes, Theopompus had said, was 'inconsistent'. Plutarch then defended Demosthenes' great Theban alliance against Macedon and commented: 'he was loved by both sides and dominated not undeservedly nor unjustly, as Theopompus says, but very appropriately'. How much of this remark was made by Theopompus? Surely, he only wrote that Demosthenes' dominance was 'unjust' and 'undeserved', a view which Plutarch then corrected?[81] The case for 'Panhellenism' in the *Philippica* or a sliding scale of condemnation, varying with the victim's nearness to Philip, vanishes with the proper understanding of these words.[82] Theopompus, as Lucian well remarked, 'writes slander rather than history'.[83]

Slander, indeed, does seem to have been indiscriminate in the *Philippica*: a praise of Alcibiades' 'adaptability' may belong in the earlier *Hellenica*.[84] Unless our surviving glimpses are seriously misleading, there was no limit to Theopompus's targets: Philip, Demosthenes, the Companions, the Thessalians, Maussolus, Hermias, Cimon, the Athenian 'demagogues'.[85] Theopompus professed admiration for Antisthenes the Cynic:[86] himself, he gave the 'true' motives in men's conduct, 'like a judge in the Underworld', said his later readers.[87] The *Philippica* did include speeches and the history of great events, but its moral invective was far removed from a Herodotus or Thucydides. Thucydides' style and emphasis had helped to convey what an event had been like for its participants: Theopompus' style and emphasis denounced what great men had 'really' been like, in themselves. Duris made a similar point: Theopompus' periodic style lacked 'vivid representation' and tended to monotony.[88] One relief for monotonous 'fluency' is exaggeration through invective and moral abuse. This tone was more appropriate to Aristophanic comedy, but it lacked Aristophanes' sense of fun. It is interesting that his fellow pupil, Ephorus, had moved in the opposite direction. His *Histories* tended to whitewash leading individuals' motives. The result was very tedious. Did its publication (by the 330s) reinforce Theopompus' choice of the opposite approach?

It is not, then, plausible that his work had been alert to a new, potential force in history. It is quite clear from fragments of the preface and subsequent books that Theopompus only finished the published version of the *Philippica* after Philip's death, which it narrated. Theopompus discussed at one point a detail in the affair of Harpalus at Athens: if this detail, too, derives from the *Philippica*, then the final shape must have been delayed until as late as 324.[89] Such a late dating fits well, as we shall see, with his other work in the 320s. On any view, the completed *Philippica* was not a work of new, or prophetic insight. During Philip's early rise in the 350s, Theopompus' interests had lain elsewhere, yet by 350, even Demosthenes and others in Athens were already aware of the potential menace of King Philip. In literary terms, the *Philippica* is proof of something else: the decline in Greek history-writing after Thucydides. So far as we can see, it is a steep decline, and more than the accident of genius is needed to explain it. In Theopompus, the lack of responsible political experience was compounded by education in rhetoric: the literary option was divorced from philosophy and politics and was therefore the enemy of historical thought. The *Philippica* do not look back to Herodotus. They look forward to features of Hellenistic prose, its length and curious learning, its interest in 'wonders', extreme moralizing, and its concern to attach scandal to well-known names. It is clear from several close correspondences that Trogus' own *Philippica* drew in places on Theopompus, whether or not he used him directly. The details which surround Philip's murder and burial have a combination of scurrility and precision which could very well be Theopompus' own. They deserve to be weighed closely against the reports of the royal burial-ground, recently found at Vergina.[90]

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[80] F 326; F 328 = Plut. *Demosth.* 18. 3–4.

[81] Iphicrates suffered likewise: F 289, where 'bonus vero civis' is probably Nepos' correction.

[82] Shrimpton, *Phoenix* 31 (1977) 131–9 notes, but then evades, them.

[83] T 25, with F 288; F 233.

[84] F 288 does suggest an admiration of one side of Alcibiades: surely in the *Hellenica*. F 106, 240, and 323 are not openly critical of Agesilaus: if F 107 is entirely Theopompan, Agesilaus' personal habits may have escaped blame in the *Philippica*, as in the *Hellenica* (F 22). But we do not know the full picture.

[85] F 85–100, with W. R. Connor, *GRBS* 4 (1963) 107 and *Theopompus and Fifth Century Athens* (Washington 1968); F 306 suggests Theopompus also attacked Athens' constitution.

[86] F 295.

[87] Dion. Hal., ap. T 20. 8.

[88] Duris, ap. T. 34; for Theopompus' speeches, F 164, 166.

If these judgements of the *Philippica* seem severe and at risk to accidents of its survival, they derive support from Theopompus' attested work in Alexander's reign. In 332, Alexander the Great wrote the famous letter which the Chiotes put up in a shortened version on stone: 'all exiles', it tells us, 'are to return' and the constitution of Chios is to be drawn up as a democracy.[91] In 332 Alexander and his advisers were not thinking primarily of the exiled, cantankerous rhetor whom they had known at Pella in the 340s, yet it was under this new dispensation that Theopompus returned home, to a democracy on Chios in which he cannot have been entirely at ease.

During these years, the vast enterprise of the *Philippica* was taking shape, though not yet published (it seems) in its final form: was Theopompus already performing parts of it, as he had once performed his speeches? There are signs of a quarrel between himself and a fellow Chiote rhetor, a man who was also capable of fierce invective.[92] In winter 325/4, Theopompus' indignant manner and rhetorical skill found a new outlet.

During Alexander the Great's absence in the East, his treasurer, Harpalus, had been enjoying a high life of food, wines and women. He had lived in Babylon with one famous Athenian hetaera and then, after her death, he had moved west to Tarsus to live with yet another.[93] 'Not ἑταῖροι, but ἑταῖραι', Theopompus had already written of the Macedonians: he took advantage of this new 'scandal' to write to Alexander himself. Posterity knew of 'Chian letters', in the plural:[94] one, it seems, was a 'Letter of Advice to

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[89] F 27. 2 (Polybius) shows that the *Philippica* included the domestic troubles in Macedon, 337/6. F 232 cites the death of King Archidamus and F 318 probably attaches to the death of Alexander in Italy (331/0). F 330 would put the final work after 324, if (as elsewhere in this life) Plutarch is referring to the *Philippica*, not (say) the Chian letters.

[90] On Justin and Theopompus, see Connor, op. cit. (n. 1) 141 n. 20 and Shrimpton, op. cit. (n. 82), 143 n. 53 and Momigliano, *Quinto Contributo* 491. On Justin 9. 7. 10–14, I aired the possibilities, no more, in my *Search For Alexander* (1980) 92–3. Justin's following chapter 9. 8 has clear Theopompan touches, in 8. 6 and 8. 15.

[91] Tod, op. cit. (n. 24), no. 192. A. J. Heisserer, *Alexander the Great and the Greeks* (Norman, Okla., 1980) 83 ff. argues interestingly for 334 BC, but the references to the 'traitors' and the Greek fleet are easier in 332, and I retain the older dating.

[92] T 9 + F 252: Theocritus of Chios attacked Aristotle and Hermias, Diog. Laert. 5 11.

[93] Athenaeus 13. 586 C–D; esp. 594 E–596 B.

[94] T 20.10.

Alexander', the other, perhaps, 'Concerning Chios' rather than 'Against the Chians'.[95] Before writing them, Theopompus, we are told, had taken flight from Chios and gone as a suppliant to the temple of Artemis in Ephesus. We can well believe that the new Chian democracy was happier without his talents, and it is clear that his 'Letter of Advice' reviled a Chiote who was his political opponent.[96] Perhaps, then, the Letter was sent from yet another period of exile: Dionysius, the literary critic, later admired these letters for their force and innate spirit, the equal, he judged, of Demosthenes's talents.[97] In one quotation from the 'Letter of Advice', Theopompus attacks Harpalus for his extravagant memorials to the first of his Athenian mistresses. His protests are full of historical interest, though the best-known study of Harpalus ignored them, to its cost.[98] They can be matched with the remarkable satyr-play, the *Agen*, which had been performed in Alexander's camp, on the Indian river Hydaspes, already in 326: the plot had turned on the same theme, the distress of Harpalus for his dead mistress.[99] Invective of this type was plainly to Alexander's taste: Harpalus, wrote Theopompus, had 'set up a shrine and precinct and named the temple and altar after "Pythionice Aphrodite", both despising the vengeance of the gods and trying to insult your honours'. Modern studies of Alexander's deification continue to ignore this cardinal piece of evidence.[100] By winter 325/4, before any 'demand' or decree, Alexander was receiving divine honours at least as great as those which are here alleged for Harpalus' mistress. Theopompus, it seems, knew communities in which Alexander was already being honoured by direct assimilation to one of the gods, perhaps as 'Alexander Zeus'.

Theopompus contrasts Harpalus' extreme honour for his mistress, Pythionice, with the sad lack of honour for the dead in Alexander's Asian campaign: 'those who died for your kingship, Alexander, and the freedom of Greece'.[101] The flattery of Alexander and his campaign of 'Greek revenge' is quite remarkable: Theopompus is credited with an 'encomium' on Alexander, which may, then, be this 'Letter of Advice'. Almost certainly, Theopompus had already planned his attack on Philip and his bestial 'Centaurs': can we add anything more to this 'open letter', addressed to Alexander by his father's most scurrilous historian?

I believe that we can. Athenaeus quotes this extract from the letter and goes on in the same book to describe the patriotism of earlier courtesans.[102] During the Persian War, he wrote, Corinthian *hetaerae* went up to the temple of Aphrodite in Corinth and prayed for the safety of the Greeks. The Corinthians later inscribed their names on a votive tablet which survived in the second century AD: Simonides honoured them with a verse-epigram. The scholiast on Pindar, *Olympian* 13 ascribes this same piece of learning to Theopompus: the women, he said, prayed to Aphrodite that the 'love of fighting' would fall on their menfolk.[103] Theopompus also quoted the poem by Simonides which was visible on the left-hand side of the temple as people entered. Modern scholarship has tried to attach this fragment to the *Philippica*, without suggesting a plausible context.[104] It belongs, surely, to the 'Letter of Advice' which Athenaeus had cited a few pages before. In it, Theopompus drew a contrast: the new type of hetaera was being honoured like Aphrodite at the expense of those whose died for Greek freedom, whereas the old-style hetaerae had prayed piously to Aphrodite at Corinth in the dark days of the Persian Wars in 480. Alexander's campaign was a self-styled 'war of revenge' for the Persian misdeeds on that occasion and its seat, no less, was at Corinth. Like other contrasts in Theopompus, the antithesis was neat, and forceful.

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[95] F 252, 253, cited as 'Letter to Alexander': Cicero, F 251 knows of a flattering 'book' to Alexander: was this letter the 'Encomium' of Alexander, cited by name in F 255 (Theon)? F 254 cites a letter 'Concerning Chios' (as emended): T 8, writings *κατὰ Χίων*. Are these separate letters? F 254B would, however, fit well with F 253.

[96] T 8, F 252.

[97] Dion. Hal. T 20. 10.

[98] F 253, dismissed by E. Badian, 'Harpalus', *JHS* 81 (1961) 23: 'history must be disengaged from tawdry novelette': the distinction, here, is arbitrary.

[99] B. Snell, *Scenes From Greek Drama* (Berkeley, Calif., 1964) 99 ff. was surely correct in dating this play to the Indian Hydaspes river in 326; H. Lloyd-Jones, *Gnomon* 1966, 16 ingeniously proposed the 'Medus Hydaspes' in Virgil, but it is quite unsound to treat exotic eastern epithets in Roman poetry as factual evidence of topography; cf. R. Syme, *History in Ovid* (Oxford 1978) 186 ff. Harpalus had already moved from Babylon to Tarsus in 326 BC: this affects the chronology of his flight, and is one more objection to the notions of E. Badian, op. cit., who omits this basic evidence.

[100] F 253: on the force of such an assimilation, P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I (Oxford 1970) 239–46. The most recent discussion of Alexander's deification is a very lengthy one by E. Badian, in *Ancient Macedonian Studies in Honor of C. F. Edson* (Thessaloniki 1981) 27–71, but he nowhere discusses the Chian Letter, not even on pp. 59–63: for its importance, my *Alexander the Great* (London 1973) 439, 545. For a similar later slander of Aristotle, Aristippus, ap. Diog. Laert. 5. 4.

[101] F 253 l. 21.

[102] Athenaeus 573 C–E; F 285A.

It is in this vein that we should understand the 'innate spirit' and 'Demosthenic force' which critics detected in the letter:[105] the excessive rhetoric needs no comment. The poem by Simonides and the votive tablet seem to be known to Theopompus personally, instances of the 'research' of which he had boasted so proudly. A second letter followed the 'Letter of Advice'. Perhaps it is to this work that we should attach a further protest about Harpalus and his honours for yet another Athenian girl, the replacement for 'Pythionice Aphrodite'; she was being honoured, Theopompus said, with the queenly honours and other gifts 'which it was fitting to pay to your mother and to the lady who lives with you'.[106] No other flattery of Olympias and Roxane, paired together, survives in evidence from Alexander's reign.

This letter, or letters, are an embarrassment for those who look for a coherent, principled view in Theopompus and his work. The man who was to deplore King Philip and his court could also flatter Alexander and present himself as the king's loyal 'sneak'. It is hard to see how he could do this, if his *Philippica* and their insults were already published in their final form. The 'Chian letters' are a further reason for delaying the larger work's appearance. In writing them, Theopompus may have had a further motive. Already, three years had passed since the execution of Callisthenes, the court-historian and 'letter-writer', as he is called by a recently found inscription (the library-list at Tauromenium, dated about 130–100 BC):[107] Alexander was the greatest source of patronage in the world, and his court had a vacancy for a willing man of letters. Did Theopompus hope to succeed Callisthenes whose works he had rivalled so tantalizingly before Alexander's reign? Theopompus, we are told, was once again in exile from Chios, and in need of support: after Alexander's death, he is said to have been denied a home in Ptolemy's Egypt.[108]

Chios's contribution, then, to her most prolific man of letters was prudent, but essentially negative: she banished him for most of his life. There is a place for stylists and antiquarians, and scandal and oddities always find readers; Theopompus' books lacked neither.[109] However, there is also a smoothness, and a degree of antithesis, in the extracts of Theopompus' work which lack all proportion and honesty.[110] So, conspicuously, do the changes of tone in what he wrote. The *Hellenica* and the *Philippica* have benefited for too long from wishful, scholarly thinking and an interest in raising the status of Thucydides's successors. King Philip, Theopompus declared, was a man without parallel in Europe: nowadays, we understand what the comment meant. Its attitude to Philip and his vices helps us to see why Plutarch never included the king in his many biographies: Theopompus' book contained nothing which would assist a balanced appraisal. An earlier age of scholarship wished it were otherwise. Misjudging Theopompus' talents, Wilamowitz remarked, with unintended aptness, that the *Philippica* was a 'work without parallel in literature'.[111] In Theopompus' own sense of the phrase, historians can agree that Wilamowitz, after all, was right.

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[103] Schol. Pind. *O.* 13. 32B:Theop. F 285B.

[104] Connor, op. cit. (n. 85), 97 tentatively suggested *Philippica* 25. Snell, op. cit. (n. 99), 124 is most bizarre.

[105] Dion. Hal. T 20, 1 ff.

[106] F 254B, this may belong in the same letter as F 253.

[107] G. Manganaro, 'Una biblioteca storica nel ginnasio di Tauromenion e il P. Oxy. 1241', *Parola del passato* 29 (1974) 389 ff, at 391 with 398 (date).

[108] T 2 and T 8.

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[109] e.g., F 124 (interesting on sacrifices to the *δαίμων* of the Persian King), and esp. F 225B. Connor, op. cit. (n. 1), 154 dramatizes Theopompus' plight unduly, to my mind: 'a man torn between a past that he knows cannot be idealized and a future that seems to promise only unrelieved degeneracy. This is the source of his misery [*sic*], his pessimism . . .'. The Utopian F75 does not entail pessimism in Theopompus himself. I doubt if he was concerned with more than an audience, and readability.

[110] They irritated the critic Demetrius (*De Eloc.* 240).

[111] U. v. Wilamowitz, *Greek Historical Writing* (tr. G. Murray, Oxford 1908) 10, cited by Connor, op. cit. (n. 1) 143.

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN CHIOS AND OTHER GREEK CITIES IN ANTIQUITY

TH. CH. SARIKAKIS

THE subject of my paper is the commercial relations between Chios and the other cities of the Greek world from the early Archaic period to the early Roman period. The reasons for this choice are twofold, first that the relevant literary sources are relatively abundant, and second that the Chiotes from very early times distinguished themselves both as sailors and as merchants, as is the case even to-day.

The commercial reputation of the inhabitants of Chios, which was noticed first by Aristotle[1] (*ἐμπορικὸν δὲ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ καὶ Χίῳ*) must be due primarily to the geographical position of the island, and also to its mountainous and infertile character, which forced its inhabitants to turn their attention towards trade and shipping in order to survive. This may also explain why the Chiotes never colonized to any great extent.[2]

Already from the sixth century BC Chios belonged to a group of commercial communities[3] which supplied the west with luxury goods from the east. In addition to these eastern goods, however, they were exporting their own, mainly agricultural products, such as the famous Ariousian wine and the unique white mastic. Besides these, pottery and metal goods were also exported. The export of marble increased their income considerably, as also did the slave trade, which, though not very honourable, was the most profitable of all.[4] Thanks to trade and shipping Chios became during the fifth and fourth centuries one of the richest trading centres of Greece, and for this reason Thucydides[5] refers to the Chiotes as 'the richest among Greeks', who 'were the only ones after the Lacedaemonians . . . to combine wealth with moderation.'

Epigraphical and papyrological sources give us a similar picture of the island's flourishing economy during the Hellenistic period. On the one hand, the papyri of Zenon tell us that in the third century BC Chios was being used as a port of call for trading ships sailing between Alexandria and the Black Sea.[6] On the other, epigraphical sources of the same years[7] indicate that the trade in wood and pitch was at least partly in the hands of Chian traders, who were transporting them from their place of production to Delos and mainland Greece.[8] This economic boom in Chios continued until its complete destruction by Mithridates in 86 BC.[9] The Roman civil wars, various military occupations, and possibly also the monetary reforms of Augustus, who limited the right to strike gold and silver coins to the Imperial mints,[10] as well as earthquakes, may all have contributed to destroy once and for all her trading activity, so that by the end of the first century BC she fell into total economic decay.[11]

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[1] *Pol.* 1291 B, where he lists the various classes that constitute a demos.

[2] But they took a vital part in the foundation at Naucratis (Hdt. 2, 178) and established trading posts in Caria and Egypt to which they gave their name (Steph. Byz. s. v. 'Chios', 'Ephesos'). They also sent colonists to Maronea (Skymnos, 678) and maintained a *περαία* on the mainland opposite the island of Lesbos (Skylax, 98).

[3] On this league, to which Miletus, Aegina, and Eretria also belonged, see H. Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World* (Chicago 1924) 102.

[4] I give sources and bibliography for the produce of Chios in *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Φιλ. Σχολ. Πανεπ. Θεσσαλονίκης* 14 (1975) 359 n. 1; and ibid. n. 2, on slaves. Athenaeus says there were three sorts of Chian wine, dry, sweet, and middling (32 F–33 A).

[5] 8. 45. 4; 8. 24. 4.

[6] Cf. J. Vanseveren, *Revue philologique* 63, 1937, 331 with n. 1 for the relevant sources in papyri.

However, my intention is not to discuss Chios' economic prosperity or decline, but to examine those cities which had close trading links with the Chian merchants. For this we limit ourselves to: (1) the Chian amphorae discovered outside Chios; (2) the Chiotes who lived in other towns of the Greek world, and also the other Greeks who settled in Chios (excluding therefore, the Jews and Romans[12] who lived on the island); and finally (3) the *πρόξενοι* whom Chios maintained in other Greek cities, and also the Chiotes who were honoured with *προξενία* by other Greeks.

I begin with the amphorae, since they clearly show the geographical expansion of Chian trade in wine, which was the principal local product in antiquity. Chian amphorae are distinguished by the colour of their clay and their shape, and later by the seal-stamps which appear on the handles and portray the characteristic symbol of the city, also found on its coins, the sphinx crouching in front of an amphora. It is almost certain that the Chiotes were the first to put seals on their amphorae, in the years about 450–425 BC, to guarantee the accurate weight and authenticity of their wine. From the beginning of the third century to the first century BC Chian amphorae carry only one name, most probably that of the potter who made them.[13] Similar names of potters occur on the handles of lagynoi,[14] smaller vases which the Chiotes also manufactured to make their famous wine accessible on a cheaper basis. For Chian wine was very expensive. In Socrates' day one amphora cost 100 Attic drachmae,[15] at a time when wages were one drachma a day.

Since it was so expensive, Chian wine circulated only in small quantities.[16] This may explain why the number of Chian amphorae which have been found is considerably smaller than those of other wine-producing regions, such as Rhodes and Cnidus, whose cheap wine was considered of lesser quality than that of Chios. This can be proved by the finds in Alexandria, where 90,000 amphorae were discovered, of which 80,000 were Rhodian, 860 Cnidian, and only 160 Chian.[17] This statistical evidence comes both from published and unpublished material,[18] made available to me by the courtesy of V. Grace and J. Empereur, both of whom I wish to thank most warmly.

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[7] *IG* XI. 2. 144. A94 (306/5) and 154, A48 (296 BC); cf. Vanseveren, op. cit. 331–2.

[8] Cf. M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Oxford 1941) 245, 1375 n. 74.

[9] For details about this catastrophe see Sarikakis, op. cit. (n. 4) 362–6. Nevertheless, inscriptions (cf. L. Robert, *REG* 42 (1929) 32–8) show that even in the 1st c. BC there was some activity in the harbour and market of Chios.

[10] See especially J. Mavrogordato, *Numismatic Chronicle* 1917, 207.

[11] For further details see Sarikakis, op. cit. (n. 4) 369–71. For the earthquakes, Suet. *Tib.* 8. 1; cf. G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (Oxford 1965) 99.

[12] For Roman merchants in Chios see Sarikakis. *'Επιστ 'Επ. Θεσσ.* 11 (1970) 172, 174–5. Coins also indicate trading activity, but I shall deal with their evidence in a forthcoming publication.

[13] Some cities (Rhodes, Cnidus, Sinope, etc.) usually add a second name, their dating magistrate. On the value of the amphorae as evidence for the wine-trade see E. Ziebarth, *Beiträge fur Geschichte des Seeraubs und Seehandels im alten Griechenland* (Hamburg 1929) 73–7. On Chian amphorae see V. Grace and M. Savvatianou-Petropoulakou in *Expl. Arch. Délos* 27 (1970) 359–63; H. Mattingly, *JHS* 101 (1981) 78–80 pl. 1. For the development of their shape from the 6th to the first cc. BC see V. Grace, *Amphoras and the Ancient Wine Trade* (Princeton, NJ, 1979) figs. 44–51.

[14] For Chian lagynoi see V. Grace, *BCH* 76 (1952) 519; Grace/Petropoulakou, op. cit. 361; Grace, *Hesperia* Suppl. x (1956) 166–7. The amphorae and lagynoi may carry an abbreviated name or monogram, or be wholly uninscribed.

[15] Plut. *Tranq.* 10, 470 F: Socrates hearing a friend talk about high prices—'a mina for Chian wine'. This was certainly not its normal price, which in the 5th c. varied between 7 and 14 dr.; cf. L. Talcott, *Hesperia* 4 (1935) 495–6.

[16] Another reason was insufficient production; cf. E. Hyams, *Dionysus. A Social History of the Wine Vine* (London 1965) 90.

Our earliest evidence comes from the Black Sea, so I begin my survey there. Chian commerce appears in this region at the time of the foundation of the Greek colonies, and continues uninterrupted until the end of the fourth century BC, when it is diverted elsewhere. The Chian presence is particularly noticeable on the western coast of Pontus, and particularly in Apollonia, Mesembria, Odessus, Callatis, and Tomis; also in the north, in the region of the Cimmerian Bosporos, as is shown by the large number of Chian amphorae found in Panticapaeum, Hermonassa, Theodosia, Olbia, and Niconium.[19] We must also take into account the many finds of Archaic Chian pottery made in these cities, listed by Robert Cook in the article 'The Distribution of Chiot Pottery'.[20] The archaeological finds complete the picture which we form from literary sources[21] about the activity of Chian merchants in these regions.

If we turn to the islands of the Aegean, the finds are as follows: Delos yielded 142 Chian amphorae, Rhodes 18, Cyprus (Paphos and Salamis) a similar number, a few come from Samos (4), Cos (3), Syme (2), and Euboea (Eretria 2).[22] Among the cities on the mainland Athens and Corinth take the lead. The Athenian Agora alone has yielded about 100 new names of Chian potters, while the numerous Chian amphorae which were found in Corinth[23] testify to the close commercial connections which existed between them in the mid fifth century BC. Chian amphorae were also found in North Greece, 14 are known to come from Pella and two from Abdera.[24] Very few Chian amphorae were found in Asia Minor except at Pergamum and Smyrna,[25] a fact noticed by Cook[26] in connection with Archaic Chian pottery.

Zenon's papyri and the numerous amphorae found in the Middle East show that the commercial interest of the Chiotes has moved into these regions by Hellenistic times. Alexandria alone yielded about 160 Chian amphorae, the greatest number found anywhere. Many others were found in Naucratis. They have also been found in Syria

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[17] Cf. S. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos* (Hypomnemata 51, Göttingen 1978) 238, who gives a statistical table of amphora finds.

[18] From the Athenian Agora, Delos and Alexandria.

[19] The relevant studies are in Russian, Bulgarian, Romanian, etc., but from the English of French summaries it is possible to get a general idea of the importance of Chian trade in this area. On finds of Chian amphorae I rely mainly on: I. Zeest, *Keramicheskaya tara Bosfora* (Moscow 1960) 74–9, 138, table 11 for the Cimmerian Bosporus; C. Musetanu, *Dacia* 22 (1978) 188 (Odessus, Apollonia, Mesembria, etc.); M. Lazarov, 'Le commerce de Chios avec les cités ouest-pontiques' in *Bull. du Musée Nat. de Varna* 18 (1982) 5–15, French summary p. 15, for Odessus, Tomis, Apollonia, Istria. There is a particularly important article by I. Brashinsky in *Eirene* 11 (1973) 111–14, which refers to the work of Soviet archaeologists on amphorae and their attempt to use them as sources for economic and social history (on Chios, p. 123; bibliography, 112–13).

[20] *BSA* 44 (1949) 154–61 (on the Black Sea, 160).

[21] Specifically Demosthenes (*Contra Lacritum* 52–4), who records that a Chian merchant lent money to a relative in Phaselis and that they then sailed together to Chios so that the latter could discharge the debt.

[22] The statistics are from Sherwin-White, op. cit. (n. 17) 238, and from the unpublished material already referred to.

[23] Especially in the so-called Punic Amphora Building; cf. C. K. Williams, *Hesperia* 47 (1978) 17–19.

[24] *Bull. Epigr.* 1964 no. 266.

[25] C. Boulter and V. Grace, *Hesperia* 22 (1953) 105 no. 152 (Smyrna). Most of the Chian amphorae found at Pergamum are unpublished.

[26] Op. cit. (n. 20) 159–60.

(Antioch) and in Palestine (Samaria, Caesarea, and Gezer).[27] The lack of Chian amphorae is most noticeable in Magna Graecia[28] (only Syracuse has yielded a few) and on the shores of the Adriatic, for which our only source is Theopompus,[29] who mentions the discovery of Chian and Thasian pottery in Narona.

We turn our attention now to the metics: the Greek citizens who established themselves in other cities either permanently or temporarily.[30] Although the main reason for this migration was their commercial interests, the type of inscriptions which survive[31] do not allow us to identify them with any certainty except in rare cases.

The Chiotes of the diaspora are to be found in large commercial centres such as Athens, Rhodes, Delos, and Alexandria, and they are at least three times as many as the metics who established themselves in Chios. The close relations between Chios and Athens[32] account for the large number of Chiotes (at least 25) mentioned in Attic inscriptions especially of the fifth and fourth centuries BC. Two of these were most probably shipowners, and one helped the authorities of the city with the purchase of wheat.[33]

Most of the fourteen Chiotes mentioned in Rhodian inscriptions[34] lived during the third and second centuries BC, at the height of the Rhodian commercial boom (305–166). This shows that they are merchants, as does the fact that most of them received 'rights of residence' (*ἐπιδαμία*), enabling them to have a permanent residence and to be absolved from paying the metics' tax.[35] In Delos we have the greatest number of emigrant Chiotes (about forty),[36] who are named mainly in honorific decrees. In most cases the honours are bestowed purely for religious reasons, but the Delian inscriptions show that some at least had established themselves on the sacred island for commercial purposes. This, for example, is the case with Herodotus,[37] who supplied Delos with cheap pitch between the years 306 and 296 BC and the banker Eutychus son of Philotas (about 230),[38] in honour of whom the Delians instituted a festival called the 'Eutycheia'. Other inscriptions inform us that Chiotes acquired in Delos the right to acquire land and property,[39] or citizenship,[40] that they rented land or houses,[41] and that they could become priests[42] or be enrolled as ephebes.[43]

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[27] For statistics again, Sherwin-White, loc. cit. For Alexandria, V. Grace, *Yearbook of the American Philosophical Society* 1955, 321–6, where 57,262 amphorae of the Benaki collection and the Graeco-Roman Museum of Alexandria are studied; cf. *Bull. Epig.* 1958 no. 29 and 1966 no. 35.

[28] On the other hand many Archaic Chian vases of other shapes have been found in the area; cf. Cook, op. cit. (n. 20) 160–1 (especially Tarentum, Gela, Selinus, and farther west at Massilia).

[29] Strabo 7. 5. 9 (317). For Chian and Thasian pottery at Narona see also Ps. Arist. *Mir.* 839 B, who says that Pontic merchants sold vases from Chios, Lesbos, and Thasos along the shores of the Adriatic.

[30] Cf. Harpocration's definition, s.v. *μετοίκιοι*: a metic is a man who moves from one city to another not for a short time, as a visiting stranger, but establishing his household there.

[31] Usually on funerary or votive inscriptions, less often in lists of taxes or honorific inscriptions.

[32] For these relations see T. Quinn, *Athens and Samos, Lesbos and Chios: 478–404* (Manchester 1981) 39–49. For Chiotes in Athenian inscriptions see Appendix I.

[33] They are Antimachos (*IG* II^2 40. 10; cf. addenda p. 657, and *IG* II^2 1604. 79; 378–6 BC) and Xenokrates (*IG* II^2 584 and 679. 7; cf. *SEG* 3 (1929) no. 92; 275 BC).

[34] Cf. the names in D. Morelli, 'Gli stranieri in Rodi', *Studi classici e orientali* 5 (1956) 176–7, and Appendix I below.

[35] For the meaning of *ἐπιδαμία* and the difference from *μετοικία* see Morelli, op. cit. 128–30.

[36] Cf. their names in Appendix I.

[37] *IG* XI. 2. 144. A94 (306/5) and 154, A48 (296 BC); cf. Vanseveren, op. cit. (n. 6) 331.

[38] *IG* XI. 4. 691; F. Durrbach, *Choix d'ins. de Délos* (Paris 1921–2) no. 43.

[39] Amphiklos Kal[listratou], Herostratos Theopropou, Kleandros Themistiou, and Peisistratos Argeiou.

[40] Philistos Philiskou. The award of Delian citizenship was an especial honour.

[41] Lykophron and Timokleides.

[42] Ktesippos Ktesippou.

[43] Menandros Menandrou, Nikolaos, and Pindaros.

In papyri and inscriptions from Egypt we have thirteen names of Chiotes who lived in Alexandria or in other towns of Egypt, particularly during the third century BC. The small numbers show that the rich city of the Nile did not attract a great many immigrants.[44] Some established themselves as colonists in Alexandria or in the countryside of Egypt, others joined the army of the Ptolemies, for example Aristos son of Timodemos, who was active in Cyprus as governor of Carpasia during the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes.[45] In 48 BC we meet in Alexandria the sophist Theodotus,[46] who as counsellor to Ptolemy XIII suggested the murder of Pompey. These show that during this period the movement of Chiotes to Egypt was not entirely for trade, whereas their presence at Naucratis in previous centuries, which is primarily attested by dedicatory inscriptions,[47] was due simply to commercial reasons.

References to the establishment of Chiotes in other areas are scanty. They do not seem to have settled in the cities of the mainland or of Magna Graecia, as we have already seen, nor in those of the Black Sea, except Panticapaeum (2).[48] A similar pattern can be observed in the islands of the Aegean, where, besides Rhodes and Delos, they are to be found only in Cos (2)[49] and Thera (1).[50] Their number is also small in the cities of Asia Minor where they occur only in Erythrae (2),[51] Cnidus (2),[52] Priene (1),[53] Miletus,[54] and Aeolian Cyme (1).[55]

In contrast, a great number of Chian names occur in Delphi, Samothrace, and in the sanctuary of Apollo at Clarus, but the Chiotes referred to in the inscriptions from these sanctuaries were worshippers, ambassadors, and, in the case of Delphi, ἱερομνήμονες during the period of Aetolian domination (279–189 BC). (For these see also Pierre Amandry's article in this volume.)

Although references to foreigners in inscriptions from Chios are few, it seems that their number must have been far greater, if we are to judge by the distinction which is often made between Chiotes and foreigners in our sources (both literary and epigraphical),[56] and also by the existence in Chios of officials whose special task was the protection and supervision of foreigners, ξενοφύλακες.[57] Foreigners in Chios are not called metics (μέτοικοι) but neighbours (πάροικοι) or settlers (κάτοικοι),[58] as in Rhodes. They are named frequently on Chian inscriptions[59] but since their ethnic is not mentioned when they are referred to as πάροικοι, we cannot establish their origins with certainty. In 24 cases, however, their ethnic is also mentioned, and from this we can discover their places of origin: Athens (4), Cos (3), Ephesus (4), Miletus (2), Ptolemaïs in Cyrenaica (2), Cyzicus (2); and Mytilene, Pergamum, Samos, Sardis, Smyrna, Syracuse, and perhaps Aetolia (Thorax) one each.[60]

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[44] References in Appendix I.

[45] For epigraphical and papyrological sources see M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* (Paris 1950) 234.

[46] Plut. *Pomp.* 77, *Brut.* 33; cf. Appian, *BC* 2, 84.

[47] References in Appendix I.

[48] Angelippos Apollonidou and Athenaïs.

[49] Areïkles Herodotou and Nikagoras.

[50] Thrasyleon.

[51] Euenor Heragoreo and Semylos Polyaratou (Theodosios Chios).

[52] Zenodotos Menippou and Menippos.

[53] Zotion Zotionos.

[54] Nikostrate Alexidos.

[55] Mentor Poseidoniou.

[56] Appian, *Mithr.* 46, 181: (Zenobios) declared that the foreigners should remain peaceful, and that the Chians . . .; A. Plassart and Ch. Picard, *BCH* 37 (1913) 195 no. 20, ll. 10–14; L. Robert, *BCH* 57 (1933) 529 ll. 5–6.

[57] Inscriptions about the ξενοφύλακες are collected by L. Robert, *Revue philologique* 42 (1929) 35–7, cf. *BCH* 57 (1933) 537–8.

[58] Cf. Plassart-Picard, op. cit. (n. 56), 214; Robert, op. cit. 529 l. 6. Cf. W. G. Forrest, *Klio* 51 (1969) 202 l. 10. For Rhodes, see Morelli, op. cit. (n. 34), 128, 132–3. *Πάροικοι* are also mentioned elsewhere: Plassart-Picard, op. cit. 214 (Ephesus, Teos, Priene).

[59] The names are collected in Appendix II.

[60] For foreigners settled in Chios see Appendix II.

We know nothing of their activities, except that the *πάροικοι* in Chios had the right of tenure of land and property,[61] that they participated in the religious life of the city,[62] and that they contributed money to various communal welfare causes.[63] The greatest number of foreigners lived in Chios during the Hellenistic period.

Next we will deal with the *πρόξενοι*, whose main concern was to entertain and look after foreigners who visited their city.[64] We know the *πρόξενοι* from the lists in which individual cities inscribed their names and from the decrees which refer among other honours to that of *προξενία*. Since one city usually honoured the citizen of another for some sort of financial contribution, the fact that two cities are thus connected also show a commercial relationship between them.[65] This is especially the case with large commercial cities such as Chios.

The lists of the Chian *πρόξενοι* date from the third century BC and indicate the extent of Chian commerce at the time.[66] From the lists we can also see that most of the Chian *πρόξενοι* were to be found in the commercial centres of Asia Minor, not only on the coastal cities such as Halicarnassus, Erythrae, and Phocaea, but also inland (Sardis, Thyateira, Synnada, etc.). Chios also retained commercial relations with Byzantium, Sinope, Panticapaeum, Cyzicus, and Lampsacus, cities which were on the route from the Aegean to the Black Sea along which her ships travelled. References to Chian *πρόξενοι*[67] are also found in Mytilene, Samothrace, Euboea (Carystus), Scopelos (Peparethos), Ceos, Andros, Naxos, Astypalaea, Rhodes, Amphipolis and perhaps Tenos and Priene.

But many Greek cities also honoured Chiotes with *προξενία*,such as Athens, Delos, Delphi, towns in Crete (Gortyn,[68] Polyrrhenia,[69] and Olous), Eresos in Lesbos,[70] Anaphe,[71] the Aetolian League,[72] and Rhodes.[73]

The oldest references we have are from Athens where decrees show that already by the fifth century BC she had *πρόξενοι* in Chios.[74] In addition we have one single literary testimony, which at the same time is one of the oldest references to this custom. Athenaeus refers to it, but it comes from Ion of Chios, who tells us that Hermesileos, as *πρόξενος* of the Athenians, entertained the great tragedian Sophocles in his house in 441/0 BC.[75]

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[61] [M]etris Demetriou.

[62] Eonikos [S]yrekosios.

[63] Aigyptas [Si]malionos, Glauko[s], Olympichos Dorionos, Paramonos Herodou, and [S]o[s]ias Soterichou.

[64] On the custom of *προξενία*, C. Phillipson, *The International Law and Custom of Ancient Greece and Rome* (London 1911) 147–56; E. Ziebarth in *Mélanges G. Glotz* II (Paris 1932) 916–17.

[65] For this reason students of ancient trade try to establish the network of *πρόξενοι*: E. Ziebarth, *Klio* 26 (1933) 244–7.

[66] Published by A. Zolota in *Ἀθηνᾶ* 1908, 213, no. 12, and 214, no. 13; republished and studied by Vanseveren, op. cit. (n. 6) 325–32, adding a new list of *πρόξενοι*. She showed that these are in fact lists of *πρόξενοι* and not *μισθοφόροι*, as Launey thought (op. cit. (n. 45) 22, 66, 156, etc.) on the grounds of both the order of names and the commercial importance of the cities. Cf. also Rostovtzeff, op. cit. (n. 8) 245.

[67] In the same Chian proxeny lists. For Chian *πρόξενοι* in Andros and Naxos see the Chian proxeny decree for the judges from Andros and Naxos published by N. Kontoleon, *Revue philologique* 75 (1949) 9–13 (4th c. BC); cf. G. Dunst, *Sitzungsberichte der Deutsches Akad. der Wiss. Berlin*, Kl. f. sp., Lit. U. K., 1960, no. 1, 38–9. Although Chian *πρόξενοι* are not mentioned in the answer of the Prienians (F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Inschriften von Priene* (Berlin 1906) no. 49), they may have been mentioned in the Chian decree (no. 48) which is incomplete.

[68] M. Guarducci, *Ins. Creticae* IV 209 (3rd c. BC).

[69] Ibid. II. xxiii. 4 (early 2nd c. BC).

[70] *IG* XII Suppl. 127 l. 60 (3rd c. BC).

[71] *IG* XII. 3. 251, l. 19 (not earlier than the 4th c. BC).

[72] At the time of Aetolian domination (279–189 BC) many Chian *Ἱερομνήμονες* were honoured with *προξενία* as is shown by the inscriptions of Delphi. For Delos see Appendix I.

[73] Cf. A. Maiuri, *Silloge epigrafica di Rodi e Cos* (Florence 1925) 11–12 no. 8: [Mna]seas Mnasea (2nd–1st c. BC).

[74] B. Meritt, *Hesperia* 14 (1945) 115–19 (425 BC). *SEG* 25, 1971, no. 30.

[75] Ion *ap.* Athen. 603 E–604 D; cf. V. Ehrenberg, *Sophocles and Pericles* (Oxford 1954) 118.

From decrees of Paros[76] we learn that at the beginning of the fourth century BC Chian merchants loaned to the Parians two and a half talents and were therefore honoured with *προξενία*. On the other hand an inscription from Olous (second–first century BC) mentions that [Po]lemon son of Symmachos received beside the *προξενία* the right to sail in and out of the harbour of Olous, which suggests that he was either a ship-owner or a merchant.[77]

From epigraphical and other archaeological evidence I have tried to determine the regions towards which Chian commerce was directed, and particularly its wine trade. I hope that I have clarified its main lines in this brief survey.

During the Archaic period the bold merchants and sailors of Chios were attracted by the dangerous but very profitable voyages which took them to the inhospitable coasts of the Black Sea, or to the rich markets of Magna Graecia, as well as to Ionian Naucratis. In the Classical period they were directed towards Athens and Corinth, the two main commercial centres of the mainland. Finally, in Hellenistic times they turned to great commercial harbours of the period, Rhodes and Delos, as well as towards the new markets of the Near East, which were opened after the conquests of Alexander the Great, particularly those of Egypt, but also of Syria and Palestine. The *πρόξενος* lists (although no other archaeological evidence) show that Chios also kept close commercial contacts with the cities of Asia Minor.

These are the main conclusions we may draw after looking closely at all the evidence, but before concluding I should like to raise a question which has been generated by this study. Chian wine was once the island's main source of wealth and reputation. Why is it, then, that now Chian wine is not so famous? Is it a satisfactory explanation to say that the Chiotes have become seafarers and are therefore not interested any more in the cultivation of the homeland? Perhaps they should also exploit the fertility of the island, not only to yield their excellent mastic but also their traditional wine, of such exceptional flavour. These questions, to which I find no satisfactory answers, I put to my fellow countrymen who know more of the subject, in the hope that they may be able to resolve them.

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[76] *IG* XII. 5. 112 (loans), 110 (names of *πρόξενοι*).

[77] *SEG* 23 (1968) no. 549; cf. H. van Effenterre, *La Crète et le monde grec* (Paris 1948) 319 and cf. 231.

[78] Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Thorax': the city is in Aetolia.

[79] Krispes, loc. cit. reads Dionysio[doros Ph]istionos, which is certainly a mistaken restoration since the name Phistion is not recorded.

APPENDIX I EMIGRANT CHIOTES

Athens

Apart from the ten Chiotes mentioned in H. Pope, *Foreigners in Attic Inscriptions* (Philadelphia 1947) 166, there are the following.

Athenaïs	*IG* II^2 10506 (2nd c.)
Aigyptie Hekateonos	M. Mitsos, *AE* 1961, 203 no. 8 (4th c.)
Ape[lles?]	*IG* II^2 34, 38–9 (384/3)
Aspasia Metrodorou	*IG* II^2 10507 (2nd c.)
Atania	*IG* II^2 7547 (1st c. AD)
Ach[ill]e[us?]	B. Meritt, *Hesperia* 14 (1945) 116 no. 10 ll. 4, 11 (425/4)
. . . Glaukou	B. Leonardos, *AE* 1925/6, 30 no. 142 l. 11 (c.86)

Hemon	Diog. Laert. 4. 34, 42 (early 3rd c.)
Hephaistes	*IG* II² 10508 (late 5th–early 4th c.)
[M]enophilos	Leonardos, op. cit. 30 no. 142 l. 9 (*c*.86)
Symmachos Simonos	*IG* II² 10510 (4th c.)
Ṭ[y]don Proxenou	*IG* II² 10509 (before the mid 4th c.)
. . .odorou	*IG* II² 23. 7 (388/7)
. . .k]ritos	*IG* II² 34. 39 (384/3)
. . .tos	*IG* II² 1951, 255 and cf. ll. 40, 256, where there are two other Chiotes.

Egypt

For Chiotes who sought refuge in Egypt see A. Calderini, 'Ricerche etnografiche sui papiri greco-egizi', *Scuola papirologica di Milano* 3 (1920) 66 n. 6; F. Heichelheim, *Die auswärtige Bevölkerung im Ptolemäerreich* (*Klio* Beiheft 18, 5; Leipzig 1925) 109; addenda to the latter in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 9 (1930) 55 and 12 (1936/7) 64; M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* (Paris 1950) 151, cf. 234.

For Chiotes in Naucratis in earlier centuries: E. Gardner, *Naukratis* II (London 1888) 63, no. 706 and 64 no. 757; C. Edgar, *BSA* 5 (1898/9) 55 nos. 51, 60. 3; R. M. Cook and A. G. Woodhead, *BSA* 47 (1952) 161–2; L. H. Jeffery, *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford 1961) 338.

Delos

Amphiklos Kal[listratou Chios]	*IG* XI. 4. 572 (mid- 3rd c.)
Aristeu[s] Cḥịọṣ	*IG* XI. 4. 628 (early 3rd cent.)
Aristokrates M[e]ṇẹstratou (Chiote?)	*IG* XI. 4. 715, 4–5 (*c*.217)
Asklepiades	*Inscr. Délos* 1441, AII 78 (mid 2nd c.)
Asklepiodoros	*Inscr. Délos* 1442, A 64 (157/6–145/4)
Biottos Dexiou	*IG* XI. 4 1197 (2nd c.)
Dexios Phil[onos Ch]ios	*IG* XI. 4 767 (*c*.190)
Eutychos Philotou	*IG* XI. 4. 691 (*c*.230)
Herakleides Nikostr[a]tou	M. Couilloud, in *Expl. Arch. Délos* 30 (1974) no. 93.
Herodoros	*IG* XI. 2. 144, A94 (306/4); 154, A48 (296)
Herostratos Theopropou	*IG* XI. 4. 54i (early 3rd c.)
Theon Stratonos	*IG* XI. 4. 1195 (early 2nd c.); *Inscr. Délos* 1429, AII 10; 1432, AaI 38.
Kallidikos Da[mo]nos (Chiote?)	*IG* XI. 4. 715, 4–5 (*c*.217)
Kleandros Themistiou	*IG* XI. 4. 597 (early 3rd c.)
Ktesippos Ktesippou	*IG* XI. 4. 819, 820 (early 2nd c.)
Kynthiades Dionysiou	*Inscr. Délos* 1865, 1–2 (after 166?)
Lykophron	*IG* XI. 4. 144, B 71–4 (before 301)
Megiste Pindarou	Couilloud, op. cit., no. 500.
Menandros Menandrou	*Inscr. Délos* 2595, 35–6 (after 166)
Mikkiades	Durrbach, *Choix* no. 4 (6th c.)
Nikagoras Thaliarchou (Chiote?)	*IG* XI. 4. 715, 4–5 (*c*.217)
Nikolaos	*Inscr. Délos* 2598, 26 (119/18)
Parmo Attina	*IG* XI. 4. 1198 (2nd c.)
Parmo Dexiou	*Inscr. Délos* 1417 AII 129 (156/5)
Paseas	*Inscr. Délos* 1442, B61–2 (146–4)
Peisistratos Argeiou	*IG* XI. 4. 598 (mid 3rd c.)

Perigenes	*Inscr. Délos* 1441, AI 33; 1450, A 31 (after 166)
Pindaros Pindarou	*Inscr. Délos* 1924, 5–6; 2597, 13–14 (123; 126)
Polianthos Aristeus	*IG* XI. 4. 599 (not before 300–250)
Polykrates Ch[ios?]	*IG* XI. 4. 604 (mid 3rd c.)
Timokleides	*Inscr. Délos* 1417, B II 159–62 (little before 156/5)
Philistos Philiskou	*IG* XI. 4. 547 (early 3rd c.)
Philon Dexiou	*IG* XI. 4. 1197, 1198 (2nd c.)
. . .ạkontos	*IG* XI. 4. 793 (early 2nd c.)
Ạụ . . .	*IG* XI. 4. 628 (not later than 3rd c.)
. . .i]ppou	*Inscr. Délos* 2633, 13 (after 166)
. . .sikleous	*Inscr. Délos* 2612, I 7
. . .tou [Ch?]iou	*Inscr. Délos* 1148, 15 (after 166)
Black Sea	
Panticapaeum	
Angelippos Apollonidou	V. Latyschev, *Ins. Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae* II 468 (before 4th c.)
Athenaïs	Ibid. IV 403 (4th c.)
Asia Minor	
Erythrae	
Euenor Heragoreo	W. G. Forrest, *BSA* 58 (1963) 59, no. 11; cf. L. Robert, *BCH* 57 (1933) 483 no. 4 (4th c.)
Semylos Polyaratou, called Theodosios Chios	J. Keil, *ÖJh* 13 (1910) Beibl. 51 no. 16 (1st c.)
Cnidus	
Zenodotos Menippou	W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci ins. selectae* (Leipzig 1903–5) 79 (3rd c.)
Menippos	Ibid. 79 (3rd c.)
Cyme in Aeolis	
Mentor Poseidoniou	W. Peek, *Griechische Versinschriften* (Berlin 1955) I no. 1917 (2nd c.)
Miletus	
Nikostrate Alexidos	A. Rehm, *Das Delphinion in Milet* (Berlin 1914) 219 no. 89 l. 2 (3rd–2nd c.)
Priene	
Zotion Zotionos	Hiller von Gaertringen, op. cit. (n. 67) 166 no. 313 l. 380 (1st c.)
Aegean Islands	
Thera	
Thrasyleon	*IG* XII. 3 Suppl. 1562 (3rd–2nd c.)
Cos	
Areïkles Herodotou	T. Klee, *Zur Geschichte der gymnischen Agonen* (Berlin 1918) 122 no. 18; cf. 7, ID, l. 18 (*c.*218)
Nikagoras	Ibid. 126 no. 121; cf. 6, IC l. 4–5 (*c.*234)

Rhodes

See Morelli, op. cit. (n. 34) 176–7, who lists fifteen Chiotes who lived in Rhodes, but his references to Damatrios and Hippomachos are mistaken. Miss B. Kontorini tells me of a Chiote Menis mentioned in an unpublished inscription (Rhodes Museum epigr. 274) of the second century.

APPENDIX II FOREIGNERS SETTLED IN CHIOS

Aetolians

[Ap]ollonid[es] Thorakeite[s][78]	*Ἀθηνᾶ* 1908, 253 no. 107 (Roman period)

Athenians

Autolykos Archikleous Athenaios	Ibid. 244 no. 69 (4th c.)
Demainetos Athenaios	Ibid. 224–5 no. 28 (4th c.); cf. 227 no. 34.
Dionysios Agathokleus Ṭḥọṛı̣ḳı̣ọṣ	*SEG* 19 (1963) no. 571.
Menippos Athenaios	Peek, op. cit. no. 1919 (1st c.?)

Coans

Bitto Koa	Ibid. no. 477 (2nd–1st c.)
Nikomedes Aristandrou Koos	G. Dunst, *Klio* 37 (1959) 64 (318–315)
Phainis Koa	Peek, op. cit. no. 474 (2nd–1st c.)

Cyzicenes

Dionysio[s Hepha]istionos Kyzikenos[79]	M. Krispes, *Μουσεῖον Βιβλ. Εὐαγγελ. Σχολῆς* 1875/6, 37 no. 150.
Olympias Nikasion[os] Kyzikene	*IG* XII. 1. 127 l. 78 (2nd–1st c.)

Ephesians

[Ar]temas Ephes(ios)	W. G. Forrest, *BSA* 59 (1964) 35 no. 28 (2b).
Eutyches (doctor)	Ibid. 35 no. 28 (2) (Imperial)
Ioustos Ephesios	Ibid. 36 no. 28 (3) (Imperial)
Markianos Ephesios	Ibid. 35 no. 28 (2) (Imperial)

Milesians

Demetrios Histiaiou Milesios	Unpublished inscription of the 4th c. (?); information from Miss L. Mendone. Chios Museum 3740.
Dionysia Milesia	*IG* XII. 1. 113 (2nd c.)

Mytileneans

Eisidote Mitylenaia	Peek, op. cit., no. 620 (1st–2nd c. AD)

Pergamenes

Paramonos Piskados Pergamenos	A. Stephanou, *Χιακὴ Ἐπιθεώρησις* 12 (1974) 88 (1st c. AD); *Bull. epigr.* 1974, no. 422 (14).

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[78] Steph. Byz. s.v. *Φώροιξ*: the city is in Aetolia.

[79] Krispes, loc. cit. reads Dionysio[doros Ph]istionos, which is certainly a mistaken restoration since the name Phistion is not recorded.

Ptolemais (Cyrenaica)	
L(eukios) Mounatidios Eụdaimon Ptol⟨e⟩ma[i]eus Liby[s]	*CIG* 2243 (3rd cent. AD?)
[Le]uk(ios) Ser[b]ilio[s Ar]ista[ios?] [L]i[b]ys [P]to[l]ema(i)eus	*CIG* 2244 (3rd cent. AD?)
Samians	
Artemisie Theodotou Samie	F. Studniczka, *AM* 13 (1888) 180 no. 34 (3rd c.)
Sardians	
Theomnestos Theotimou	*CIG* 2241 (1st c. AD?)
Smyrniotes	
Soulpikios Pollio[n] Smyrnaios	G. Mastropoulos, *Τὰ Ψαρά* 40–2 (Dec. 1983) 17 (Imperial)
Syracusans	
Eoniko[s S]yrekos[ios]	G. Dunst, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 16 (1958) 186 no. 18 (4th c.)
Paroikoi	
Aigyptas [Si] malionos	Plassart–Picard, op. cit. (n. 56) 214 no. 27 l. 31 (3rd c.)
Aphrodisios Nikodemou	F. Maier, *Griechische Mauerbauinschriften* I (Heidelberg 1959) 196 no. 52 l. 26 (*c.*201)
Glauko[s]	W. G. Forrest, *SEG* 19 (1963), no. 578 col. II ll. 45–6 (little after 3rd c.)
[M]etris Demetriou	Maier, op. cit., 193 no. 51 l. 22 (*c.*201?)
Olympichos Dorionos	Ibid. 196 no. 52 l. 34 (*c.*201 ?)
Paramonos Herodou	Plassart–Picard, op. cit. 214 no. 27 l. 20 (3rd c.)
[S]o[s]ias Soteridou	*Ἀθηνᾶ* 1908, 203. no. 7 ll. 38–9 (3rd c.)

EPIGRAPHY IN CHIOS—CYRIAC OF ANCONA TO STEPHANOU

W. G. FORREST

SOME 540 years ago, on 14 January 1446, a wealthy Italian merchant and at the same time, as chance presented itself, a diplomat, theologian, littérateur, or antiquarian, put in to the harbour of Chios to visit his friend and correspondent, Andreolo Giustiniani-Banca, Genoese resident in the island. Cyriac of Ancona, such was his name, disembarked, not at the present quayside, for the harbour then came somewhat inland, but somewhere near the *λουκουμάδες* stall at the south-east corner of the main square and proceeded, through the Porta Maggiore, to the Kastro, where he stayed for six weeks, with one brief interruption for a visit to Samos, before leaving from Kardamyla for Mytilene. He had been to Chios before and was to come again, but these must have been the days in which, as was his wont, he indulged his passion for recording ancient monuments and inscriptions.

But not too adventurously or energetically. Of the ten or so texts which he copied all but two were in the Kastro, one in the Giustiniani's own palace ('apud praetorianam aulam'), or within two or three hundred yards of it. It may be a measure of his energy that the northern end of the square is described as 'eminentiorem partem'—one is reminded of Sir Maurice Bowra's complaint about the 'steep climb' from Wadham College to Blackwell's. Even the two exceptions were not far distant, just outside the city-walls at Barbasi, by the river Parthenis on the main road to the Kampos, 'ad Barabascea diversoria'. *Diversorium = ταβέρνα, ἐξοχικὸν κέντρον*. One gets an impression of six days' gentle labour followed by an *ἐκδρομὴ* on Sunday.

Some in the past have impugned Cyriac's skill or even his honesty. His work in Chios gives them no support. Only one of the stones which he copied survives[1] but it is abundantly clear that he reproduced the others accurately enough with only the occasional slip that any of us might make. There is one apparent exception which is no exception and therefore merits comment. His text, restored to epigraphical style, is:

ΑΓΑΘΗΙΤΥΧΗΙ
ΑΘΗΝΑΙΑΛΑΛΚΟΜΕΝΗΙΟΛΛΟΥΤΟΘΥΡΕΤΕΡΙΚΟΝ
ΠΗΓΜΑΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝΤΟΥΙΕΡΟΥΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΥΚΑ
ΤΑΣΚΕΥΗΣ

It is not hard to see that he has made one mistake (unless it was already on the stone): for *ΘΥΡΕΤΕΡΙΚΟΝ* read *ΘΥΡΕΤ{Ε}ΡΙΚΟΝ*. But for the rest we need only assume that the marble was broken down the middle or had a small portion obscured, and that Cyriac

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[1] O. Riemann transcribes all (*BCH* 1 (1877) 82–3).

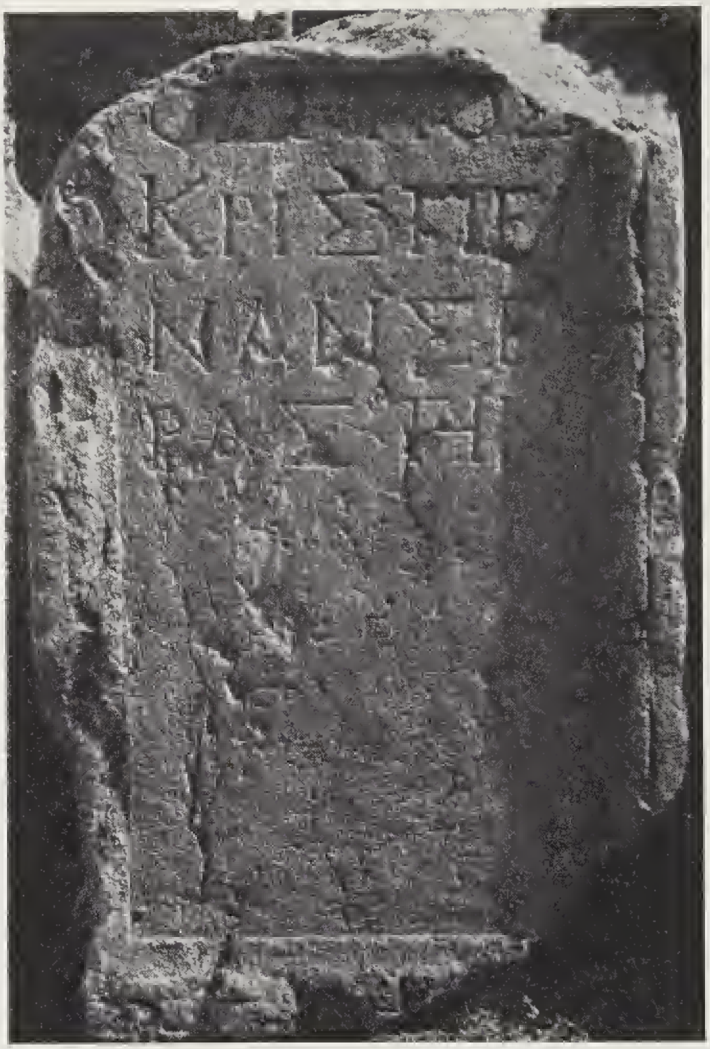

Fig. 1. Chios Museum. Inscription recorded by Cyriac of Ancona. 'The people honour Crispina Augusta' (the wife of the Emperor Commodus).

(or his copyist) failed to record break or obscurity (I have made no attempt to check this against the manuscripts), to see that a gap of five or so letters in the middle offers:

> *Ἀγαθῆι Τύχηι*
> *Ἀθηνᾶι Ἀλαλκομένηι* [- - - *Ἰ*]*όλλου τὸ θυρετ*{*ε*}*ρικὸν* (*or -νη* [— — —] *Ἰόλ-*)
> *πήγμα ἀνέθηκεν* [- - - *τῆς*] *τοῦ ἱεροῦ περιβόλου κα-*
> *τασκευῆς* (*or τασκευῆς* [- - -]).

Doubts about the direction or extent of the break exclude restoration, but sense is clear and Cyriac's credit remains not untarnished but not severely damaged. It would be damaged if we were to accept another tempting solution for l. 2. The name Iollas is not uncommon in Chios and on two occasions occurs with homonymity (*CIG* 2214*e*; *ADelt* 2 (1916) 213); the eye could easily misread *ΝΗΙΙΟΛΛΑΣΙΟΛΛΟΥ*. But that would leave unexplained the undoubted break in l. 3, and in any case we are not here concerned to defend Cyriac, only to show that defence is possible.

Be all that as it may, the study of Chian inscriptions had begun. During the centuries that followed, that study marched in the main along the same lines as it did elsewhere.

In the steps of Cyriac came other foreigners, some with epigraphical intent, some with only accidental interest, some competent, some markedly not, most communicating their finds to an eager public with varying degrees of energy and accuracy. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries we range from the heights of the Swedish diplomat, J. Åkerblad, and the Italian count, Carlo Vidua, to the depths of Fauvel; the astonishing number and the varying quality of those interested can best be gauged by a glance at the lemmata and texts in *CIG* (nos. 2214–44). In the late nineteenth century came the real professionals, Bernard Haussoullier (especially in *BCH* 3 (1879)) and Franz Studniczka (in *AM* 13 (1888)), while even the genius of Fustel de Coulanges took time off from his 'Mémoire sur l'île de Chio' to report on a text or two in *BCH* 6 (1892). Then, in the twentieth, Paul Jacobsthal (*Nordionische Steine* (Berlin 1909)), André Plassart and Charles Picard (*BCH* 37 (1913)), and, crowning them all from any century, Louis Robert and his wife-to-be, Mlle Vanseveren, in the 1930s.[2] After that pinnacle the British arrived. First Sir David Hunt, who, in 1938, penetrated to parts of the island that others had not reached; then, in 1952, a young amateur from the British School at Athens, who landed only a hundred yards or so from Cyriac and proceeded, not to the luxury of Giustiniani's hospitality in the Kastro, but at least to a comfortable seat under the plane-tree which shaded the courtyard of the mosque, the old Museum, nestling conveniently between two excellent *καφενεῖα*. Of that more hereafter.

Most of the material assembled by these names, famous and infamous, has been studied abroad, by the names themselves or by others. *Exempli gratia* I mention only three to show that the pursuit is respectable, Wilamowitz, Keil, Wilhelm, and repeat one name, again the pinnacle, Louis Robert, who is all things to all inscriptions. Much of it, too, has been taken up in the great collections from Boeckh's *Corpus* through Collitz and Bechtel, Schwyzer, and Dittenberger to many others.

All this is much on the same lines as elsewhere. But there is one area in which Chios can boast a difference, not in foreign visitors or foreign contemplators, but in the services to its epigraphy provided by men and women on the island itself. There is no one reason for this; Chios' privileged position while under barbarian rule; the in part consequential prosperity; the in part consequential flourishing of education; the burgeoning of Chian communities abroad, all these things and many more contributed to what George Finlay, *ὁ φειδωλότατος εἰς ἐπαίνους*, called the moral and public-spirited excellence of the Chians.

Morality may not have much to do with lumps of rock, but public spirit has, and it was shown in two ways. Some copied texts and communicated them to correspondents abroad for publication; some copied texts and published them themselves. Both served us well.

Of the former I mention only M. K. Krispis and Aristoteles Fontrieros, schoolmaster and archaeologist respectively, whose energy contributed more than a handful of very respectable material to the *Μουσεῖον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη* of the Evangelical School at Smyrna between 1875 and 1878. And there is one other intriguing example. Those who regularly peruse the Papers of the Imperial Academy at St Petersburg will recall a half-dozen or so important texts published by Vasiliy Latyshev (*Zap. Imp. Russ. Akad.* 4 (1890)) from tracings sent to him by Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus, a man of letters with special links with Russia, tracings made by none other than that noted figure Konstantinos Kanellakis, whose passion for folklore, discussed elsewhere in this volume, still left him time to record and the modesty to deal sensibly with what were for him less sympathetic things.

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[2] Louis Robert's first appearance known to me was in *BCH* 57 (1933); Mme Robert's in *Revue philologique* 11 (1937). Together, happily, they have provided us with a running commentary on Chian affairs in *Bull. épig.* It would be idle effort to record the riches that intervene. Sadly, in 1985, Louis Robert died.

In the other tradition we begin with Alexandros Vlastos, a scholarly name not unknown in Chios today. His history, brief history, *Χιακά*, of 1840, found room for about a dozen pages, thirty texts, which go to make the Chian section one of the bulkier though less satisfactory in Boeckh's addenda (*CIG* 2214*a*–39*d*). Then, in 1888, Alexandros Paspatis, historian and philologist, extended his interest in dialect vocabulary to the ancient world. Unfortunately for him the sixty-one inscriptions which he reproduces in his *Χιακὸν Γλωσσάριον* could not include some of those more pertinent to his own taste which we now enjoy.

Others we pass over, though they include great names from Koraes to Kontoleon, for pride of place must go to George Zolotas, from 1886 to 1906 headmaster of the Gymnasium, in the hall and playground of which he amassed what is still the bulk of the epigraphical collection of the Museum after its transfer from school to shrine to what we hope is sanctuary (in the new Museum). Zolotas was a fine teacher, an avid devourer of all aspects of his island's history (witness the five mammoth volumes of the *Ἱστορία τῆς Χίου*) but his main passion was for a *πέτρα μὲ γράμματα*, a stone with letters on it. He searched, he cajoled, he browbeat, he collected. Then he copied and as far as health and life allowed, he studied. In the periodical *Ἀθηνᾶ*, two years after his death, his daughter Aimilia, later Mme Sarou, published some 200 classical texts with others more modern, though only four of them have Zolotas' full comments. At the same time a more distant relative was continuing to strengthen the collection and laying the foundations for its display in the then 'new' Museum, the mosque. I refer to the father of Professor Sarikakis.

There was, however, one slight flaw in all this. Cataloguing did not always keep abreast of enthusiasm. The Gymnasium attracted pupils from many parts of Asia Minor and the Aegean. There is a story, I do not vouch for its truth, that our good headmaster was willing to waive tuition fees in exchange for an attractive piece of marble from Erythrae or Icaria or Patmos or wherever. The provenance was not necessarily recorded, not meticulously recorded. One possible, nay probable, example: of a handsome honorary decree now well displayed in the Museum, the Inventory (no. 19) says firmly 'from Erythrae'. The formulae are indeed not Chian but neither are they Erythraean. The stone was first published in 1880 as lying beside the abattoir in Halicarnassus and Halicarnassian it certainly is. There is not much time between 1880 and inv. no. 19.[3] Stones flew fast to Zolotas' magnet but flight-path and take-off point were sometimes missed. That is a triviality. Thanks to him and to his energetic and devoted daughter we have something the like of which no other island can boast, much that we might have found for ourselves, much that we could not. Of the stones recorded

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[3] B. Haussoullier, *BCH* 4 (1880) 395. Unfortunately the Inventory at Chios carries no record of date. One can only assume that it was opened in 1886 and that no. 19 would be reached in a matter of hours rather than years.

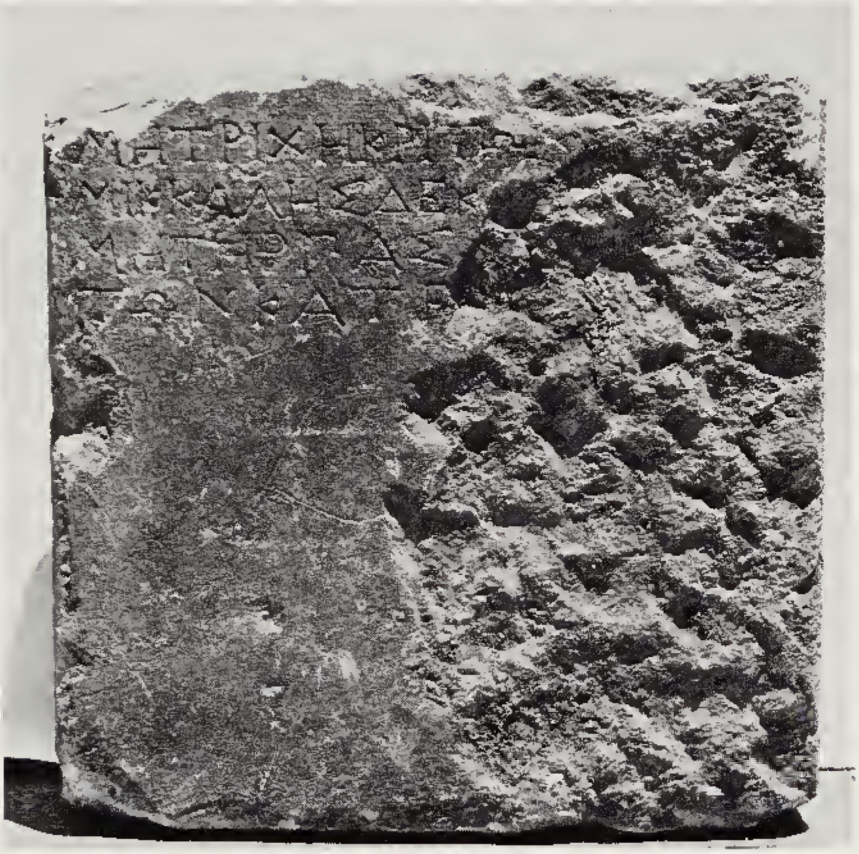

Fig. 2. Chios Museum. Third-century BC gravestone.

as outside the Museum in 1906 no less than half are, it cannot be said, 'lost forever'—we are dealing with tiresome objects whose resurfacings are unpredictable—but 'as good as lost forever'. I recall a stonemason at Emporio who advertised his skill (might we say 'polish'?) by showing ancient blocks built into new houses in the village. 'You would never know' he said proudly, 'that that marble once had ugly old letters on it.'

When I first landed in Chios in 1952, a timorous innocent, I was introduced to another headmaster of the Gymnasium, Antonios Stephanou. I was sure that he knew everything about the island's riches. I discovered later that he thought that I knew everything about epigraphic arts. I was right, he was wrong. There was a hesitant, almost suspicious, start. But soon, like all Chians *πήγαμε δύο δύο* through town and countryside; more often *καθίσαμε δύο δύο* in the Museum courtyard. Local newspapers, *Πρόοδος*, *Χιακὸς Λαὸς*, *Τὰ Νέα*, his own booklets, *Χιακὰ Μελετήματα* and others, give some measure of what he has done for us all.[4] For me, his generosity, tact, eagerness, his friendship have meant a very great deal.

Where now? Since arriving for this Conference 48 hours ago I have seen the newest new inscription, reported to me by the curator of Byzantine Antiquities, Charalambos Pennas. Believe it or not, it is built into one of the columns that graced the *loggia* in the Kastro in which Cyriac himself will have laid his head, not more than five yards from his pillow. We are back to the beginning.

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[4] Most of his publications have been reproduced in *SEG* (vols. 16–19) and are mentioned in relevant issues of *Bull. épig.*

Some 24 hours ago another member of this Conference, Oliver Taplin, while looking at a pile of builder's rubble near the *Βοήθεια* on the road to Karyes, stumbled across a still newer 'newest new' inscription. What shall we find tomorrow—if we keep our eyes open?

We offer a photograph (Fig. 2) and a preliminary publication of the stone discovered by Mr Taplin.

Chios Museum. Block of lightish Chian marble, roughly dressed back and sides, severely defaced front right. Ht. 0.39 m; w. 0.39 m; th. 0.24 m; letters 0.19 m; interl. 0.08 m.

1 *Μητρίχη Κρίτων̣*[ος- - - - - -] *c.* 6 max
Μικκάλης ΔΕΚ[- - - - - - - - -] (*c.* 8 max.)
μήτηρ ΠΑΣΩ̣[- - - - - - - - - -] (*c.* 9 max.)
4 *τῶν ΚΑΤΕ*[- - - - - - - - - - -] (*c.* 9 max.)

L. 3: if the small nick, visible on the photograph, is deliberate, as it almost certainly is, the letter must be omega.

The shape of the block can only be described as transitional, halfway between the *Pfeiler* of the full fourth century and the *Trapeza* of the third (see *BSA* 58 (1963) 63–5; the nearest parallel is the somewhat earlier piece: F. Studniczka, *AM* 13 (1888) no. 27). The lettering is equally transitional. The omega drags it down, the other letters up. We cannot honestly say more than 'earlyish third-century' or 'about 275 BC'. Without a firm restoration of ll. 3–4 it would be idle to guess at family relationships in 1–2. Mr Taplin thinks of *πασῶ* [*ν φιλτάτη*] *τῶν κατε*[*λθόντων*. We note only that a Mikkales of the right date exists (*SEG* 19 580 A 1 32), though feminine genitive makes for easier restoration, and that the family survived until the first century BC (G. Zolotas, *'Αθηνᾶ* 20 (1908) 224 no. *ΚΖ'*).

ART
AND
ARCHAEOLOGY

NOTES ON THE TOPOGRAPHY OF CHIOS

E. YALOURIS

I. INTRODUCTION

This report is based on data from field explorations on the island of Chios conducted in the years 1972 through 1975, combined with a study of excavation reports, travellers' accounts, and unpublished material. The field work was under the auspices of the British School at Athens and the Greek Department of Antiquities, and the research was compiled at Oxford University from 1971 to 1976.[1]

As a result of the field reconnaissance and research, nearly 90 individual sites were noted, and these are recorded as about 60 entries in my gazetteer of ancient sites on Chios. About a third of these were previously published, a third were located through unpublished records (mainly those of Messrs Hood and Boardman) or other leads, and another third I recorded in the course of my surveys.

These sites can be broken down into several general types: settlements, farms, grave sites, shrines, and indeterminate sites with scattered finds. As the volume of material is too great to describe each site fully, I shall make a few comments on the types of sites, patterns of settlement, and general characteristics of the surface evidence, followed by a listing of all the sites. A few of the more interesting of the lesser known ones will have somewhat longer descriptions. Those that already have been written about will be listed with references. Previously excavated sites helped serve as standards for dating and identification of surface remains. Emporio is of course the most important excavated site on Chios. It features in (and generally dominates) every phase of the discussion of the island's archaeology, because the finds are well documented and cover almost every period of the island's ancient history.

The physical remains of settlements outside Chios town show few unusual or outstanding characteristics. Except for a few known shrines (notably the temples at Emporio, Kato Phana, and Nagos), the rural sites are characterized by simple provincial architecture, built with roughly hewn or uncut stones, simple tile or earthen roofs, and usually having no outstanding decorative features. There are also the remains of a good number of large isolated farms, most of which seem to have appeared in the second half of the fifth century BC.[2]

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[1] See E. Yalouris, 'The Archaeology and Early History of Chios' (1976), doctoral dissertation, Bodleian Library, Oxford University. The descriptions and locations of the sites (162–304) are given in much greater detail than here. In the site gazetteer below, notations such as 'Classical/Hellenistic' or 'Hellenistic/Roman' imply that the surface evidence was insufficient to allow more definite distinctions. The many references to Zolotas are to G. I. Zolotas, *Ἱστορία τῆς Χίου* (1921–8). I am indebted to my teachers John Boardman, Sinclair Hood, and George Forrest for their guidance in this project.

The pottery remains, too, were simple, mainly consisting of large quantities of plain, everyday sherds, along with lesser amounts of black and red glazed ware and other painted fragments. Imports were not infrequent and included sherds from Attica, Corinth, Cyprus, and a number of East Greek sites. Occasional items of clay, stone, and bronze were also noted. Architectural fragments were relatively abundant, but rarely found in situ. Graves and foundation remains provided the most interesting information.

The unexcavated prehistoric sites are not always well understood, but they do show characteristics similar to those of other areas in the eastern Aegean, especially the Troad. The best known prehistoric sites are at Emporio and Ayio Gala, and these and related sites are discussed by Sinclair Hood.[3] The known Geometric and Archaic sites are few in number and have scanty surface remains. A small number of new sites yielded some Archaic pottery fragments, and it is felt that excavation could produce foundations at some of these locations. Post-Archaic surface remains were by far the most plentiful. Byzantine sites were noted only in passing.

Chios is divided into three main areas: the northern region (Voreochora), the central region (including Chios town and the Kampos: often called Kentrochora), and the south (Mastichochora). For the purposes of topographical study, it has become useful to divide the island further into six regions (Map 1, p. 162):

I. Chios town and the Kampos.
II. The area to the immediate south and south-west of Chios town, including the village of Thymiana.
III. The Mastichochora, the mastic-producing region of the south.
IV. The west-central region, bounded by the villages of Lithi, Karyes, and Siderounta.
V. The north-west, including the north-central mountains.
VI. The north-east, including the east coast as far as Vrontados.

The reasons for this division, often cultural and economic as well as geographic, will be outlined more clearly below.

The earliest serious excavations on Chios were undertaken in 1845 by N. M. Fustel de Coulanges, in the vicinity of the town. His 'Mémoire sur l'île de Chio' (*Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires* (1856) 481–642) is the first important work on the topography of the island. In the years 1913–15, K. Kourouniotis conducted valuable surveys of Chios and excavations at Latomi (I. 2) and Kato Phana (III. 7), where he brought the site of the sanctuary of Apollo to the attention of the archaeological world (*ADelt* 1 (1915) 64–93, and 2 (1916) 190–216). D. Evangelides undertook a brief and limited excavation of the temple site at Nagos (VI. 1) in 1921 (*PAE* 1921, 45–52). Miss Winifred Lamb conducted a further investigation of the site at Kato Phana in 1934 (*BSA* 35 (1934–5) 138–64), under the auspices of the British School at Athens. In 1938–9, Edith Eccles excavated the cave sites at Ayio Gala (V. 6), and although the excavation was never completed, the material from this site has been published recently by Mr

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[2] Prof. B. K. Lambrinoudakis discusses a number of these farm sites in this volume and in *Χιακὰ Χρονικά* (1979) 5–20.

[3] See M. S. F. Hood, *Excavations in Chios, 1938–1955* (*BSA* Supplementary Volumes 15 and 16, 1981 and 1982), hereafter referred to as *Prehistoric Emporio*.

Hood (in *Prehistoric Emporio*). Also in 1938, D. W. S. Hunt conducted an archaeological survey of the island (*BSA* 41 (1940–5) 29–52). In 1952 and 1953, N. Kontoleon visited the island and conducted brief surveys and two small excavations in Chios town and at Erimokastro (VI. 8) (*PAE* 1952, 520–30; and 1953, 268–274).

In the years 1952–5, archaeologists from the British School returned to Chios and conducted a series of important excavations in Chios town, Emporio, Pindakas (III. 2), and Delphinion (VI. 3), under the general direction of Sinclair Hood, assisted by John Boardman, W. G. Forrest, and others. The collection of excavation reports and subsidiary studies of Chian art, architecture, and inscriptions which grew out of the work of the British School provides the most useful material for the study of the archaeology of Chios.[4]

II. SUMMARY GAZETTEER OF ANCIENT SITES ON CHIOS

Area I: *Chios Town and the Kampos*

On the eastern side of the island is a long, narrow, fertile plain which stretches from Vrontados, through Chios town and the Kampos, and south as far as the village of Thymiana. It is this area that is (and probably always has been) the most heavily cultivated and densely populated, holding over two-thirds of the population. About 2 km from the coast, the mountains rise swiftly to the west, and dominate the lowlands. The luxuriant plain of the Kampos runs for about 7 km to the south of Chios town. It is known for its many and varied fruit trees, and historically has been the major agricultural supplier for the town.

I. 1 *Chios town* (Neolithic? to Byzantine)

The ancient topography of Chios town is documented by fragments: bits of pottery, sculpture, architectural members, inscriptions, and brief passages in ancient literature provide a tantalizing but woefully incomplete legacy of the great and prosperous ancient city which most scholars agree lies somewhere under the modern town. Several brief excavations in the area have yielded interesting finds, but still very few buildings from the ancient city can be located with certainty. We have hardly any substantial proof of occupation before the Archaic period. A few allegedly Neolithic or Early Bronze Age stone implements, a fragment of a Mycenaean kylix, and a fragment of a Late Geometric krater represent almost all we know of pre-Archaic Chios town.

Finds from the seventh century BC to the Late Roman period have appeared from a multitude of spots within the town. Most of these finds are in the Chios Museum; some are in private collections. Only a small number have been adequately documented. Many other finds have been reported, but I have been unable to verify them.[5] The current work of Mr Aris Tsaravopoulos of the Greek Department of Antiquities in survey, excavation, and analysis of material from Chios town is of the greatest importance to our study of the ancient city.[6]

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[4] See J Boardman, *Excavations in Chios, 1952–1955* (*BSA* Supplementary volume 6, 1967), hereafter referred to as *Greek Emporio*, and Hood, op. cit. The numerous inscriptions from Chios have been collected by W. G. Forrest and will appear in a forthcoming volume of *Inscriptiones Graecae*.

[5] Yalouris, op. cit. (n. 1), 166–73, for discussion and references to previous excavations and other published works on Chios town.

The numerous burial sites found give a vague indication of the limits of the ancient settlement. The only Archaic grave site known so far in the town is at Rizari, west of the Choremis estate; but tombs with finds of Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman date have been noted at Mezaria, near the site of the new museum; Mitropolis, near the cathedral; Atsikis, near the old church of Hypapantis; Rizari, Kofina; and scattered around the area of Tourloti hill, to the west of the town. The locations of these grave sites suggest a rough outline of the ancient city limits. (Cf. below, p. 306 fig. 1.)

Of the buildings in ancient Chios, archaeological finds have suggested a theatre, gymnasium, a sanctuary of Demeter, and possibly one of Hestia (*BSA* 51 (1956) 162 f.). Ancient authors mention the theatre, a stoa, and a tower near the dockyards,[7] the agora and an altar of Dionysus, a temple of Athena Poliouchos, and possibly a temple of Aphrodite.[8]

I. 2 *Latomi* (Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, Roman)

The site of the ancient and modern quarry at Latomi was investigated in 1913 by Kourouniotis. He examined about 30 graves on the south-west slopes of the hill. Most had undecorated clay sarcophagi and contained very few offerings, although enough pottery fragments were noted to suggest a late sixth-century date for at least some of the graves. In 1972 I noted scattered fragments of Classical and later pottery, and a piece of an unfinished column drum of the grey marble. Marble from this quarry was used at least as early as the sixth century BC in the door jambs of the Athena Temple at Emporio and in later mouldings and sculptures there, at Kato Phana, in the town, and elsewhere on the island. (*ADelt* 1 (1915) 67 ff.; *Greek Emporio* 13, 86; *BSA* 41 (1940–5) 31 f.; Strabo 645: 14. 1. 35)

I. 3 *Tis Koris to Gephyri* (Archaic?, Hellenistic, Roman)

The site is near a fifteenth-century aqueduct of Genoese construction which spans the seasonal river Parthenis. At a burial mound just south of the aqueduct Kourouniotis noted a few graves similar to the sixth-century ones he excavated at Latomi. On a steep hillside along the north side of the river, just before the aqueduct, I counted the remains of eight clay sarcophagi, exposed by road-building machinery. They had collapsed clay covers and no visible goods in them. They may be similar to the ones described by Kourouniotis, but in the same area I noted considerable quantities of what appeared to be Hellenistic or Roman sherds protruding from the hillside. (*ADelt* 1 (1915) 67; *BSA* 41 (1940–5) 32)

I. 4 *Kontari* (Archaic?, Hellenistic/Roman)

Possible settlement. Scattered Hellenistic/Roman sherds; alleged Archaic graves; foundations reported offshore in shallow water. (*BSA* 41 (1940–5) 32 f., and 56 (1961) 106; Zolotas, A. i, 311–14)

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[6] See below, pp. 305–15; *Χιακὰ Χρονικά* 14 (1982) 4–8.

[7] Aen. Tact. 11. 3. Boardman, *BSA* 49 (1954) 124, suggests that these may lie in the vicinity of Palaiokastro. See also Josephus, *AJ* 16. 2. 2, and Zolotas, A. ii, 22.

[8] Aen. Tact. 18. 5; Hdt 1. 160; Koraes, *Χιακῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας Ὕλη* (1830) 28 f. On the ancient walls, see Thuc. 4. 51 and 8. 24. 6; Plut. *Mor.* 245 b; Vitr. 10. 16. 9; discussions by Boardman, op. cit. 126, and Zolotas, A. ii, 12–17.

Area II: *South and South-west of Chios Town (the Kampochora)*

This relatively small area is well populated and heavily cultivated. It has never been well surveyed for archaeological remains, and in my less than complete exploration of the region I found no outstanding remains. Scattered sherds of Classical and later types were noted at several sites, and a variety of finely carved architectural fragments appeared in substantial numbers, but there were no clear indications of ancient foundations.

II. 1 *Karphas* (Classical?, Hellenistic/Roman)
Scattered plain sherds on the hillsides surrounding the bay.

II. 2 *Ayia Ermione* (Classical/Roman)
Scattered sherds, including black-glazed fragments. Major stone quarry and clay deposits at nearby Thymiana.

II. 3 *Neochorion* (Hellenistic/Roman)
Scattered sherds southwest of village; fragment of a small kylix. (Zolotas, A. i, 423)

II. 4 *Vaviloi* (Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine)
Architectural fragments built into the wall of the Byzantine church of Panayia i Krina. (*BSA* 41 (1940–5) 34 f.)

II. 5. *Vestarchaton* (Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine)
Architectural fragments at the church of the Panayia north of the village of Daphnonas, including squared blocks, mouldings, an Ionic capital fragment; Hellenistic and Roman inscriptions. (*BSA* 41 (1940–5) 204 f.; Zolotas, A. i, 365, 423)

Area III: *The Mastichochora*

The southern part of the island is characterized by low, softly rounded hills, small fertile valleys, and an agricultural economy based on the cultivation of the mastic tree. It is the best understood archaeologically and has by far the greatest number of recorded ancient sites (about 28). The excavated sites of Emporio, Pindakas, and Kato Phana are the best known.

III. 1 *Emporio* (Neolithic to Byzantine)
Settlement with temple, harbour sanctuary, fortifications. (*Greek Emporio, Prehistoric Emporio*)

III. 2 *Pindakas* (Classical, Hellenistic, Roman)
Farm site, similar to about twenty isolated farm sites noted all over the island (Map 2), but located principally in the south and east. What these sites suggest is that a series of rural farming estates may have begun to develop from about the middle of the fifth century BC. Boardman suggests that this may be related to the increased security felt in Greek lands after the defeat of the Persians.[9]

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[9] *BSA* 53–4 (1958–9) 295–309; Lambrinoudakis, op. cit. (n. 2); *PAE* 1952, 520–30; and 1953, 262–74.

III. 3 *Metochi* (Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, Roman)
Scattered finds near Pindakas: Archaic kore fragment and sixth-century sherds, squared blocks, alleged cist grave, Classical and Hellenistic sherds, Hellenistic/Roman architectural fragments. (*BSA* 41 (1940–5) 29–52 and 53–4 (1958–9) 302 f.; *Greek Emporio* 86)

III. 4 *Skaphi* (Hellenistic, Roman)
Farm site, south-west of Emporio; foundation remains of large building with a few tiles and scattered Hellenistic and Roman sherds. (Zolotas, A. i, 445)

III. 5 *Kerathimi* (Hellenistic, Roman)
Farm site, south-west of Pindakas; large building terrace, faint foundations, scattered sherds. (*BSA* 53–4 (1958–9) 302)

III. 6 *Dotia* (Early Bronze Age, Hellenistic/Roman)
Early Bronze Age settlement and rock-cut tomb near Choremis house; scattered Hellenistic/Roman sherds to the north near medieval fort; alleged Hellenistic farm site. (*Prehistoric Emporio* 4 f.; *BSA* 41 (1940–5) 38; 53–4 (1958–9) 302; *JHS* 73 (1953) 124; *BCH* 77 (1953) 233)

III. 7 *Kato Phana* (Early Bronze Age?, Mycenaean? Geometric to Byzantine)
Sanctuary from Geometric to Byzantine periods; seemingly Early Bronze Age (possibly one Late Mycenaean) sherds on the slopes and on top of hill to the east of temple site. (*BSA* 35 (1934–5) 138–64; 56 (1961) 105 f.; *ADelt* 1 (1915) 72–85; 2 (1916) 190–212; *AntJ* 39 (1959) 170–89; *Prehistoric Emporio* 6; Strabo 645 = 14. 1. 35)

III. 8 *Kastri Tou Psellou* (Early Bronze Age, Classical, Hellenistic)
Early Bronze Age settlement on hill south-east of site of Managros (III. 9); Classical and Hellenistic sherds scattered over wide area; possible Classical defensive wall. (*Prehistoric Emporio* 5 f.)

III. 9 *Managros* (Archaic?, Classical, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine)
Possible ancient settlement about 2.4 km south of Pyrgi on the site of the abandoned Medieval village of Managros. A good number of Byzantine churches remain in various states of ruin, and are the key landmarks of the site. Fragments of ancient mouldings, columns, and other architectural members can be seen built into many of the churches or lying nearby (Fig. 1). This occurs often in similar churches all over the island, but it is most obvious here. Classical and later sherds abound all over the site, although no ancient foundations can be pinpointed with certainty. (*ADelt* 1 (1915) 85–9; *AntJ* 39 (1959) 171–86)

III. 10 *Ayia Ermione* (Hellenistic, Roman)
Possible farm site west of Managros; large building terraces and scattered Hellenistic/Roman sherds. (*BSA* 53–4 (1958–9) 302)

III. 11 *Katoudis* (Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine)
Medieval village site north-west of Pyrgi. Architectural fragments built into and

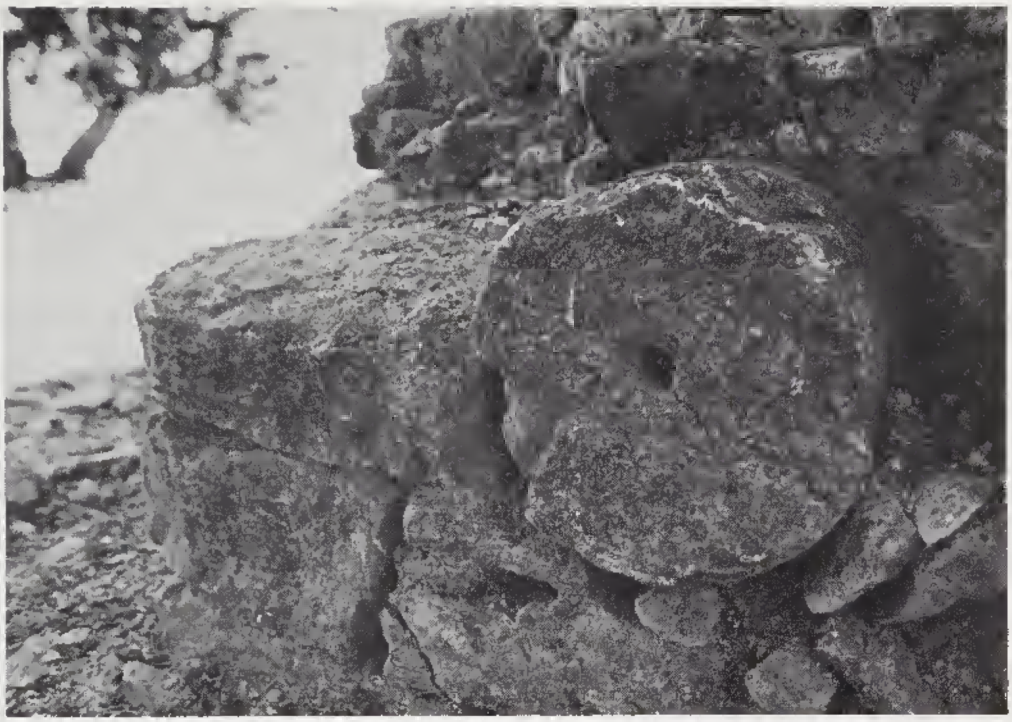

Fig. 1. Column drum built into ruined church of Esodeia tes Panagias, Managros (III. 9). Diam. about 20 cm.

scattered around church of Ayios Ioannis Theologos, including column fragment of grey Latomi marble; Hellenistic/Roman and Byzantine sherds. (*AntJ* 39 (1959) 185)

III. 12 *Petranos* (Early Bronze Age, Hellenistic, Roman)
On a rocky hill just east of the village of Mesta, above the road to Passalimani, lies a very interesting prehistoric site, noted by Hood in 1961 and mapped by me in 1972 (Fig. 2). Many coarse, worn sherds, including some large, well-preserved pithos fragments, were scattered about the summit. Much of the pottery found was of the Troy I variety, and similar to the Early Bronze Age pottery from Emporio. Loose building stones were abundant around the summit and on the southern slope. There appear to be many remains of thick crude walls (Fig. 3), and these suggest a fortification system typical of a small Bronze Age citadel: an outer, preliminary defensive wall and a tight inner circle, with walls of greater thickness; and traces of what appears to be an easily defensible entrance from the south. Other traces of possibly ancient foundations appear on the summit, but no building outlines were noted. As is true for most of the prehistoric sites on the island, quantities of Hellenistic and Roman sherds were also found scattered in the area. (*Prehistoric Emporio* 6 f.)

III. 13 *Trypanos* (Early Bronze Age, Hellenistic, Roman)
Early Bronze Age settlement noted by Hood in 1961 on rocky hill just south-west of (and probably related to) Petranos (III. 12). Scattered coarse sherds and abundant building stones; traces of walls; Hellenistic/Roman sherds. (*Prehistoric Emporio* 7)

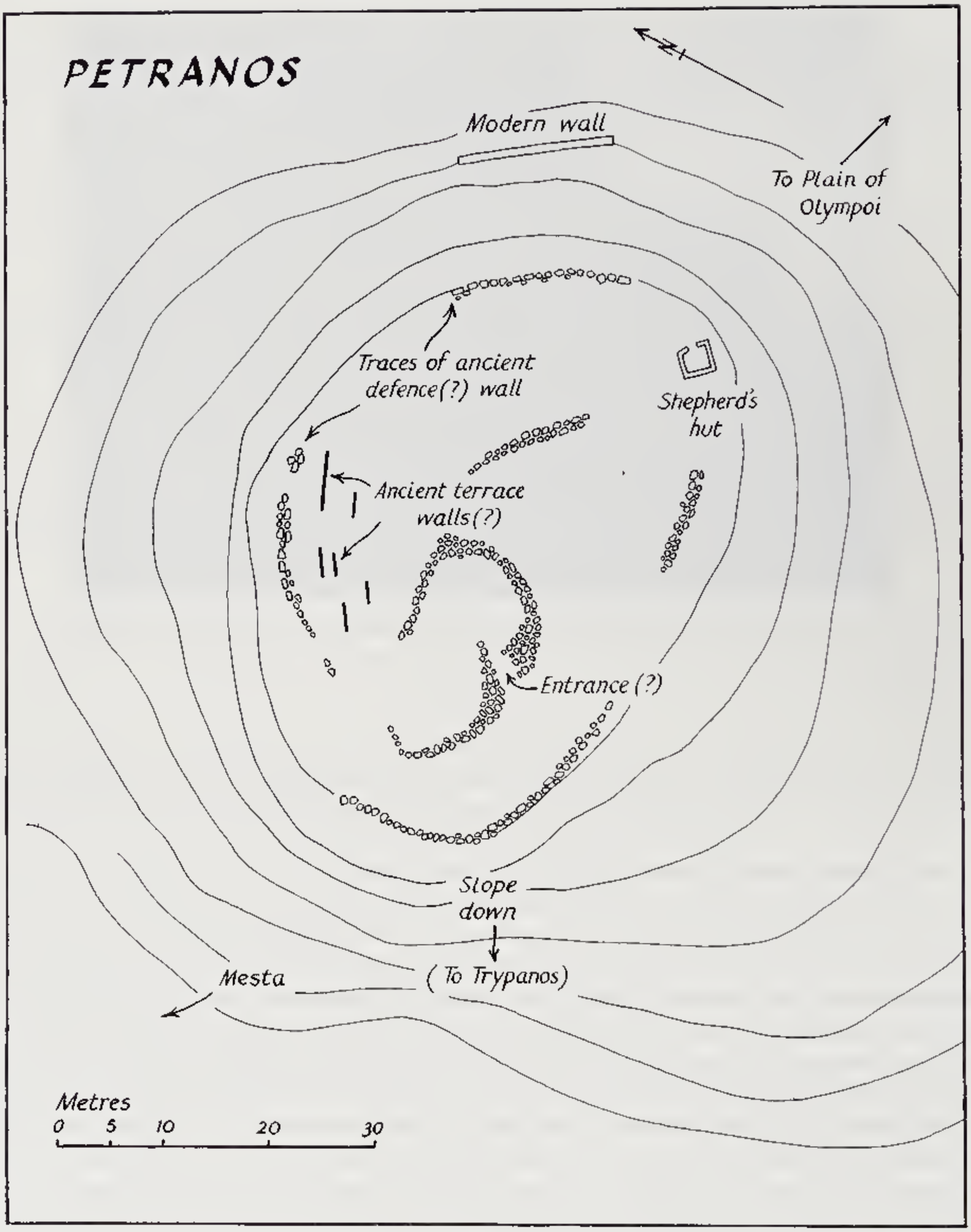
PETRANOS
N
Modern wall
To Plain of Olympoi
Traces of ancient defence(?) wall
Shepherd's hut
Ancient terrace walls(?)
Entrance (?)
Slope down
(To Trypanos)
Mesta
Metres
0 5 10 20 30

Fig. 2

III. 14 *Pigi* (Classical? Hellenistic, Roman)
Possible farm site across the narrow valley from the grave site at Stasimos (III. 15); cuttings in the rock and seemingly ancient house and terrace walls; fragment of a press and scattered Classical (?), Hellenistic, and Roman sherds, including amphora feet.

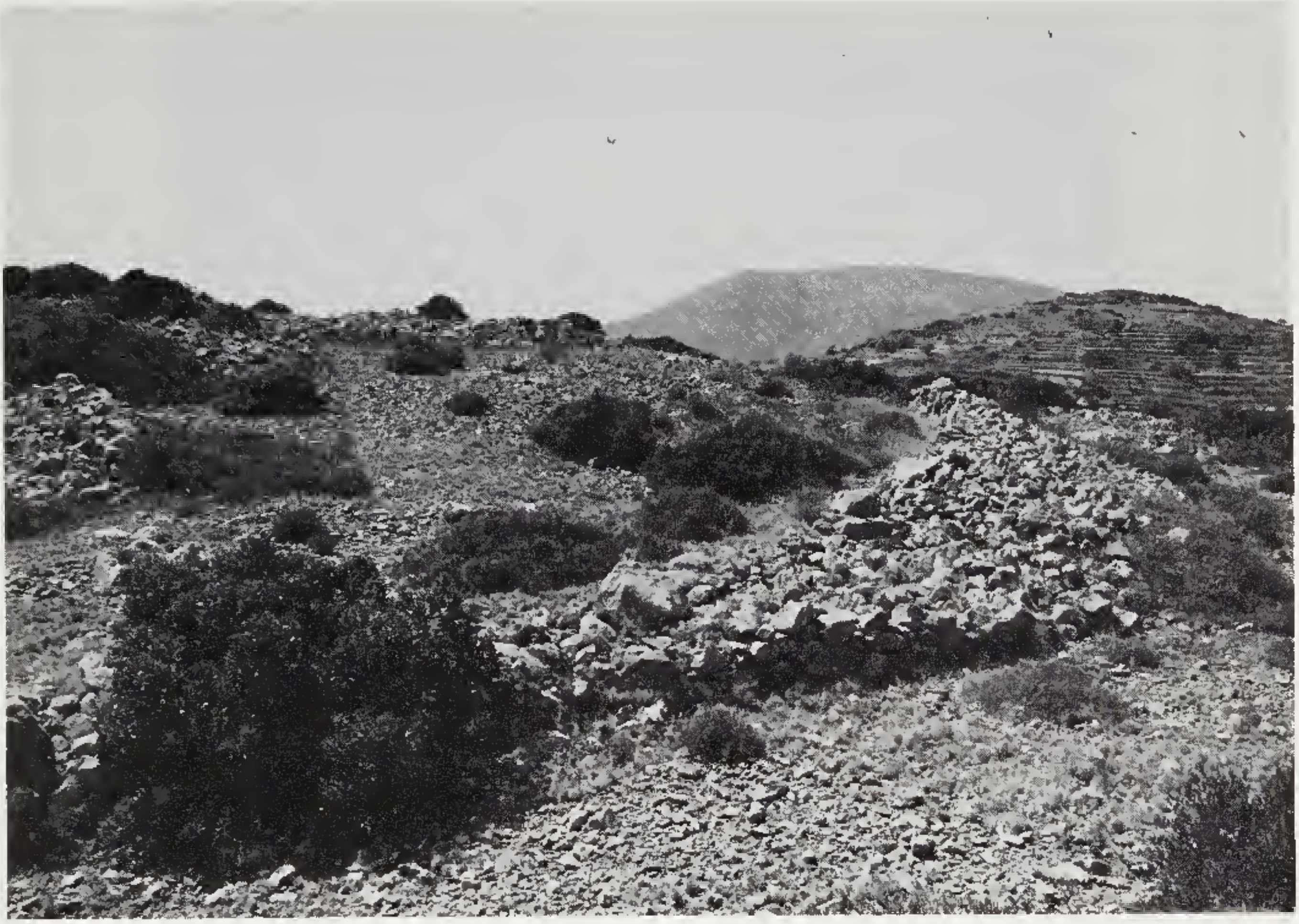

Fig. 3. Bronze Age walls at Petranos (III. 12).

III. 15 *Stasimos* (Hellenistic?, Roman?)
About 3.5 km west of Mesta on the south side of the road to the bay of Merikounta, lies a curious series of at least 28 rectangular rock-cut pits (Fig. 4), all with an east–west orientation (sample measurements: depth: *c.* 0.6 m, length: *c.* 1.5 m to *c.* 1.75 m, width: *c.* 0.85 m to *c.* 1.0 m). No clearly identifiable sherds in the immediate area. This probable grave site is likely to be related to the site at Pigi (III. 14), across the valley.

III. 16 *Mesta* (Early Bronze Age?, Hellenistic, Roman)
Possible Bronze Age settlement on hill *c.* 1.8 km north of the village west of the road to Passalimani, noted by Hood in 1955: scattered sherds and possible wall remains. Hellenistic and Roman sherds on south and east slopes. (*Prehistoric Emporio* 7)

III. 17 *Passalimani* (Hellenistic, Roman)
Scattered sherds on the slopes along the south-eastern side of the harbour; amphora fragment (probably fourth-century) found in the water.

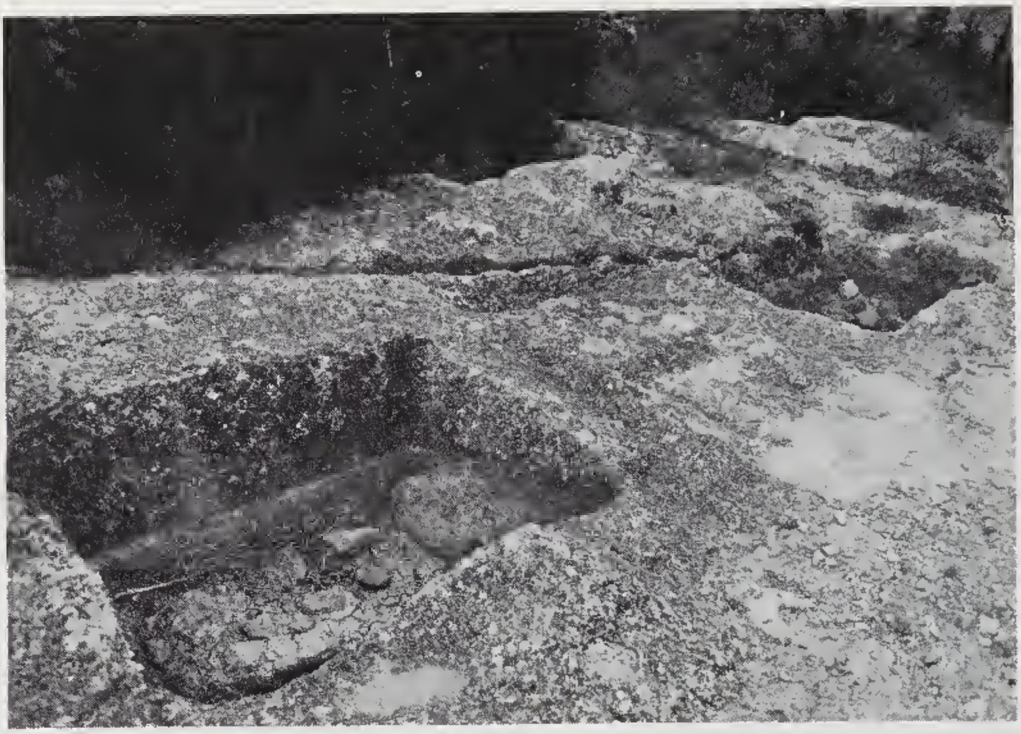

Fig. 4. Rock-cut pits at Stasimos (III. 15).

III. 18 *Petritsi* (Hellenistic, Roman)
Scattered finds *c.* 0.3 km north-west of Armolia on the left side of the Lithi road: traces of foundations and Hellenistic/Roman sherds, possible farm site.

III. 19 *Armolia* (Bronze Age?, Classical, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine)
Possible farm or settlement and scattered finds to the south and west of the village: ancient architectural fragments (including unfluted columns of grey marble) built into outlying churches, abundant Classical (including black-glazed) and later sherds; scattered tiles and building stones; rim of bowl of Troy IV–VI type found by Hood in 1955. (*Prehistoric Emporio* 2–4; *PAE* 1954, 339)

III. 20 *Erina* (Early Bronze Age, Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine)
In a narrow valley *c.* 1.6 km south-west of Kalamoti, Early Bronze Age settlement noted by Hood in 1955; Archaic sherds noted by Boardman in 1961; ancient architectural fragments built into three small churches of the Panayia; abundant Classical and later sherds, tumbled building stones. (*Prehistoric Emporio* 2; *Greek Emporio* 86; *BSA* 53–4 (1958–9) 303.

III. 21 *Tholopotami* (Bronze Age?, Classical, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine)
About 1 km south of the village just off the road to Armolia, are the well-known 'Pelasgic walls': a long wall of giant stones in Cyclopean-like arrangement, reaching a maximum height of *c.* 2.5 m and tapering down to the ground at the northern end; no sherds of Bronze Age date; possibly a natural formation. Traces of a single building to the south-east with tumbled building stones, Classical and later sherds and tiles; further south-east,

ancient squared marble blocks built into the fine Byzantine church of the Panayia Sikelia; scattered sherds. (*BSA* 41 (1940–5) 35 f.; Zolotas, A. i, 37 f.; *AM* 13 (1888) 163; *Prehistoric Emporio* 1)

III. 22 *Ayios Giorgios* (Classical, Hellenistic, Roman)
About 3.2 km south-west of the village, a probable farm site: traces of at least two buildings, scattered Classical (including black glazed) and later sherds.

Area IV: *The West-Central Region*

This is a barren, mountainous region, sparsely populated in ancient as well as modern times. It is of rugged terrain and very few roads, with great difficulty of access. Only six sites were recorded here. There is the same number of inhabited villages.

IV. 1 *Lithi* (Archaic?, Hellenistic, Roman)
Possible settlement along the northern slopes above the plain by the sea: faint terrace walls, tumbled building stones, scattered tiles, Hellenistic and Roman sherds; alleged Archaic tombs with pottery; architectural fragments in and around the church of Ayios Isidoros; fourth-century BC inscription noted by Forrest. (*PAE* 1953, 273; *JHS* 74 (1954) 162; *BSA* 61 (1966) 205, no. 10, pl. 43b)

IV. 2 *Karyes* (Archaic?, Hellenistic, Roman)
Scattered finds on the steep eastern slopes below the village: alleged Archaic tombs with clay sarcophagi like those at Latomi (I. 2) and Tis Koris to Gephyri (I. 3); scattered Hellenistic and Roman sherds just north of the fountain. (*ADelt* 1 (1915) 70; *BCH* 46 (1922) 412, fig. 16; *BSA* 41 (1940–5) 32)

IV. 3 *Nea Moni* (Classical, Hellenistic, Byzantine)
Possible farm site on slopes *c.* 800 m south-west of the Byzantine monastery: terrace walls with some roughly-squared blocks, tumbled building stones, scattered Classical and Hellenistic sherds including a fourth-century BC amphora foot.

IV. 4 *Avgonema* (Classical, Hellenistic, Roman)
Settlement in the valley *c.* 800 m north-west of the village: possibly ancient terraces with several faint foundations, large well like that at Erimokastro (VI. 8), abundant ancient and Medieval sherds.

IV. 5 *Elinta* (Classical, Hellenistic, Roman)
The bay of Elinta lies on the west coast about 4 km west of the village of Avgonema. The west slopes abound in ancient pottery and tile fragments, tumbled building stones, and possibly ancient terraces. Sherds were mostly coarse and plain, but some had the reddish-brown glaze that is common on many other sites on the island. In the same area, about 200 m from the sea, are the remains of a roughly built and rubble-corbelled tomb. It is said to have been roofed and slabbed and filled with bones when it was first found by locals.

Further inland, remains of house terraces, ample tumbled building stones, roof tiles, and more ancient sherds abound. The site is quite well hidden from the sea, and its proximity to the fertile plain and the fine natural harbour make it the best location in the area for an ancient settlement. This is not an uncommon arrangement of surface evidence and geographical situation for the more remote settlement sites.

IV. 6 *Metochi* (Classical, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine)
The coastal settlement at Metochi (Fig. 6), *c.* 5 km south of the village of Siderounta, is ideally situated in the foothills of a ridge of mountains. The small and fertile plain slopes gently down to a very deep and well-protected natural harbour with a long pebble beach (Fig. 5). The settlement was probably in the vicinity of areas C–E (Fig. 6), although traces of ancient buildings have appeared at A to the north and B to the south. On the top of a low hill at C, several hewn blocks form a line of what seems to be a substantial building (temple?) terrace. Abundant Classical and later sherds along with tile fragments and an unfluted column drum were noted in the area.

A multitude of graves, most of them plundered, appear in areas B, D, and E. At B (Deri), over ten of these cist-type graves (lined and slabbed) were noted, a few of which still seemed untouched. Most of the graves are north–south-oriented, and locals report that some were multiple burials of three to four persons and were covered with simple rectangular tiles. The contents were allegedly meagre, although one of the plunderers reports that he found fragments of a bronze belt (rectangular plates connected by links),

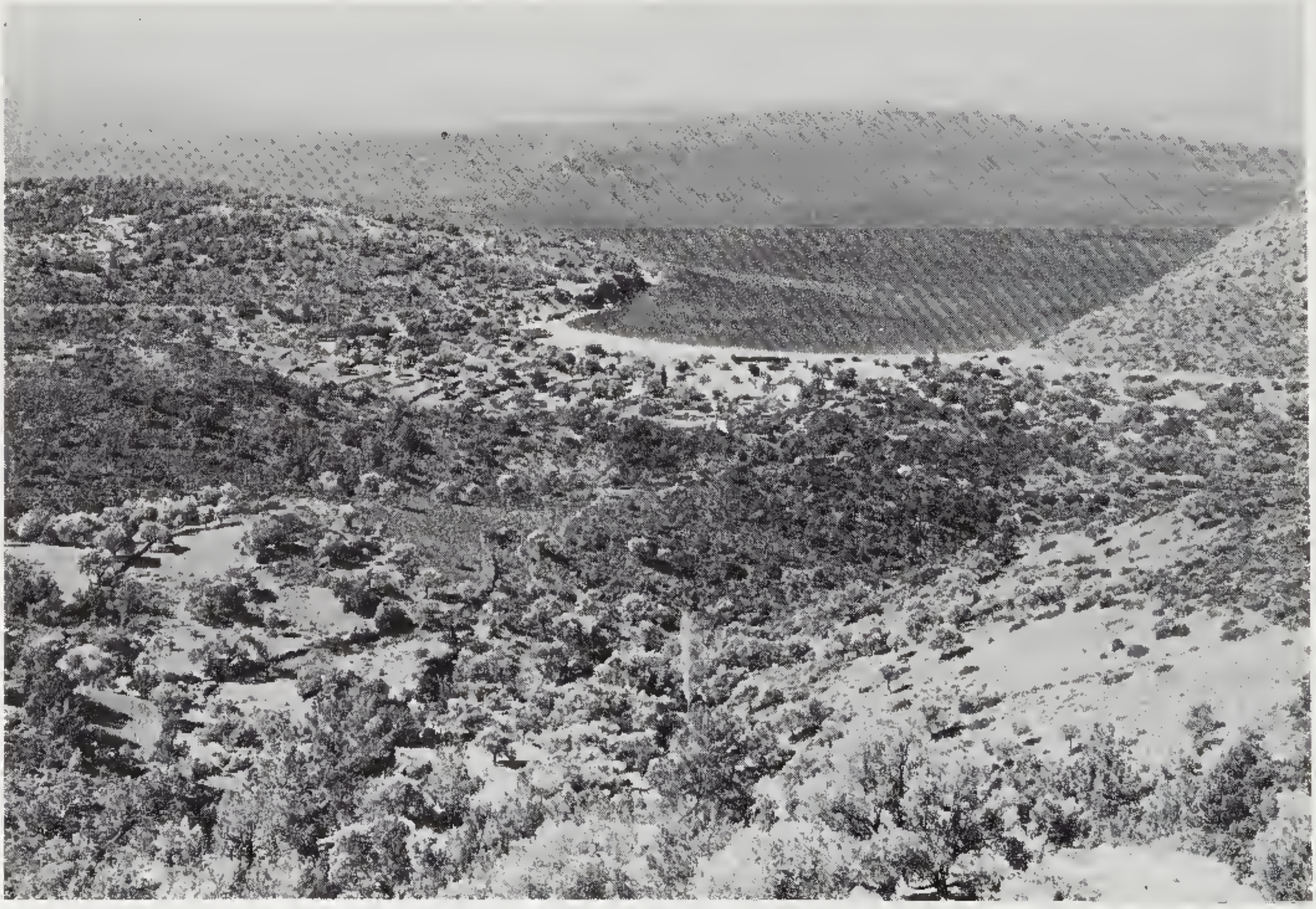

Fig. 5. The bay at Metochi (IV. 6) looking west. To Deri at the left.

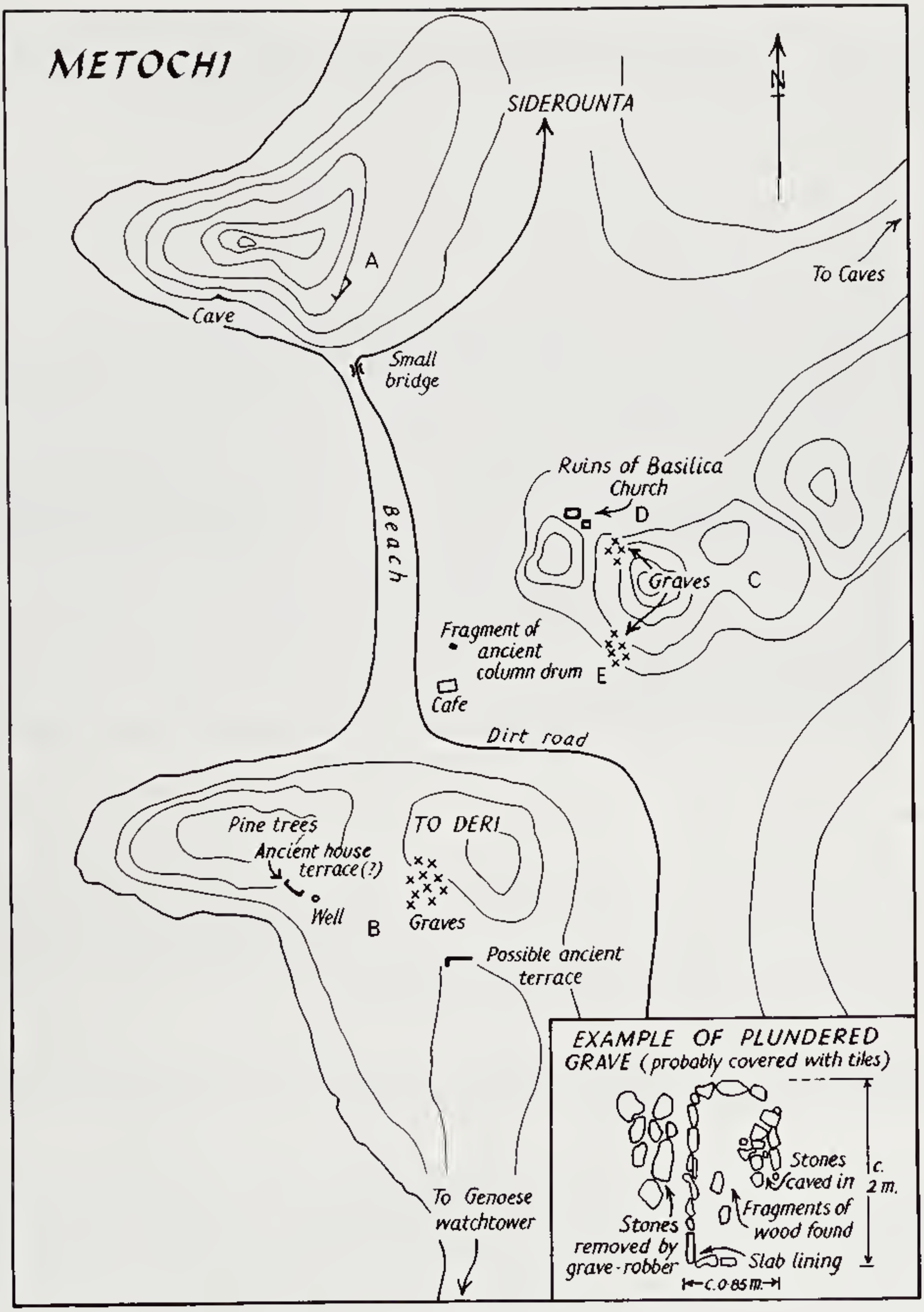
METOCHI
SIDEROUNTA
N
To Caves
A
Cave
Small bridge
Beach
Ruins of Basilica Church
D
Graves
C
Fragment of ancient column drum
E
Cafe
Dirt road
Pine trees
Ancient house terrace (?)
TO DERI
Well
B
Graves
Possible ancient terrace
To Genoese watchtower
EXAMPLE OF PLUNDERED GRAVE (probably covered with tiles)
Stones caved in
c. 2 m.
Fragments of wood found
Stones removed by grave-robber
Slab lining
c. 0·85 m.

Fig. 6

a possible piece of a necklace, and several small (*c.* 10–12 cm high) amphora-like vases with pointed feet and some sort of unpainted designs on them in the clay. Most of the graves appear to have been tile-covered, as many tile fragments were spotted in the vicinity. The orientation was east–west. (A.P. Stephanou, *Χιακὰ Μελετήματα* 1 (1958) 5–10)

Area V: *The North-west*

The north-west corner of the island, where slates and schists have replaced the limestone mountains, is an area of soft, rolling hills. The rocks and soils which weather from them are mostly impermeable, and thus surface water is generally ample. The limestone mountains rise to the east. The range is at its steepest and most rugged here, where Mt Pelinnaion is the tallest mountain (1297 m) and the most notable landmark on the island. Area V is more remote than it is infertile, with twenty-three inhabited villages, all quite small (except for Volissos) and steadily dwindling in size. Ten sites were recorded here, although more are to be expected.

V. 1 *Anemomylos* (Early Bronze Age, Archaic?, Classical, Hellenistic, Roman)
This very interesting coastal site is about 3 km south of the village of Volissos. There is a long beach and a sizeable plain with a number of low hills rising in the east. The Early Bronze Age burial site, noted by Hood in 1961, is near the sea. Here a series of at least three conical pit graves were exposed by a bulldozer, and in 1972 I noted fragments of hand-made pottery of Troy I or II type, including several lug handles, found near bone fragments from a human rib and radius. These graves have been plundered periodically by locals. There were a few coarse sherds, some of Troy II type, scattered on the other side of the road just north of the grave site.

Further inland to the east on a larger hill lies a very promising Classical site (Fig. 7). Abundant fragments of good Classical and later pottery were noted on the west and south slopes, including fine examples of black-glazed ware. I found pieces of a kylix, a lamp, a 'salt dish', and other (mostly fourth-century BC) pots. The heaviest deposits were on the south side of the hill, and here there were abundant plain and glazed (black and reddish) sherds. There is a considerable amount of topsoil on this site, so excavation could be very fruitful. In the open field to the west, I found a very worn sherd with a white slip and a brownish black line on it. This was the only fragment which could be of Archaic origin, although I was told that many Archaic and Classical sherds, even a few whole pots, were found there. (*Prehistoric Emporio* 8 f.)

V. 2 *Limnia* (Hellenistic, Roman)
Abundant sherds exposed by road on south side of the harbour, including fragments of amphoras, storage jars, and a variety of common pottery, mostly Roman.

V. 3 *Leukathia* (Early Bronze Age?, Mycenaean, Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, Roman)
Another very promising site in this region is located on the promontory on the north-west side of the cove of Leukathia, about 2.1 km south-west of Volissos. In 1949, J. M. Cook noted 'traces of a building which may have been a temple'.[10] Little of these traces

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[10] *JHS* 72 (1952) 247; R. Hope Simpson, *A Gazetteer and Atlas of Mycenaean Sites* (London 1965) 190. Local tradition has it that this was once the site of an ancient temple of Leukathia. See M. B. Sakellariou, *La Migration grecque en Ionie* (Athens 1958) 70, 104, 183, 201, 208.

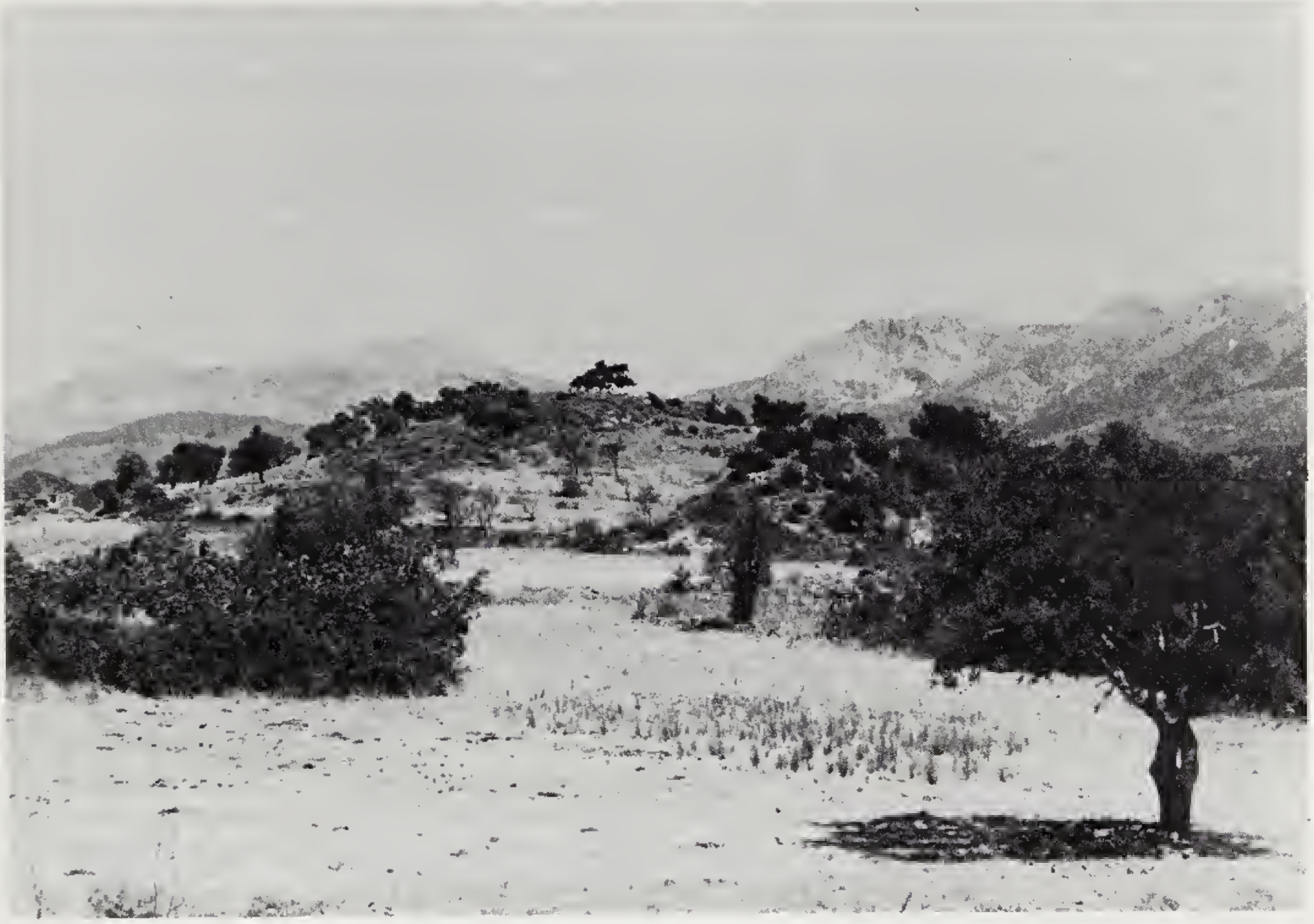

Fig. 7. Classical site at Anemomylos (V. 1) looking east.

can be seen today, except for an abundance of loose stones and at least one piece of cut limestone at the highest point on the small hilltop.

There are abundant deposits of Archaic and later sherds on the site, and a few fragments were noted which seemed Mycenaean. These deposits were noted by Hood and Boardman in 1961. In 1973 I found a few small sherds of what appeared to be sixth-century Chian cups and kantharoi: white slipped and painted with black and brown horizontal bands (cf. *Greek Emporio* 161–3). Most of the sherds noted were of coarse, unpainted ware, although several examples of coloured and dichrome Archaic and fine black-glazed Classical sherds were seen. (*Prehistoric Emporio* 8)

V. 4 *Volissos* (Classical, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine)
Numerous finds of architectural members and inscriptions reported in and around the village; scattered Classical and later sherds on the south slopes below the Genoese castle. Small local museum near the main square contains Doric capitals, Ionic mouldings, a few fragments of Roman inscriptions, and other interesting pieces. (*BSA* 61 (1966) 197–203)

V. 5 *Melanios* (Hellenistic/Roman)
Along the road from Trypai to Melanios, next to the church of Ayios Giorgios I found abundant scattered fragments of Hellenistic/Roman pottery and tiles; cut blocks built into the church.

V. 6 *Ayio Gala* (Neolithic, Early Bronze Age, Geometric to Byzantine)
Neolithic and later finds from two large caves beneath the village; scattered sherds on slopes below.[11] (*Prehistoric Emporio* 11–81; *AM* 13 (1888) 183 f.; *JHS* 58 (1938) 231; 59 (1939) 203; *AJA* 43 (1939) 131)

V. 7 *Phyta* (Archaic?, Classical/Hellenistic)
About 7.8 km north-west of Volissos, near the site of the seventh-century BC graves reported by Kontoleon: scattered Classical/Hellenistic sherds. (*PAE* 1953, 274; *JHS* 74 (1954) 162)

V. 8 *Spartounta* (Classical/Hellenistic?, Roman?, Byzantine)
Alleged tile-covered grave with gold ring and earrings now in Chios Museum; cist tomb with three skeletons behind church of Ayia Paraskevi. (*ADelt* 17. 2 (1961–2) 267; *BCH* 86 (1962) 878)

V. 9 *Viki* (Classical, Hellenistic, Roman)
On the slopes below the village, just west of the church of Ayioi Apostoloi: traces of buildings, squared blocks; abundant plain domestic pottery, including amphora, pithos, and tile fragments; probable farm site. Inscriptions reported near the village. (*BSA* 41 (1940–5) 43 f.; 51 (1956) 45; 53–4 (1958–9) 302; Zolotas, A. i, 418; *Ἀθηνᾶ* 20 (1908) 263, no. 145; *Hesperia* 16 (1947) 88)

V. 10 *Amades* (Classical, Hellenistic)
Possible settlement *c.* 1 km east of the village, above the road to Nagos; Hood (1961) noted remains of house terraces with Classical and later sherds and tiles scattered all around; I saw fragments of a black-glazed bowl and a fourth-century (?) amphora foot. (Zolotas, A. i, 418)

Area VI: The *North-east*

In the north-east corner of the island, the foothills of the central mountain range gradually diminish to the wide and irregular plateau of the Aipos (*c.* 500–650 m high), which reaches the coast between Vrontados and the bay of Langada and looms dramatically above the plain around Chios town. There is a fair amount of arable land, and there are many good anchorages. Ten sites were recorded in this region.

VI. 1 *Nagos* (Early Bronze Age, Mycenaean?, Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, Roman)
Temple site;[12] nearby Bronze Age and later settlement (*c.* 1 km to the south-east), with traces of walls not unlike those at Petranos (III. 12) to the south; abundant Classical and

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[11] The site is currently being re-examined by Mr Stelios Moschouris of Athens University.

[12] Yalouris, op. cit. (n. 1) 273–5 for references to travellers' accounts and other sources.

later sherds. (*PAE* 1921, 45–52; Zolotas, A. i, 132–6; *Prehistoric Emporio* 7 f.; *BSA* 41 (1940–5) 44 f.)

VI. 2 *Vroulidia* (Hellenistic/Roman)
Probable farm site on the east coast *c.* 5 km east of Kardamyla: scattered Hellenistic/Roman sherds, including amphora handles; probable ancient foundations and fragment of a press.

VI. 3 *Delphinion* (Classical, Hellenistic, Roman)
Small coastal settlement and farm site excavated by Boardman in 1954. (*BSA* 51 (1956) 41–54; Thuc. 8. 38–40; Xen. *Hell.* 1. 5. 15)

VI. 4 *Koila* (Classical, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine)
Probable settlement *c.* 3 km north-west of Langada on the site of the Medieval village of Koila: abundant Classical and later sherds, ancient squared blocks built into churches, possibly ancient terraces and foundations. Possible farm *c.* 1 km to the south-east: faint building remains, scattered Hellenistic/Roman sherds. (Zolotas, A. i, 282, 306 f.)

VI. 5 *Ayios Isidoros* (Early Bronze Age?)
Possible Bronze Age settlement noted by Hood (1961) on small promontory north-east of Parakli (VI. 6): scattered sherds. (*Prehistoric Emporio* 7)

VI. 6 *Parakli* (Classical, Hellenistic, Roman)
The remains of the farmhouse at Parakli (Fig. 8) are on the north side of the harbour of Pantoukios, along the path which leads to Hood's prehistoric site near the church of Ayios Isidoros (VI. 5). Fragments of plain pottery and tiles abound on the site. The main building, with traces of interior walls, sat on a large, well-built terrace (maximum height *c.* 2.2 m), with some of its polygonal blocks roughly squared, not unlike those at Pindakas (III. 2) and other similar sites on the island. Another smaller terrace (at A) lies just below the main one, and here I noticed the greatest concentration of Classical and later sherds and tiles.

I found many good black and reddish-glazed sherds, including a fragment of a fine black-glazed kylix. There was also a piece of a bronze bracelet with grooves. A stone spout (*c.* 1 m long) with a channel, presumably from a wine- or olive-press, projects over the main terrace wall at B. Another similar fragment protrudes from the ground about 6 m away to the north-west. There is a small circular well about 30 m to the north: well built, with no mortar. The amount of arable land around the site is not as great as that of most of the the other similar farmhouses on the island.

VI. 7 *Milingas* (Classical, Hellenistic, Roman)
The site of Milingas, also known as Palaio Aipos, lies along the road to Langada about 8 km north of Chios town. Sparse remains off a small coastal settlement are spread over the top, and the south, east, and north sides of a steep, rocky hill which rises to a plateau of what once were cultivated fields. There is a modern quarry at the foot of the hill and also a well protected harbour with a small beach.

What appear to be ancient house and cultivation terraces are scattered on the south,

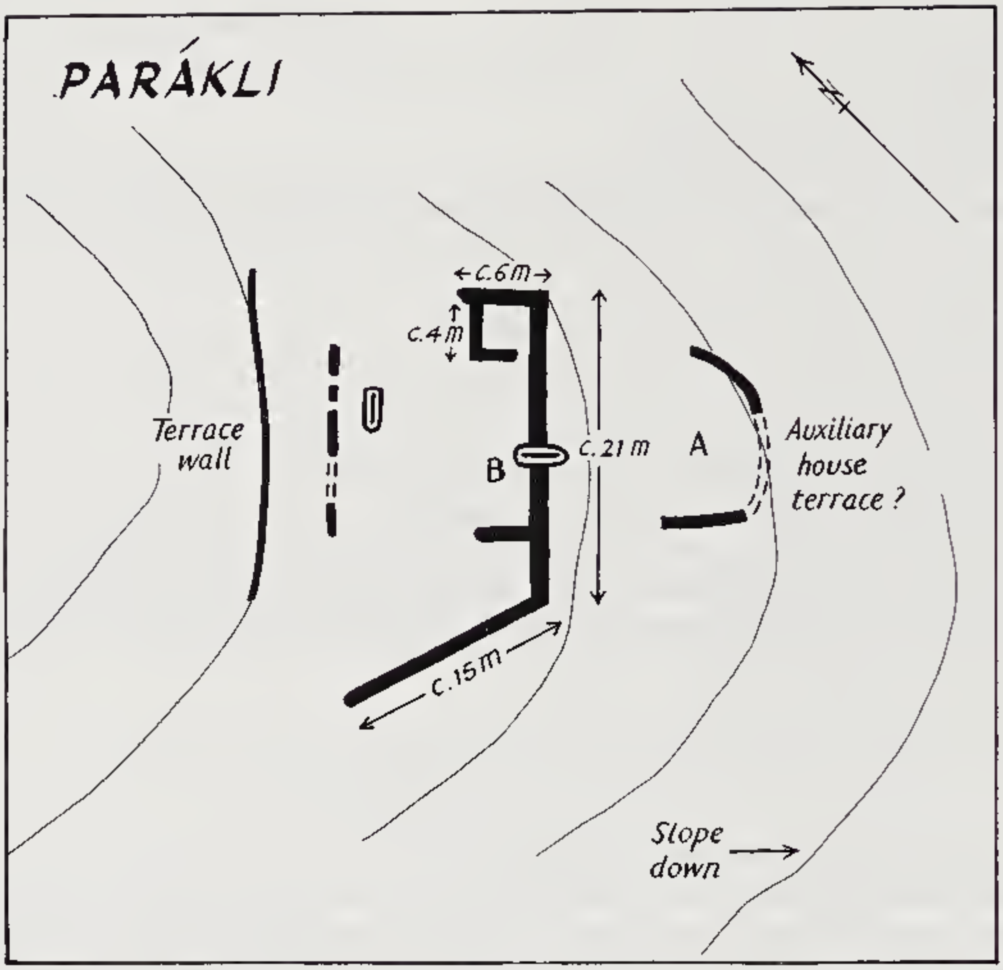

Fig. 8

east, and north slopes. On the east side, remains of foundations of a large house are visible. The thick, well-built walls of undressed local stone are several courses high and reach a height of *c.* 1 m in places. Abundant Classical and later sherds were noted, including several fragments of brownish-black and good black-glazed pottery, pieces of large pithoi and roof tiles, and a variety of well-worn sherds of coarse-ware bowls, handles, etc. Near the top of this rather steep hillside, the slope levels off to a large, reasonably flat area. Loose building-stones and many outlines of early walls (some reaching a width of 1.5 m) suggest that most of the houses of this settlement could have been here (Fig. 9). The arrangement of these wall remains suggests the possibility that a small cluster of the ancient buildings was surrounded by some sort of enclosure wall. Remains of a well were also noted in this area. The pottery remains on the site suggest that it was occupied from the fifth century BC on, although a complete Geometric vase in the Chios museum is said to come from the nearby quarry. The site shows surface remains that are similar to other related sites on the Aipos, such as Erimokastro (VI. 8) and Kastelli (VI. 9).

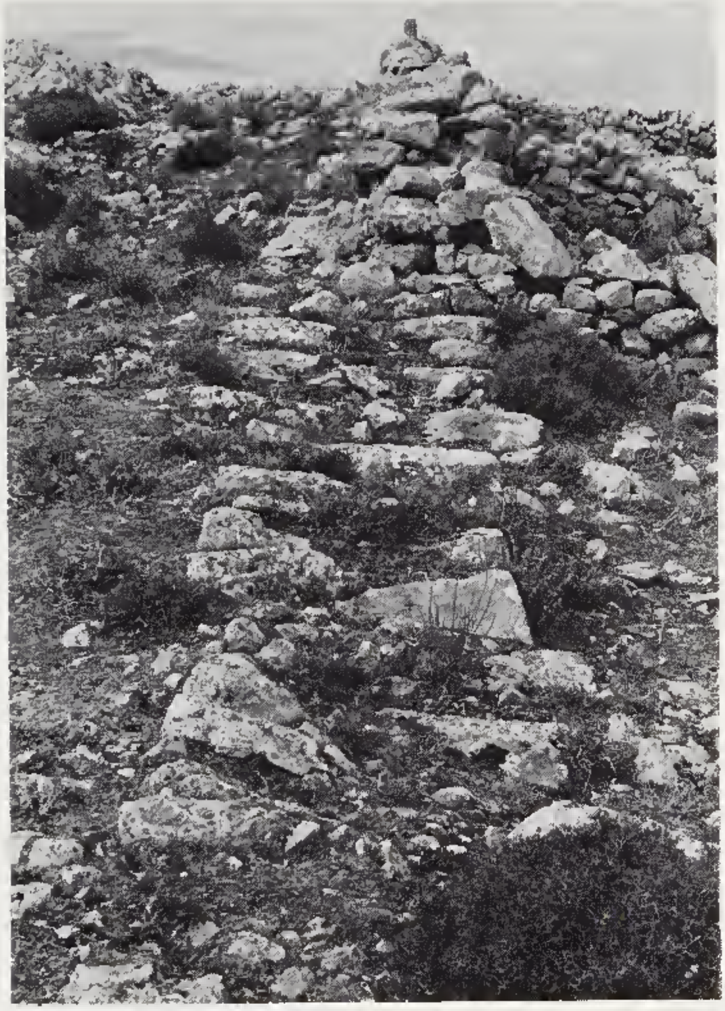

Fig. 9. Wall (width about 1·6 m) running north–south beside modern enclosure on top of hill at Milingas (VI. 7).

VI. 8 *Rimokastro* (Classical, Hellenistic, Roman)
Farm site on the Aipos excavated recently by Lambrinoudakis: large main structure with several outbuildings. (*PAE* 1952, 529 f.; *Χιακὰ Χρονικά* (1979) 5–20; see below, pp. 295–304)

VI. 9 *Kastelli* (Classical, Hellenistic, Roman?)
Probable fort just off the Volissos road at the top of the climb up to the Aipos: remains of walls (Fig. 10) up to 2.0 m thick; fragments of Classical and later pottery and roof tiles.

VI. 10 *Daskalopetra* (Archaic?, Classical?)
The best-known and most misrepresented ancient monument on Chios is a weatherworn and vandalized lump of stone (height: *c.* 0.8 m) located just north of Vrontados. The once elaborately carved naiskos was probably a shrine dedicated to the goddess Cybele.[13] (*AntJ* 39 (1959) 195 f; above, pp. 21–26)

[13] Ibid. for early descriptions and other references.

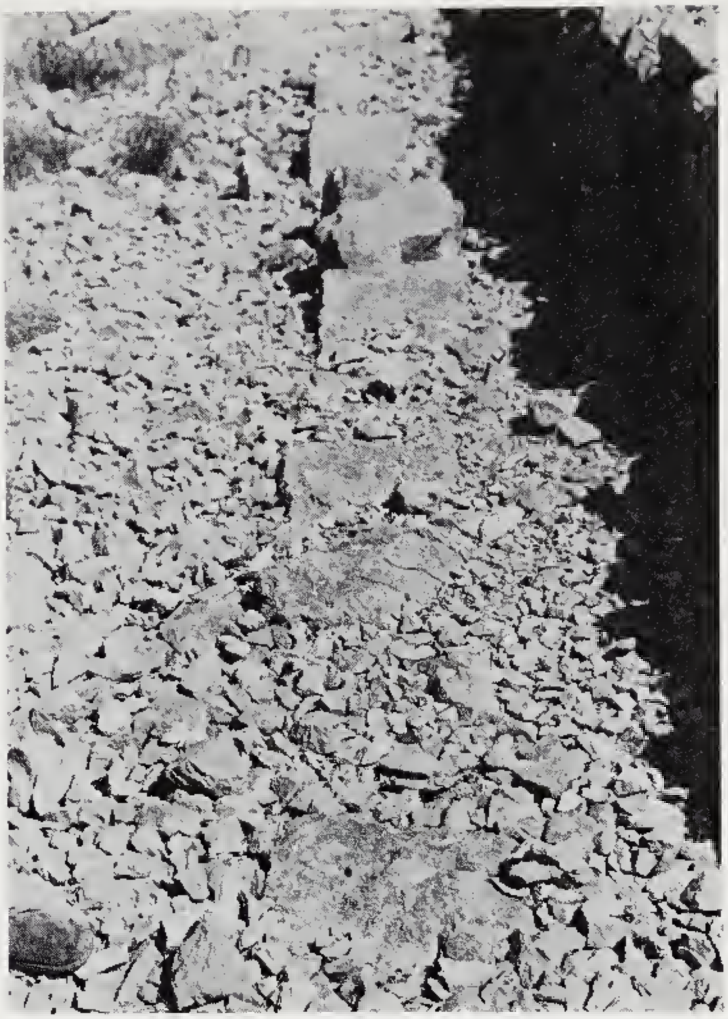

Fig. 10. East wall at Kastelli (VI. 9) looking north.

III. CONCLUSIONS

In addition to the sketch-maps of individual sites, the topographical surveys facilitated the production of a series of maps of the island showing the distribution of sites (Maps 1–7) and other geographical features.[14] The pattern of settlement, past and present, is clearly related to the geological make-up of the island. The vast majority of the population has always inhabited the area on the east coast plain and the zone of Tertiary rocks in the south and south-east. The region has water, large amounts of arable land, and relatively easy access to Chios town. The population density is very low in the other parts of the island. The north-west, geographically isolated and with few good anchorages, has a population much smaller than the land can accommodate. The great limestone mountain-range in the centre and north, by far the largest part of the island, has always had a very small number of inhabitants.

A comparison of the pattern of settlement in Classical and Roman times with that of

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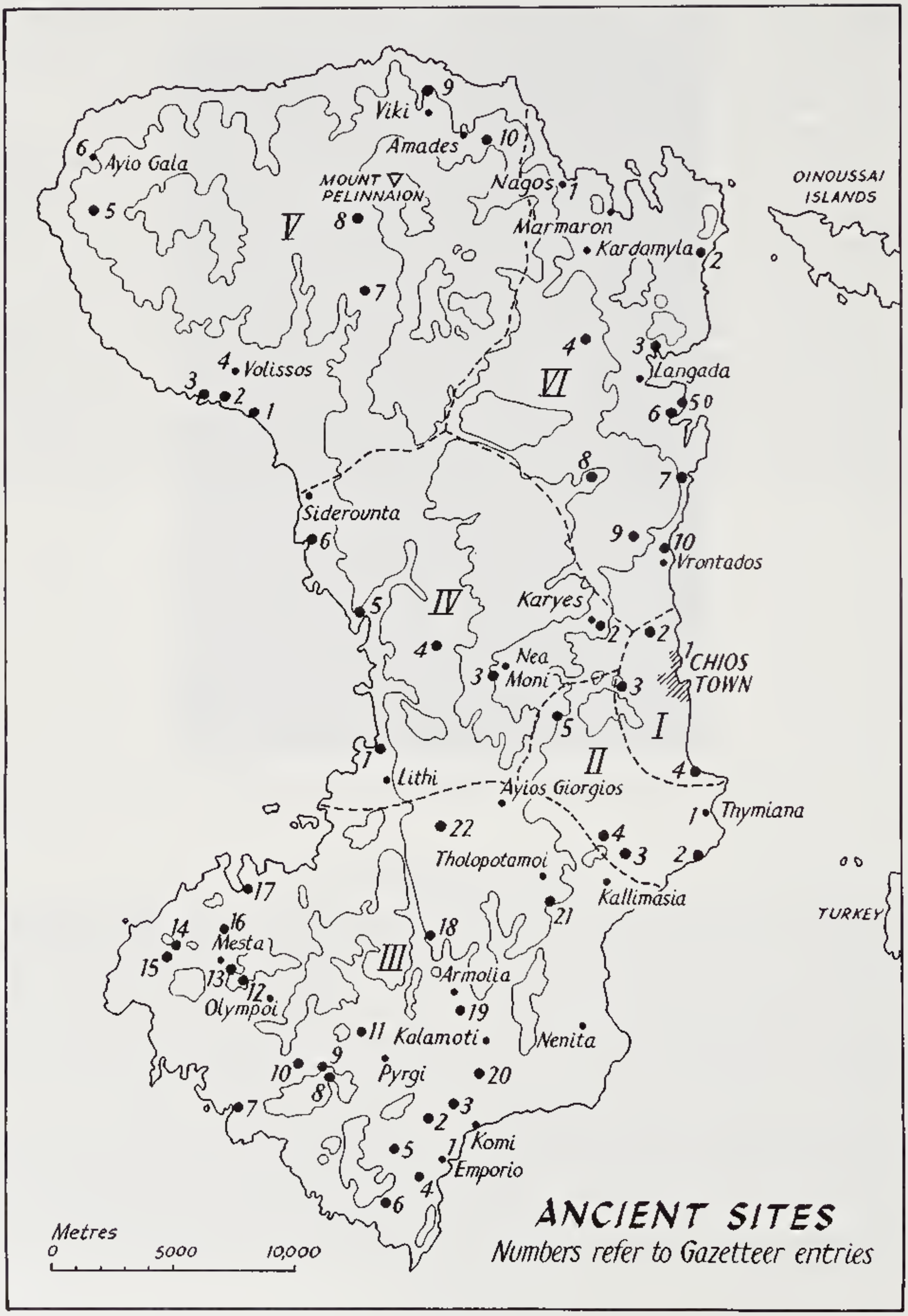
[14] Ibid. Maps 1–27.

Medieval and modern times shows little change in the general distribution of communities. Further, the use of land for agrarian purposes has remained virtually the same right up to the present century. The major export crops in antiquity were wine, mastic, and fruit: the same as today, except that wine is no longer exported.

The pattern of settlement is also related to the availability of natural harbours and the proximity to trade routes. The east coast has a much greater number of harbours, but it was also best situated for trade, both by its proximity to the cities of western Asia Minor and by its location along the very important trade routes from Egypt, the Levant, Rhodes, and Crete to the northern Aegean, the Hellespont, and the Black Sea. It is not surprising that the east coast was (and still is) the most populous and prosperous.

There is still a lot that can be learnt from more survey work on the island. It would be worthwhile to look for more sites, examine a number of sites more closely, and make more accurate maps of the areas. The limitations of surface surveys require further detailed investigations at key sites all over the island. For the most part, there should be exploratory excavations, such as those conducted by Boardman at Delphinion, Lambrinoudakis on the Aipos, or the recent work by Tsaravopoulos in Chios town. Only in this way can more substantive conclusions be drawn regarding the topography of Chios.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Vrontados
Karyes
Nea Moni
CHIOS TOWN
Lithi
Ayios Giorgios
Thymiana
Tholopotamoi
Kallimasia
TURKEY
Mesta
Olympoi
Armolia
Kalamoti
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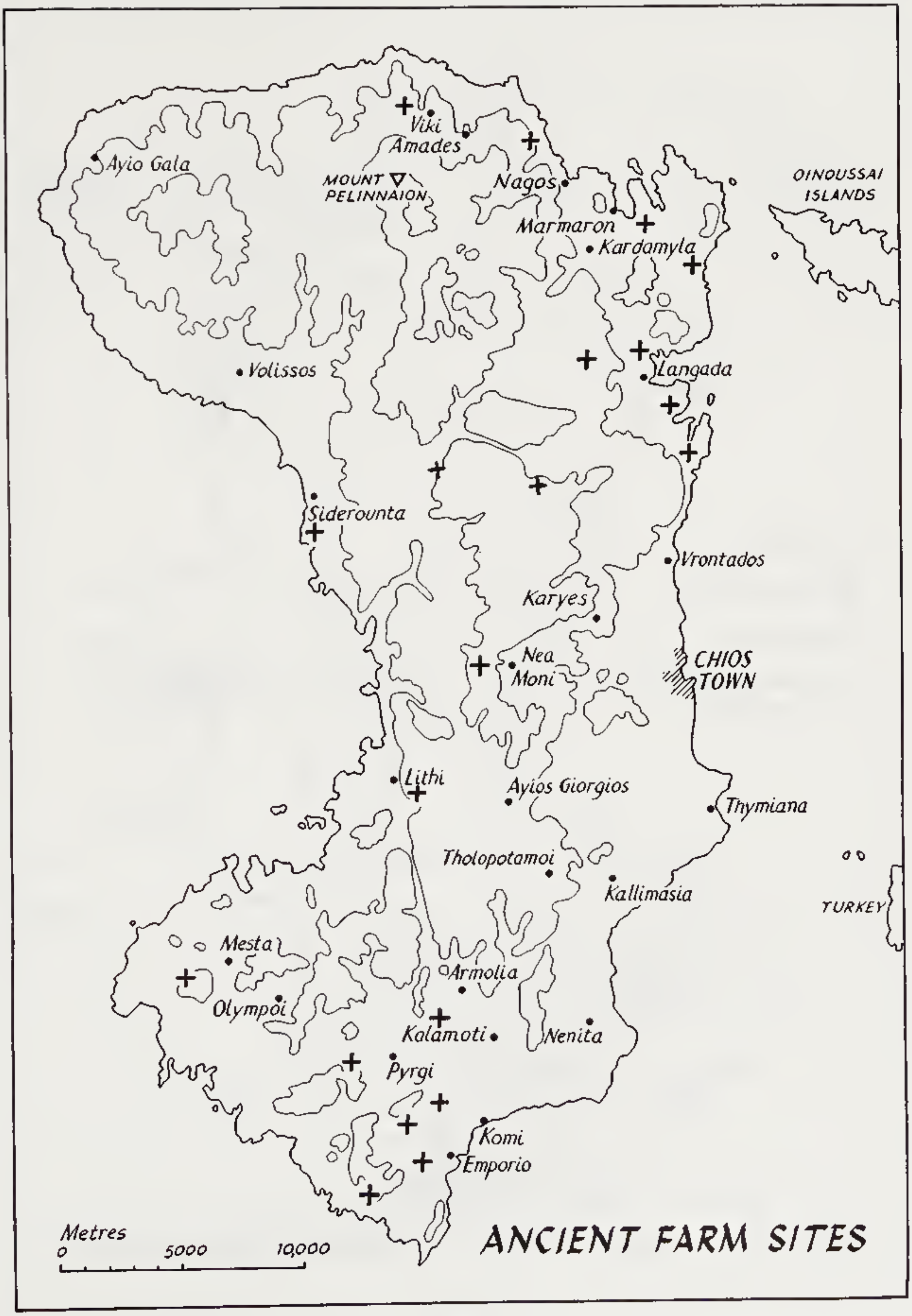
ANCIENT SITES
Numbers refer to Gazetteer entries

Map 1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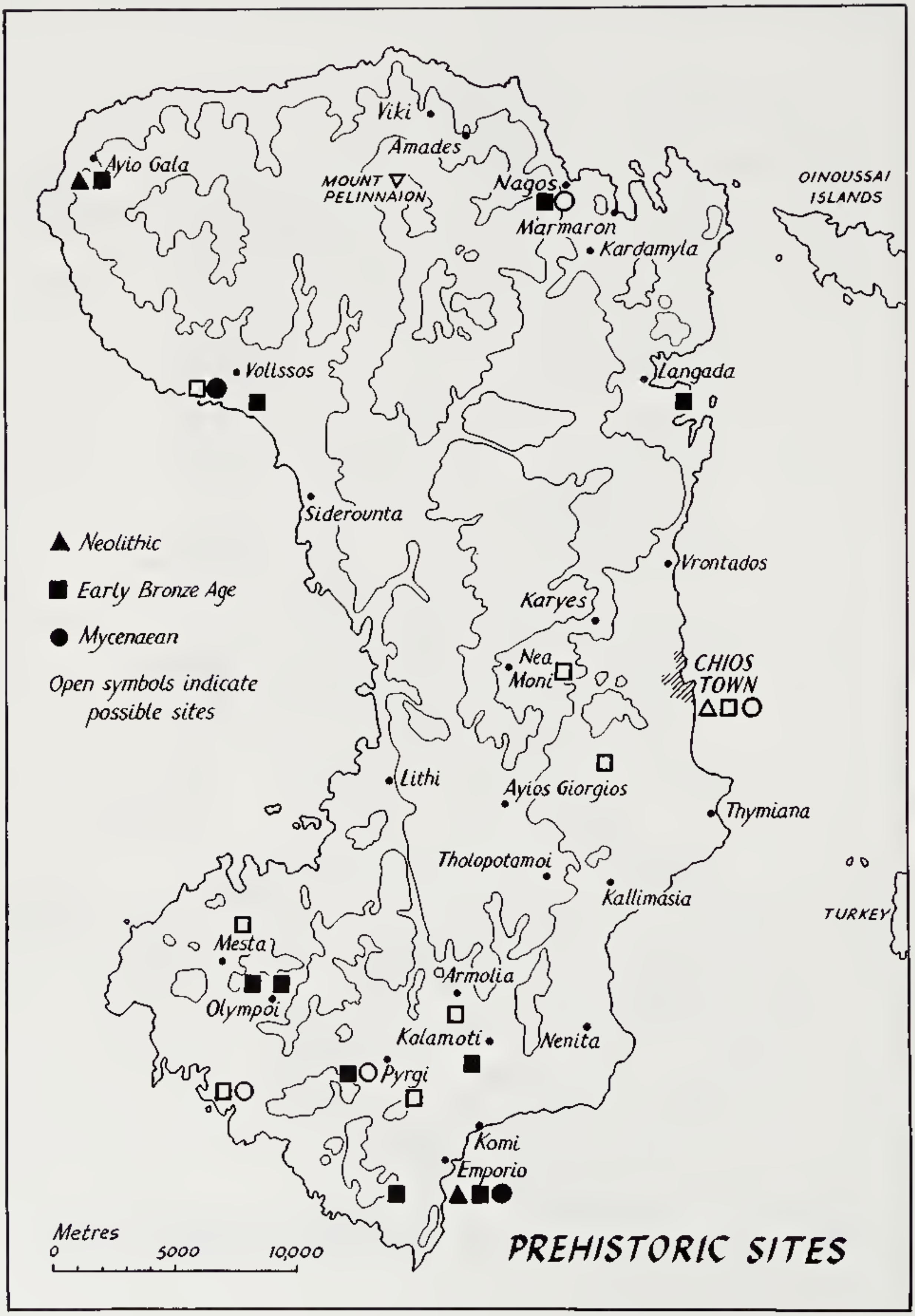
ANCIENT FARM SITES

Map 2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TURKEY
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Olympoi
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Pyrgi
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● Mycenaean
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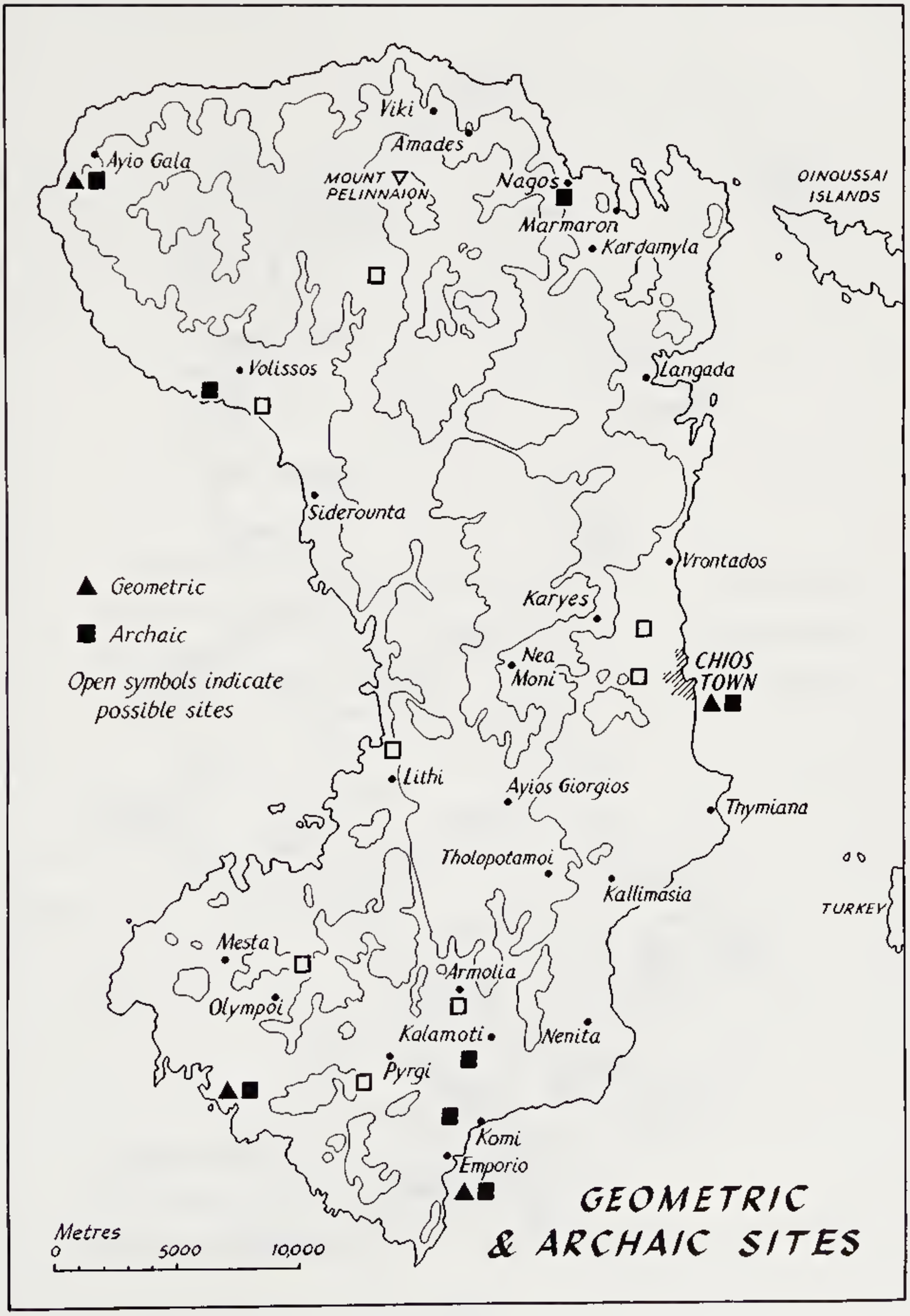
PREHISTORIC SITES

Map 3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▲ Geometric
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Open symbols indicate possible sites
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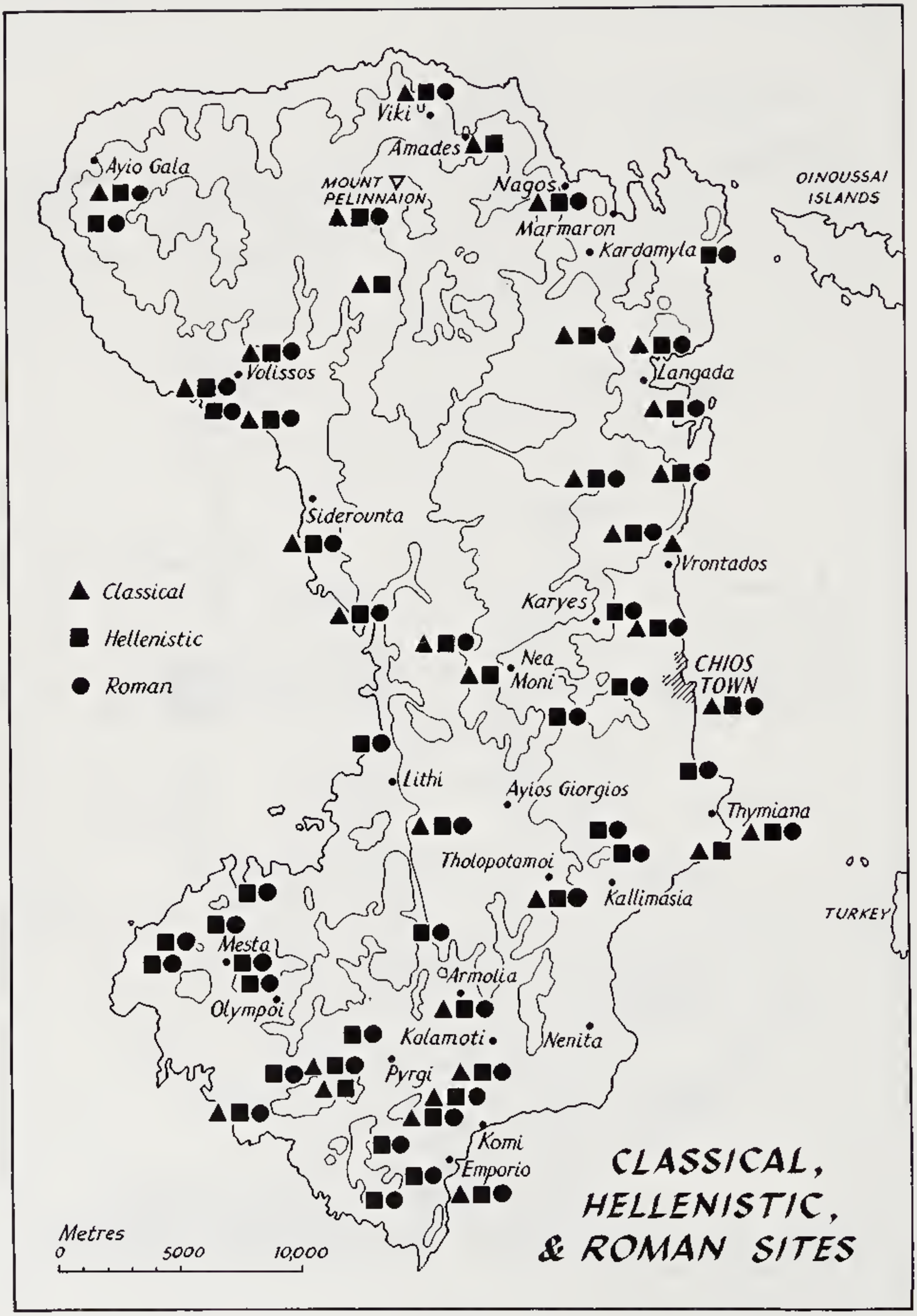
Map 4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Vrontados
▲ Classical
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Nea Moni
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Thymiana
Tholopotamoi
Kallimasia
TURKEY
Mesta
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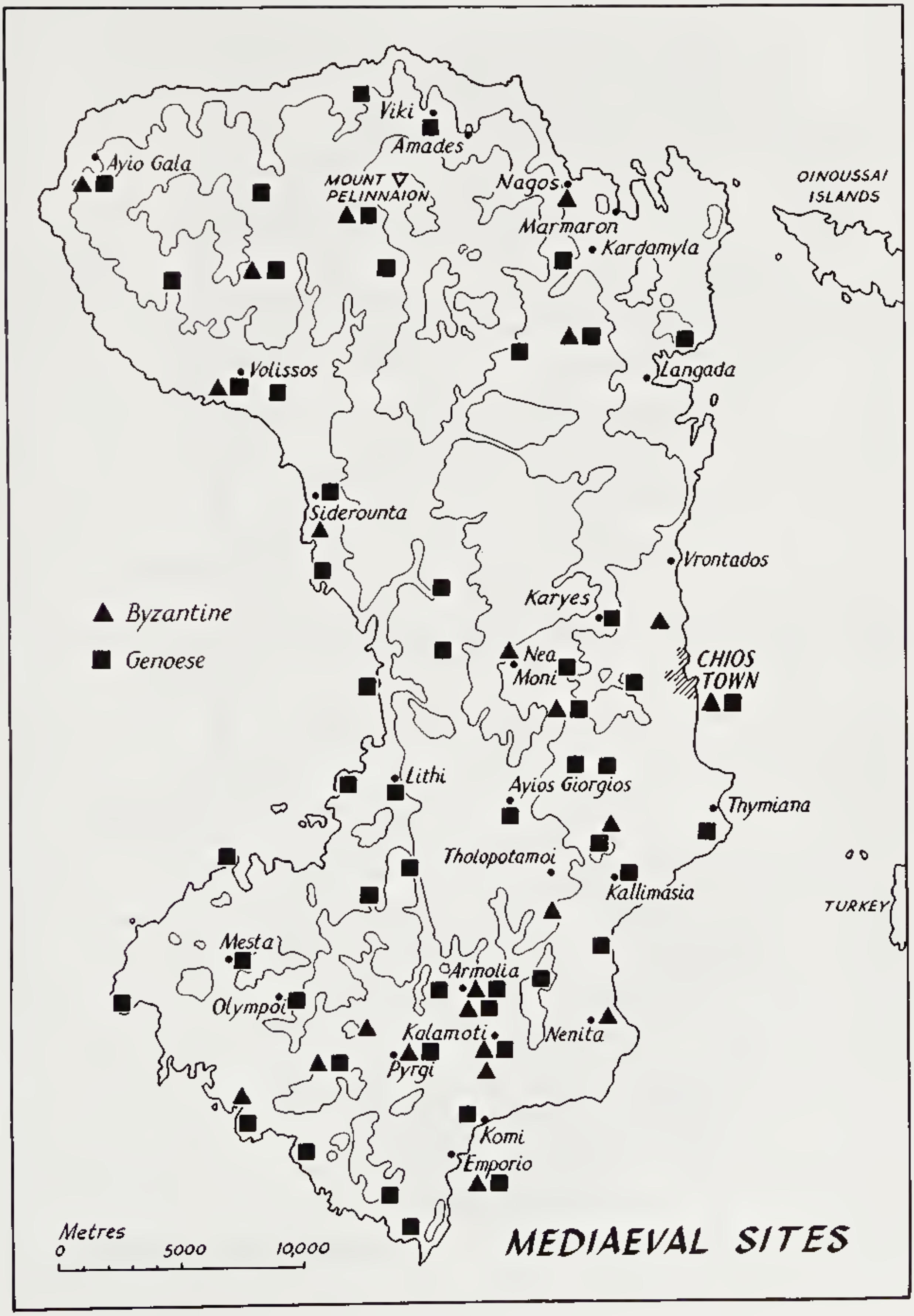
Map 5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Volissos
Siderounta
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CHIOS TOWN
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Emporio
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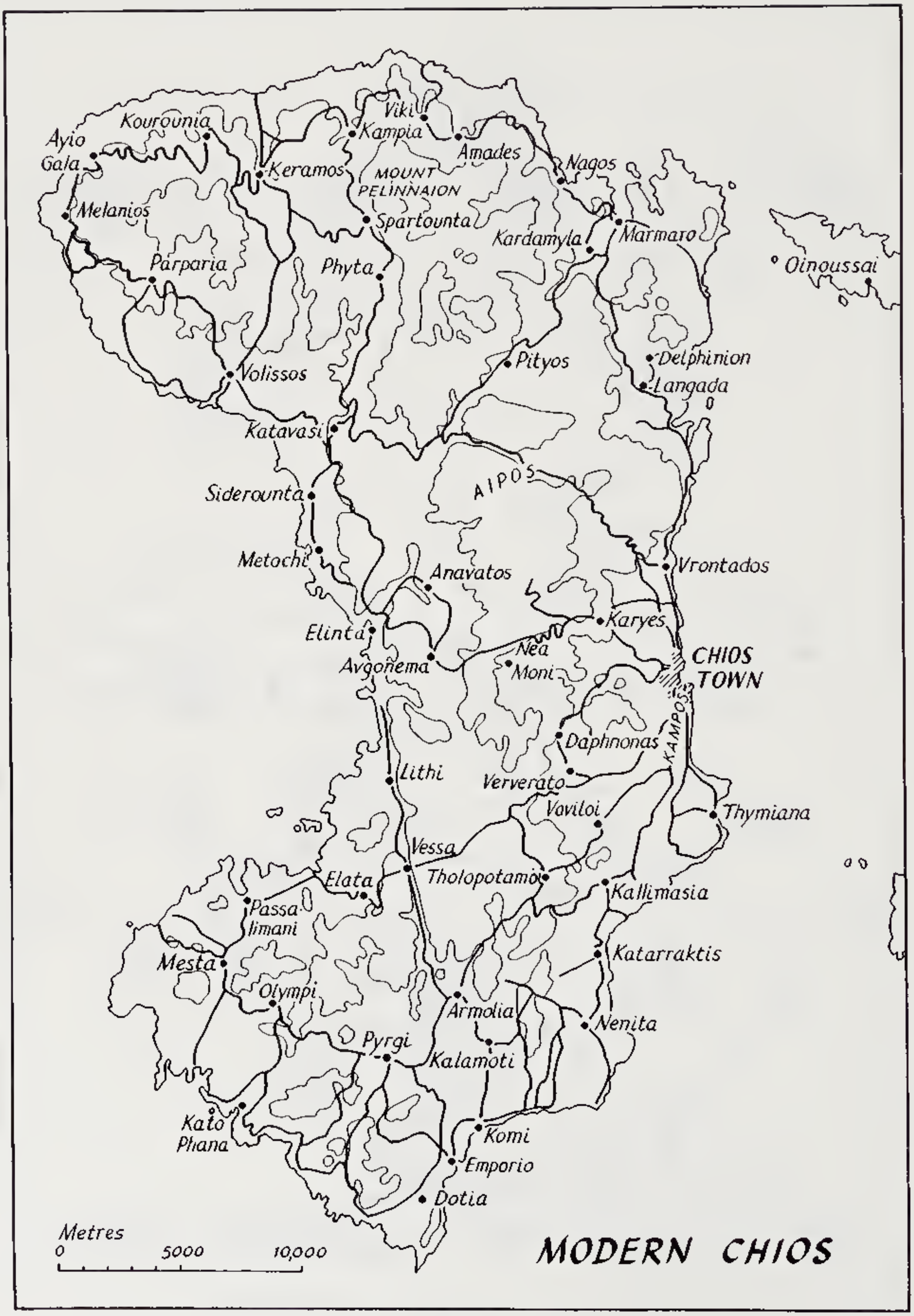
Map 6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Kardamyla
Marmaro
Oinoussai
Parparia
Phyta
Pityos
Delphinion
Langada
Volissos
Katavasi
AIPOS
Siderounta
Metochi
Vrontados
Anavatos
Karyes
Elinta
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CHIOS TOWN
KAMPOS
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Lithi
Ververato
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Voviloi
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Katarraktis
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Armolia
Nenita
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Kato Phana
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Emporio
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Metres
0
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MODERN CHIOS

Map 7

MYCENAEANS IN CHIOS

M. S. F. HOOD

This account of Mycenaeans in Chios is based upon evidence from Emporio in the south of the island. But Emporio is unlikely to have been the most important Late Bronze Age site in Chios. A major prehistoric settlement may still await discovery underneath the Kastro in Chios town.

Traces of possible Mycenaean occupation have been noted at other sites in Chios besides Emporio. There are Mycenaean sherds and a dagger pommel from Kato Phana,[1] and Mycenaean pottery has been found at the important Archaic site at Levkathia near modern Volissos.[2] This is doubtless the site of early Greek Volissos with its claim to a connection with Homer.

There does not seem to be any certain evidence for Mycenaean contacts with Chios before Late Helladic IIIA in the fourteenth century BC. One or two fragments of Mycenaean pottery that might have been of that date, and others certainly assignable to Late Helladic IIIB in the thirteenth century BC, were recovered at Emporio. These fragments mostly came from the Acropolis hill on the south side of the harbour (Colour pl. I).

One of a pair of cist graves (Fig. 1) found on the slope west of the Acropolis hill (in the middle distance, right on Colour pl. I) contained four Mycenaean vases of Late Helladic IIIB type, and comparable vases are reported from a cemetery of cist-graves which the late S. Charitonides identified at Arkhontiki on the island of Psara north-west of Chios.[3] The Mycenaean vases from these graves may have been imports, however, or local imitations of imported Mycenaean vessels. Cist-graves are unusual in the Mycenaean world, and the soft rock of the slope where the pair of cist graves was found at Emporio was eminently suitable for the cutting of chamber tombs in the normal Mycenaean manner: some of the Early Bronze Age inhabitants of the area had indeed hollowed their tomb-chambers in it.[4] Those who buried their dead in these cist graves at Emporio on Chios and at Arkhontiki on Psara may not have been Mycenaean colonists, but non-Mycenaeans strongly influenced by the Mycenaean world with which they were in contact. This would be in harmony with the views of the late Vincent Desborough.[5] The new excavations by I. Tsaravopoulos in the cemetery at Arkhontiki may throw a new light, however, on this question.

The main excavations on the Acropolis hill at Emporio were confined to a flat space (Area F) on the north side behind the Late Roman (Early Byzantine) fortifications. Levels of prehistoric and later settlement had escaped erosion here owing to the

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[1] *Emporio* I 6 no. 7.

[2] *Emporio* I 8 no. 17.

[3] *Emporio* I 152 f.; II 582 f. fig. 260 pl. 117, *ADelt* 17 (1961–2) *Χρον.* 266 pl. 321.

[4] *Emporio* I 150 ff., fig. 82 pl. 29*a*–*c*.

[5] Desborough, *LMS* 228.

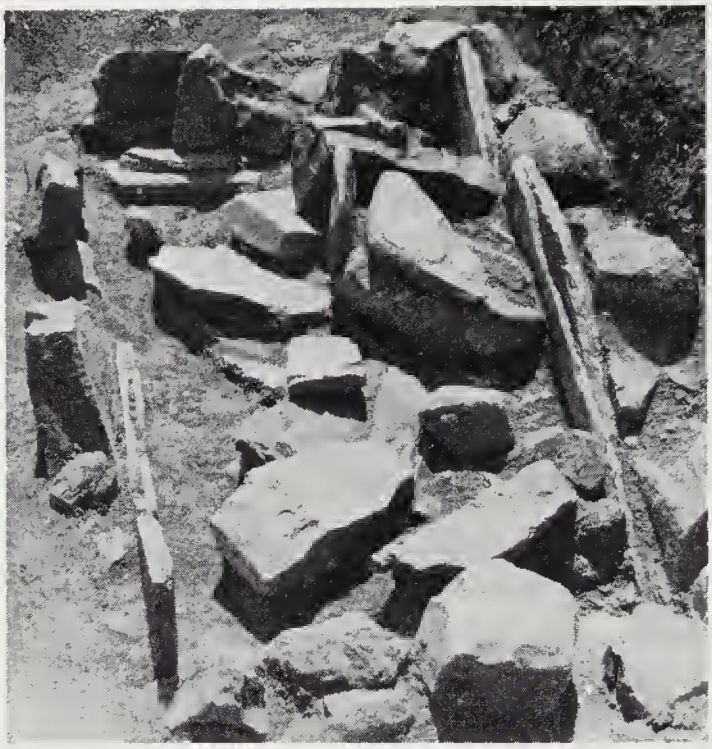

Fig. 1. Late Bronze Age cist grave at Emporio.

protection afforded by the Roman defence wall.[6] The only certain Mycenaean building level identified here was associated with pottery of Late Helladic IIIC type. This was stratified above two successive floors (Stages 6A and 6B) belonging to an earlier phase of the Late Bronze Age. A local variety of matt-painted ware, related to that of the Cyclades in the same general period, seemed characteristic of this pre-Mycenaean Stage 6.[7] This was decorated in red and black matt paint with designs ultimately derived from those on Cretan pottery of Middle Minoan IIIB and Late Minoan IA. Some, but not all, of the shapes of this Chian matt-painted ware appear to have been derived from Cretan ones. No pottery imported from Crete was recognized at Emporio, however, and there was nothing to indicate the presence of Cretan settlers there. But it must be remembered that by this time the main settlement on the island was already perhaps established in the area of Chios town.

There is just a possibility that the strong Minoan influence visible in the pottery of Emporio during this phase is an aspect of some reality which lies behind the tradition that Oenopion came in early times from Crete and ruled Chios. This is the only period when Minoan influence is apparent at Emporio. It seems to overlap with the end of Cretan Middle Minoan III and the beginning of Late Minoan I, roughly the sixteenth century BC, when there is evidence for a spread of Minoan influence, accompanied perhaps by an influx of Cretan settlers if not by a degree of Cretan political hegemony, in the Cyclades and in some of the other islands of the Aegean.[8] If there is any basis of fact underlying the legend of Oenopion it is likely to be found somewhere in this period rather than earlier or later.

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[6] *Emporio* I 154 ff., 162 fig. 91: section showing Late Roman defence wall.

[7] *Emporio* II 573 ff.

[8] For recent discussions of this question of Cretan expansion in the Aegean during the course of the 16th c. BC and earlier, see *The Minoan Thalassocracy: Myth and Reality*, edited by Robin Hägg and Nanno Marinatos (Stockholm 1984).

Vincent Desborough, who studied the Mycenaean pottery from Emporio soon after it was excavated, formed the impression that the people of the Late Helladic IIIC occupation there represented a new group of settlers arriving in Chios from outside the island.[9] He suggested that these Mycenaean settlers reached Emporio in a fairly mature phase of Late Helladic IIIC and not during the earliest stages of the period. This seems very possible.

No Late Helladic IIIC burials have been discovered at Emporio or anywhere else in Chios. It would not be altogether surprising to find that the Late Helladic IIIC inhabitants of Emporio used chamber tombs instead of cist graves for their dead.

Not much can be said about the houses of the LH IIIC period at Emporio. Only parts of them were preserved in the main area of excavation (Area F) on the Acropolis hill.[10] The houses there seem to have been set in a regular alignment, however, and they appear to have had rooms about 5 m wide. There is a slight possibility that these houses were apsidal, with an arc-shaped compartment at one end, although this seems unlikely.[11] The houses may not in fact have been very different from those at Lefkandi in Euboea at the beginning of Phase 2 of Late Helladic IIIC there.[12] Euboea is a relatively short journey across the sea from Chios, and a likely enough place of origin for Late Helladic IIIC settlers at Emporio. On a clear spring day I have seen what must have been Andros immediately south of Euboea from the top of Profitis Ilias above Emporio to the north.

The Late Helladic IIIC houses in Area F on the Acropolis hill at Emporio were destroyed by fire, and the next buildings of which traces were left above them dated from the Late Roman (Early Byzantine) period in the sixth or seventh centuries AD. But trials on the lower west slopes of the Acropolis hill outside the Roman defence wall (Area D) in one place revealed two superimposed building-levels attributable to Late Helladic IIIC.[13] The earlier of these had suffered destruction by fire like the Late Helladic IIIC houses in Area F. Little was left of the later building level in Area D, but it did not appear to have ended with a fire destruction. From it came a fragmentary askos or bird-vase (2852) for which the closest parallels seem to be from Subminoan sites on Crete like Karphi (Fig. 2).[14] A deep bowl with an overall dark wash (2726) (Fig. 3), and another with a wavy line (2729) (Fig. 4), also apparently came from this latest building level in Area D.[15]

The Late Helladic IIIC settlement at Emporio seems to have been extensive and relatively important. Finds from it included a remarkable little stone mould for making a butterfly-shaped ornament (Figs. 5, 8).[16] The mould was clearly much older than Late Helladic IIIC: it may have been carved early in the fifteenth century BC in Crete. Its Mycenaean owner at Emporio was evidently using it as a pendant: a hole had been made through one end for hanging it from a cord. Some fragments of Baltic amber from the Late Helladic IIIC destruction level in Area F included what Professor Beck has identified as likely to have been part of a spacer bead.[17]

[9] Desborough, *LMS* 228.

[10] *Emporio* II 161 ff. fig. 89.

[11] See *Emporio* I 160 f. for discussion of this problem.

[12] *Lefkandi* I 14 f. fig. 21.

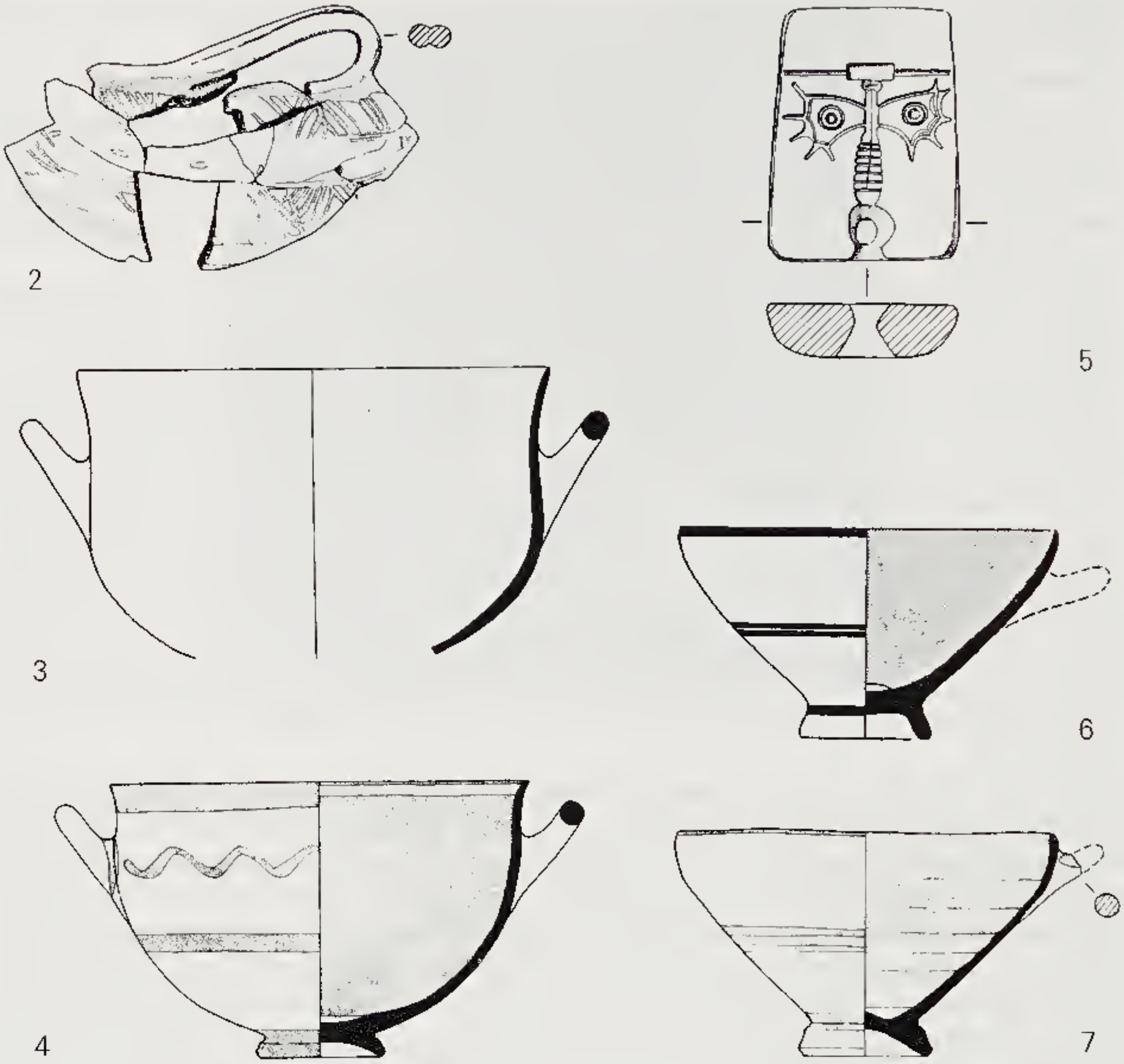
[13] *Emporio* I 147 ff. figs. 79, 81.

[14] *Emporio* I 150; II 607 no. 2852.

[15] *Emporio* II 588 fig. 264 pl. 117*c*.

[16] *Emporio* II 654 f. no. 39, fig. 293 pl. 137.

[17] *Emporio* II 677, 727.



Figs. 2–7. 2, Askos (bird-vase) from upper LH IIIC level on west slope of Acropolis hill, Emporio; 3–4, LH IIIC deep bowls with overall dark wash and with wavy band, from Emporio; 5, stone mould (see Fig. 8); 6–7 LH IIIC conical bowls from Lefkandi and from Emporio.

Vincent Desborough assigned the most recent of the Late Helladic IIIC pottery from Emporio to a very late, but not to the latest phase of Late Helladic IIIC, dating the final destruction of the settlement there by fire about 1100 BC.[18] He also suggested an approximate date of 1100 BC for the final destruction of the Mycenaean city at Miletus on the coast of Turkey south-east of Chios, and for that of the Granary by the Lion Gate at Mycenae. But Desborough admitted the possibility that some of the Late Helladic IIIC pottery from Emporio might in fact be later in date than it appeared to be, and contemporary with the latest phase of Late Helladic IIIC on the Greek mainland.[19]

I would like to suggest that the latest Mycenaean pottery from Emporio closely

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[18] Desborough, *LMS* 159, 233, *GDA* 81, 366.

[19] Desborough, *LMS* 159, *GDA* 81.

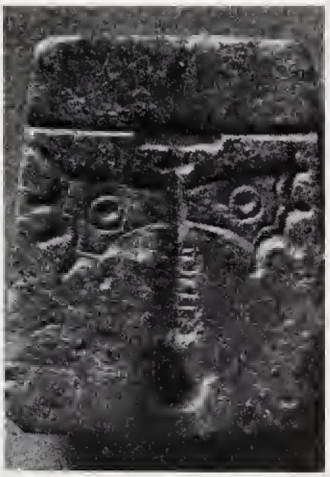

Fig. 8. Stone mould for butterfly-shaped ornament from Emporio (see Fig. 5).

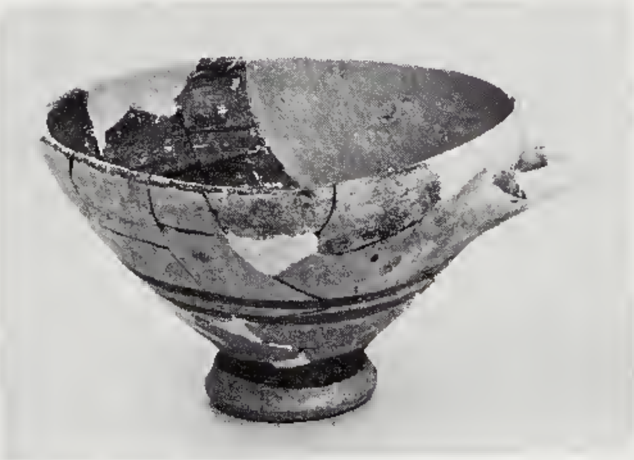

Fig. 9. LH IIIC conical bowl (2704) from Emporio.

resembles, and must be roughly contemporary with, the latest pottery assignable to Late Helladic IIIC from sites across the Aegean to the west and south-west of Chios, notably that from the Temple Deposit at Ayia Irini on Ceos and that from Lefkandi on Euboea.

The latest pottery assigned to Late Helladic IIIC at Lefkandi is that of Phase 3. It seems likely that the conical bowl had by then replaced the stemmed kylix as the standard type of drinking cup at Lefkandi.[20] This also appears to have happened at Emporio. Moreover, some conical bowls from Emporio are very similar in shape and decoration to ones of Phase 3 of Late Helladic IIIC at Lefkandi. The tendency towards a conical foot is noted as a feature of these bowls in Lefkandi Phase 3.[21] The example selected to illustrate this tendency (Fig. 6) is an almost exact replica of one (2704) from Emporio (Figs. 7, 9).[22] These two bowls, one from Emporio and the other from

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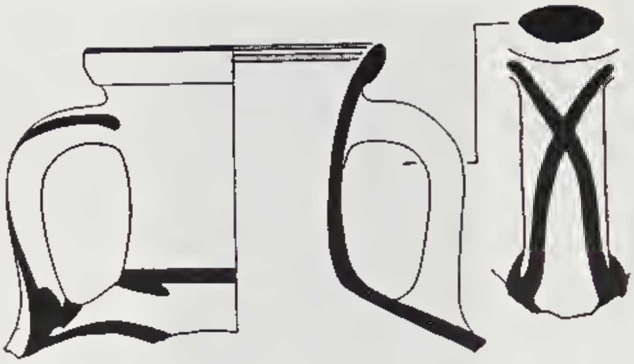
[20] *Lefkandi* I 22; M. Popham and E. Milburn, 'The Late Helladic IIIC Pottery of Xeropolis (Lefkandi). A Summary', *BSA* 66 (1971) 344.

[21] Popham–Milburn, loc. cit.

[22] Compare ibid. 345 fig. 7: 3 (*Lefkandi* I 22 fig. 52) with *Emporio* II 584 f. fig. 261 no. 2704.



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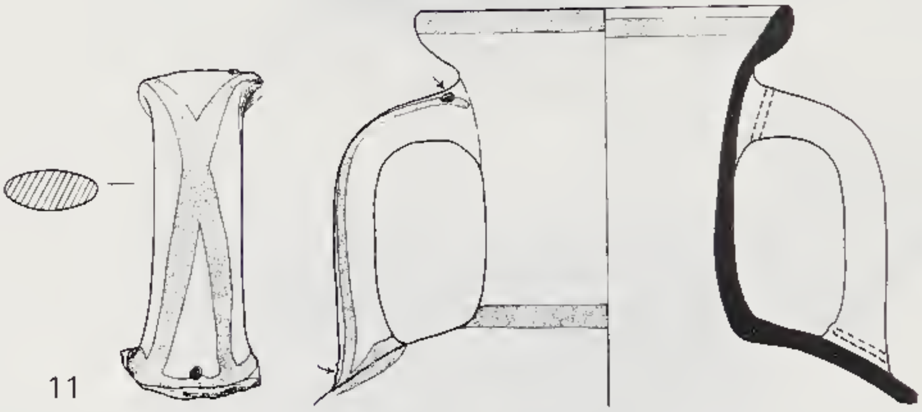

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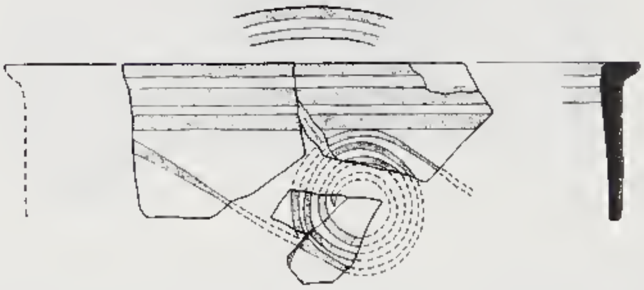

12

Figs. 10–12. 10, 11, LH IIIC neck-handled amphorae from Lefkandi and from Emporio; 12, rim of large deep bowl or crater from Emporio.

Lefkandi, are of the same shape and have the same scheme of decoration on the outside as well as the same system of a reserved circle inside the base. A conical bowl from the Perati cemetery in eastern Attica is a very close parallel to them.[23] A similar high-footed conical bowl was found in the Temple Deposit at Ayia Irini on Ceos.[24]

The top of a neck-handled amphora from Lefkandi Phase 3 with crossing diagonal lines on the handles (Fig. 10) is also closely matched by one (2839) from Emporio (Fig. 11).[25] Another more complete and rather large neck-handled amphora (2838) found at

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[23] *Περάτη* I 300 pl. 88 no. 367, assigned to Phase II or III.

[24] *Ceos* II 400 pl. 98: M 5.

[25] Compare Popham–Milburn, op. cit. (n. 20), 345 fig. 7: 4 with *Emporio* II 605 fig. 272 no. 2839.

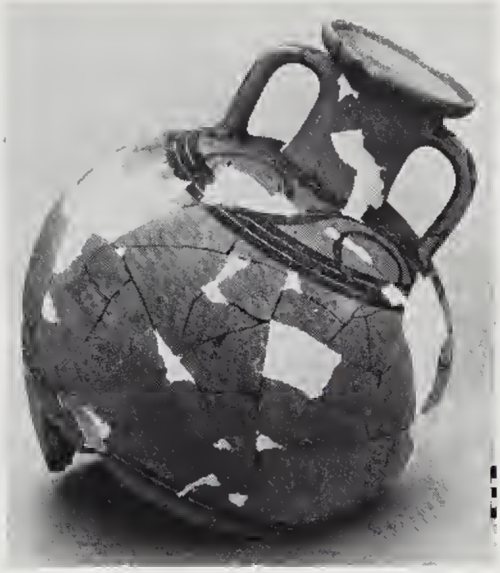

Fig. 13. LH IIIC neck-handled amphora (2838) from Emporio.

Emporio together with 2839 has thin scroll decoration which seems consistent with a late date (Fig. 13).[26] Rivet-holes for repairs suggest that this amphora was a valued object, perhaps an import: it may have been relatively old at the time the building in which it was found was destroyed.

The Temple Deposit is the latest group of Mycenaean pottery identified at Ayia Irini on Ceos, and it is widely thought that it must be contemporary with the final Phase 3 of Late Helladic IIIC at Lefkandi. A neck-handled amphora from the Ceos Temple Deposit (M12) (Fig. 14) is comparable both in shape and in its scheme of decoration with the rather larger one with the rivet-holes (2838) from Emporio (Fig. 13).[27] Craters from the Ceos Temple Deposit, such as M15 and M16 with wavy bands (Fig. 15), and M17 decorated with spirals with open centres (Fig. 16), can be paralleled at Emporio (e.g., Figs. 17 left, and 12); while the hydriae M13 and M14 also have analogues there.[28]

A hydria (2833) (Fig. 18) was found at Emporio together with the large neck-handled amphora 2838 (Fig. 13).[29] The tassel motif above the scroll on the shoulder of this is not attested for certain in Phase 3 of Late Helladic IIIC at Lefkandi, but it survives into Submycenaean in Attica.

A neck-handled amphora from Kamini Tomb B on Naxos combines body decoration like that on the large example 2838 (Fig. 13) from Emporio with crossing diagonals on the handles like Emporio 2839 (Fig. 11).[30] Some vases from the other Tomb A at Kamini were assigned by Desborough to the very latest class of Late Helladic IIIC;[31] but that does not of course mean that any of the vases from Tomb B were in his opinion of that date.

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[26] *Emporio* II 604 f. fig. 272 pl. 124 no. 2838.

[27] Compare *Ceos* II 400 pl. 98: M 12 with *Emporio* II 604 f. fig. 272 pl. 124 no. 2838.

[28] Compare *Ceos* II 400 f. pl. 98: M15, M16, with *Emporio* II 588 f. fig. 264 pl. 119*a* no. 2731; and ibid. M17 with *Emporio* II 590 f. fig. 265 pl. 120 no. 2746.

[29] *Emporio* II 604 f. fig. 271 pl. 124 no. 2833.

[30] Chr. Kardara, *Ἀπλώματα Νάξου· Κινητὰ Εὑρήματα Τάφων Α καὶ Β* (Athens 1977) 39 pls. 48, 49, no. 2060.

[31] Desborough, *LMS* 150.

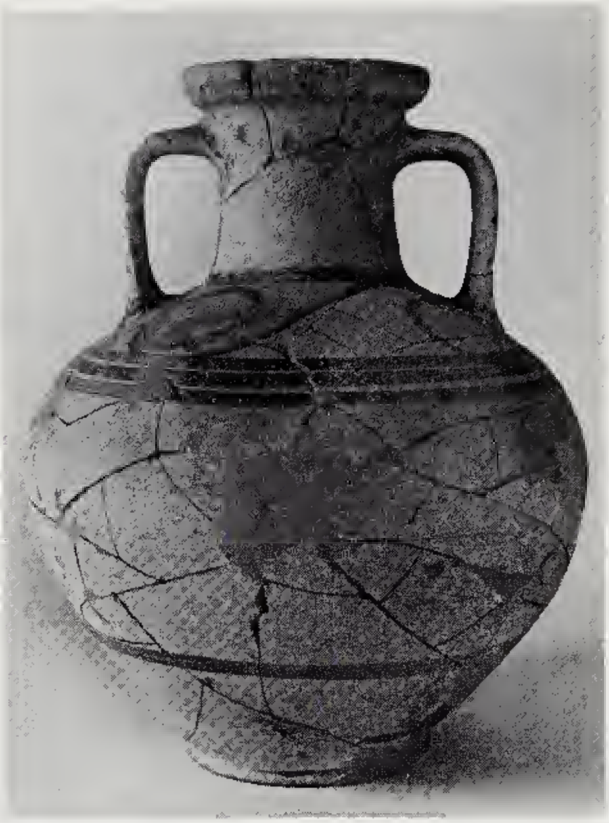

Fig. 14. LH IIIC neck-handled amphora (M 12) from Ceos.

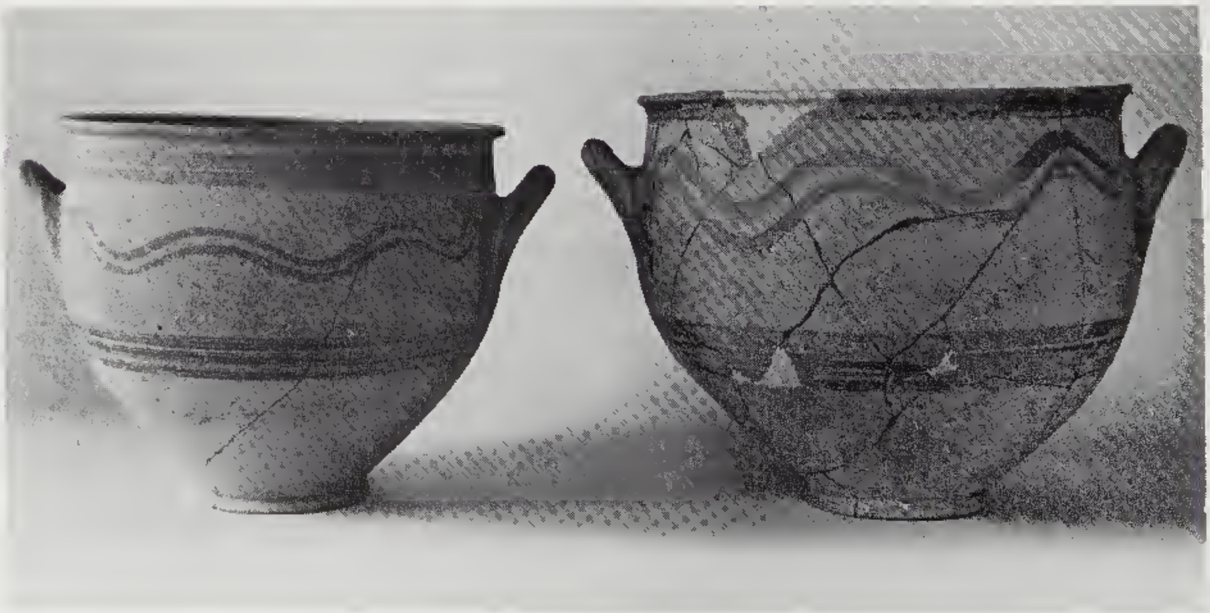

Fig. 15. LH IIIC deep bowls (M 15, 16) from Ceos.

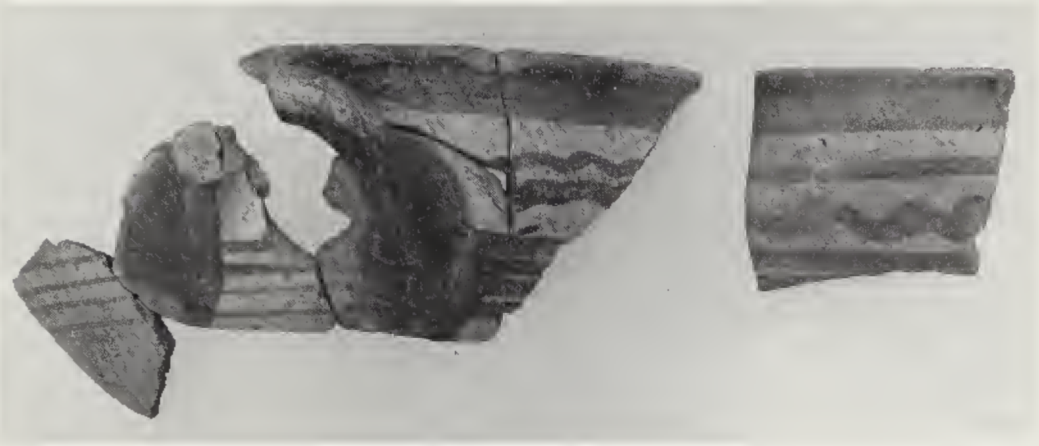

Fig. 16. Fragments of LH IIIC deep bowls with wavy-line decoration from Emporio.

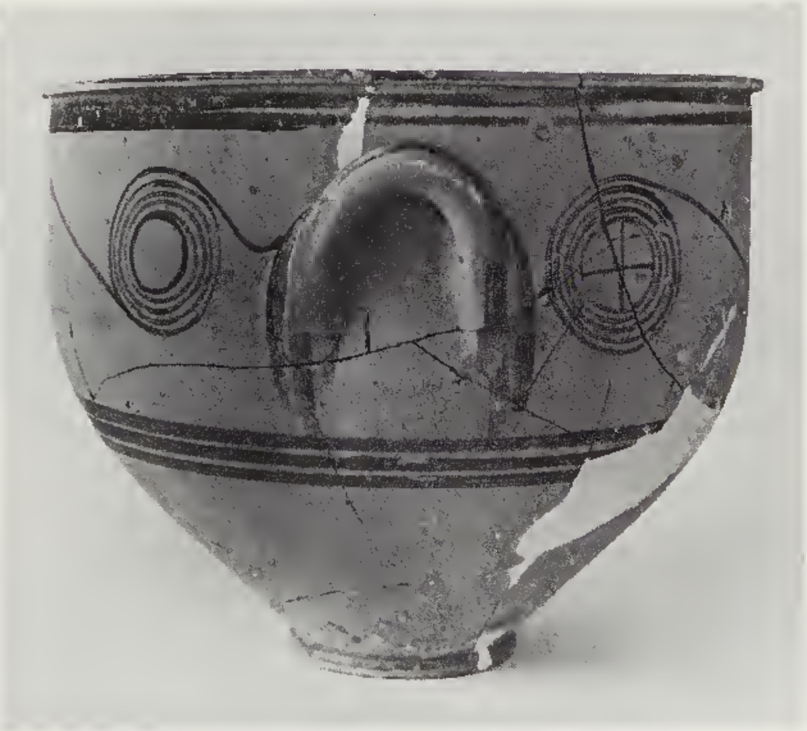

Fig. 17. LH IIIC crater (M 17) from Ceos.

Many fragments of deep bowls and craters from Emporio were decorated with wavy bands (Figs. 17, 19).[32] Wavy bands like these are in general a late feature. A triple wavy band appears on one fragment of a closed vase from Emporio (Fig. 20).[33]

A feature of the earlier deposits of Late Helladic IIIC at Lefkandi was the appearance in them of handmade coarse ware, some of it certainly imported, but some perhaps made in the area.[34] Handmade coarse ware of this type has now been found at a large number of sites on the Greek mainland in Late Helladic IIIC contexts, and at a few places in Crete, including Knossos, in ones of Late Minoan IIIC. At the time of the Emporio

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[32] *Emporio* II 619 f., 589 fig. 264 pl. 119*a*.

[33] *Emporio* II 619 pl. 129*e* right.

[34] *Lefkandi* I 18 fig. 34; Popham–Milburn, op. cit. (n. 20), 338 fig. 3: 7.

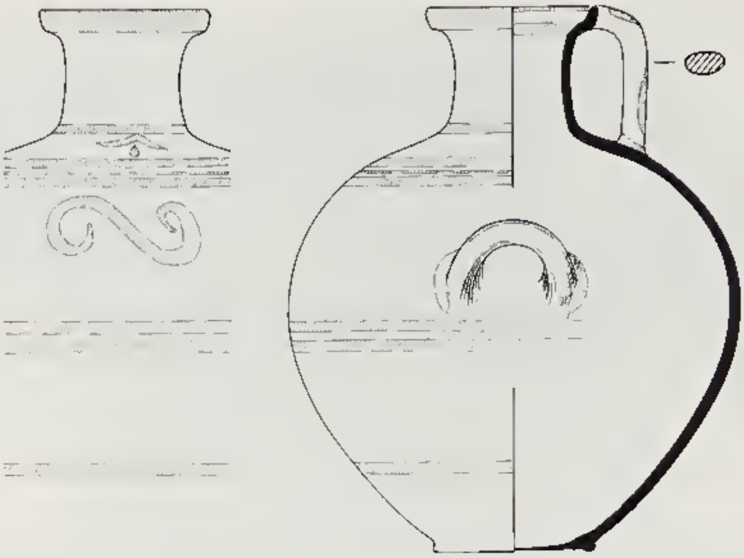

Fig. 18. LH IIIC hydria from Emporio.

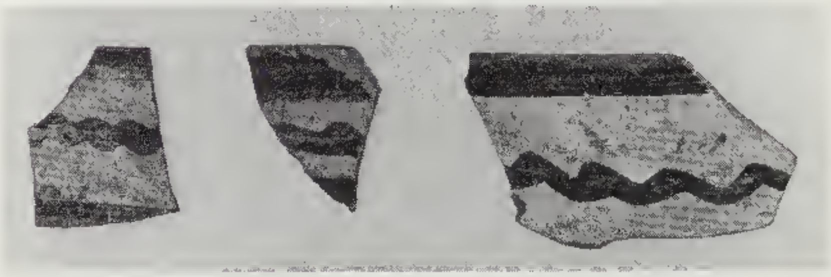

Fig. 19. Fragments of LH IIIC deep bowls with wavy-line decoration from Emporio.

excavations attention had not been focused on this Late Helladic/Late Minoan IIIC handmade ware, and it would have been difficult in any case to distinguish pieces of it from bits of the dark-surfaced Early Bronze Age wares of which scraps were present in most deposits of later periods. Nevertheless one possible fragment of Late Helladic IIIC handmade coarse ware was recognized after the excavations (Fig. 21).[35] This is part of a small closed vase, and it has a row of finger-tip impressions like some of the handmade coarse ware from Lefkandi and like vases of comparable fabric from Troy VIIB and from a number of sites on the Greek mainland.[36]

It seems to me likely that the final destruction and abandonment of the Mycenaean settlement at Emporio took place during the same developed phase of Late Helladic IIIC as the end of Lefkandi Phase 3 and the loss of the Temple Deposit vases at Ayia Irini on Ceos. It would be interesting to know whether the latest Mycenaean pottery from the settlement at Grotta on Naxos was comparable with that from Emporio and with that from Lefkandi and Ceos. On Naxos Late Helladic IIIC pottery is apparently replaced without a break by pottery of Submycenaean type used by people who buried their dead in cist graves instead of in chamber tombs. Similarly at Miletus at some point after the

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[35] *Emporio* II 622 pl. 127 no. 2995.

[36] e.g. H. W. and E. A. Catling, '"Barbarian" Pottery from the Mycenaean Settlement at the Menelaion near Sparta', *BSA* 76 (1981) 71–82.

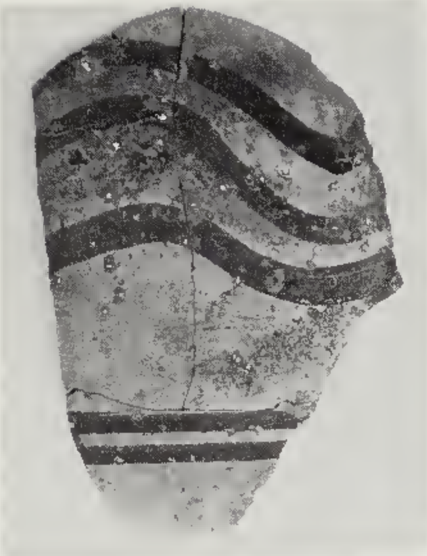

Fig. 20. Fragment of LH IIIC closed vase with triple wavy band from Emporio.

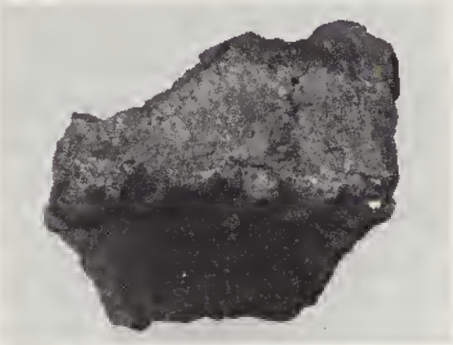

Fig. 21. Possible fragment of LH IIIC hand-made coarse ware from Emporio.

final destruction of the Late Helladic IIIC settlement there, the site was reoccupied by people using a late version of Submycenaean pottery. In the case of Miletus it has been reasonably suggested that the people with this Submycenaean pottery were the first Ionian Greek settlers.

The final destruction and abandonment of Mycenaean Emporio may have formed part of the same confused pattern of events as the destruction of Mycenaean Miletus: it was roughly contemporary, perhaps, with the end of Late Helladic IIIC and its replacement by Submycenaean on Naxos, with the end of Phase 3 of Late Helladic IIIC at Lefkandi on Euboea, and with the loss of the Temple Deposit vases at Ayia Irini on Ceos. These events culminated in the foundation of the Greek cities in Ionia, dated by Desborough shortly before the time of the rise of the Protogeometric style in Attica around 1050 BC.

Is it possible to speculate as to who the people of the Late Helladic IIIC settlement at Emporio were? It is hardly probable that they were Ionian Greeks at such an early date. The Abantes, who are reported to have once lived in Chios, would appear to be more likely candidates for them.[37] We are told that King Hector, who certainly counted as an Ionian, made war upon the Abantes and Carians dwelling in Chios in his time, killing some in battles and compelling others to emigrate under truce.[38] A date has been suggested for Hector around 800 BC, but he was probably earlier than this.[39]

Unlike the Carians the Abantes seem to have been Greeks, or, whatever their ultimate origins, they appear to have been accepted as Greeks. In the Iliad they occupy and control the whole of Euboea, and they take a prominent part in the war against Troy. The Abantes of Chios are said to have come there from Euboea. Schachermeyr has suggested that the inhabitants of Lefkandi in Phase 2 of Late Helladic IIIC were Abantes. It seems that in Euboea itself the Abantes were eventually replaced or submerged by other Greek settlers, and their name only survived there as one of the tribes of Chalcis. But according to Herodotus Abantes from Euboea formed a substantial proportion of the amalgam of peoples responsible for the foundation of the Ionian Greek settlements on the western coast of Asia Minor.[40]

The Abantes are alleged to have come to Chios from Euboea in the time of Oenopion, who had sailed there from Crete. This statement can hardly be reconciled with the suggestion made above that, if there is any basis of fact underlying the tradition about Oenopion, it must date from around the sixteenth century BC. Oenopion, however, is a misty, perhaps even an imaginary figure. The Abantes, on the other hand, seem real enough and are already in the dawn of history. They appear to have been the last substantial group of settlers in Chios before the arrival of the Ionian Greeks.[41] As such they have a good claim to have been the founders and inhabitants of the Late Helladic IIIC settlement at Emporio.

Acknowledgments

In preparing this paper I consulted and learnt a great deal from two recent Oxford doctoral theses: E. Yalouris, 'The Archaeology and Early History of Chios from the Neolithic Period to the End of the 6th Century BC' (1976), and E. Susan Sherratt, 'The Pottery of Late Helladic IIIC and Its Significance' (1981). While I owe much to the authors of these works, the suggestions which I have made about the date of the Mycenaean settlement at Emporio and the character of its inhabitants are my own.

I am very much indebted to Mrs Miriam Caskey for Figs. 15 and 17, and to her and Mrs Elizabeth Schofield and the Ceos Excavation Committee for permission to reproduce them here; to Mr Mervyn Popham and the Committee of the British School in Athens for permission to reproduce the drawings, Figs. 6, 10; and to the Committee of the British School in Athens for permission to use the rest of the drawings and photos which have appeared in *Emporio I* and *II*.

Abbreviations

Desborough, *GDA*	V. R. d'A. Desborough, *The Greek Dark Ages* (1972)
Desborough, *LMS*	V. R. d'A. Desborough, *The Last Mycenaeans and Their Successors* (1964)
Emporio I and II	S. Hood, *Excavations in Chios 1938–1955. Prehistoric Emporio and Ayio Gala* I (1981), II (1982)
Ceos II	J. L. Caskey, 'Investigations in Keos. Part II: A Conspectus of the Pottery', *Hesperia* 41 (1972) 357–401.
Lefkandi I	M. R. Popham and L. H. Sackett, *Excavatations at Lefkandi, Euboea 1964–66* (1968)
Περάτη I	S.E. Iakovides, *Περάτη Τὸ Νεκροταφεῖον* I (Athens 1969).

[37] *RE* i 13 ff. s.v. 'Abantes'. F. Schachermeyr, *Die griechische Rückerinnerung im Lichte neuer Forschungen* (Vienna 1983) 250–4, 302, 318, has recently discussed the Abantes in some detail. A Thracian origin or connection seems very possible.

[38] Paus. 7. 4. 9–10, based upon Ion of Chios.

[39] H. T. Wade-Gery, *The Poet of the Iliad* (Cambridge 1952) 6 ff. His estimate is linked to a date for the Ionian migration *c.*900 BC instead of in the 11th C. BC.

[40] Hdt. 1. 146.

[41] Schachermeyr suggests that the Abantes took an important part in the Ionian settlement of Chios; but Paus. 7. 4. 9, which he cites, implies that they were already in the island before this.

THE GEOMETRIC LION-FIGHTER FROM KATO PHANA

J. N. COLDSTREAM

THE painted pottery of Chios during the age of Homer is still relatively unknown, even by the standards of other East Greek schools. The island's Late Geometric style is represented by not a single whole vessel, and hardly any whole profiles; for no Geometric cemetery has ever been found, to illustrate the progress of the local style through a steady sequence of whole pots. For our understanding of Chian Geometric we must still rely on a mass of sherds, the smashed-up votive debris from three sanctuaries. Of the two at Emporio, excavated by Sinclair Hood and John Boardman,[1] the shrine by the harbour produced far more Geometric votives than the sanctuary of Athena on the inland acropolis, and furthermore offers the only stratification for this period anywhere on the island. The third sanctuary is that of Apollo at Kato Phana, the ancient Phanai, first excavated by Kourouniotis[2] and further explored by Winifred Lamb.[3]

From these votive deposits, fragmentary though they be, we can recover at least some of the characteristics of the Chian Late Geometric style[4]—especially as seen on the commonest shapes, the craters and the drinking vessels; for it would seem that the offering and consumption of Chian wine played an important part in the rituals. And of particular interest here is the relative frequency of figured drawing; if the modest corpus from the sanctuaries offers us a fair sample,[5] then Chios surpasses every other East Greek centre in the abundance and variety of Geometric pictorial motifs and figured themes. Birds, goats, and horses, whether isolated or in friezes, may be no more than decorative;[6] but there are at least ten fragments showing human beings, twice apparently in combination with a ship—and at least two more pieces preserving part of a ship. Of the human figures, one appears to be a lady in a long robe; the others, whenever enough survives for us to tell, are all warriors.[7] My paper is devoted to the only figured piece which preserves the full height of the scene, and allows us to see what is happening: a warrior confronting a lion (Fig. 1). Since its cursory publication in Miss Lamb's report

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[1] J. Boardman, *Excavations in Chios 1952–55: Greek Emporio* (*BSA* Suppl. 6, London 1967). Hereafter *Emporio.*

[2] K. Kourouniotis, *ADelt* 1 (1915) 72 ff.

[3] W. Lamb, *BSA* 35 (1934–5) 138 ff. Hereafter *Kato Phana.*

[4] Boardman, *Emporio* 102 ff.; J. N. Coldstream, *Greek Geometric Pottery* (London 1968) 294 f.; id., *Geometric Greece* (London 1977) 257 f.; hereafter *GGP* and *GG* respectively.

[5] It might be urged that sanctuaries attract a relatively high proportion of figured vessels. Contrast, however, the much larger corpus of Geometric pottery recovered from the Samian Heraeum, among which the proportion of figured work (*pace* Schweitzer, *Greek Geometric Art* (London 1971) 113) is considerably lower than in Chios.

[6] Birds: *Kato Phana* pl. 35 nos. 25, 34, 36; *Emporio* nos. 114, 125, 128, 313. Goats: *Kato Phana* pl. 35 no. 31; *Emporio* no. 124. Horses: *Kato Phana* pl. 35 no. 34; *Emporio* no. 124.

[7] *Kato Phana* pl. 35 nos. 28–30, 33 (lion-fighter), 35 (robed figure); *Emporio* nos. 119, 121–2. Ships: *Kato Phana* pl. 35 no. 20; *Emporio* no. 126, perhaps also no. 127. Ships with warriors: *Emporio* no. 120 and also fig. 64*x* from Kato Phana (cf. p. 108 n. 2).

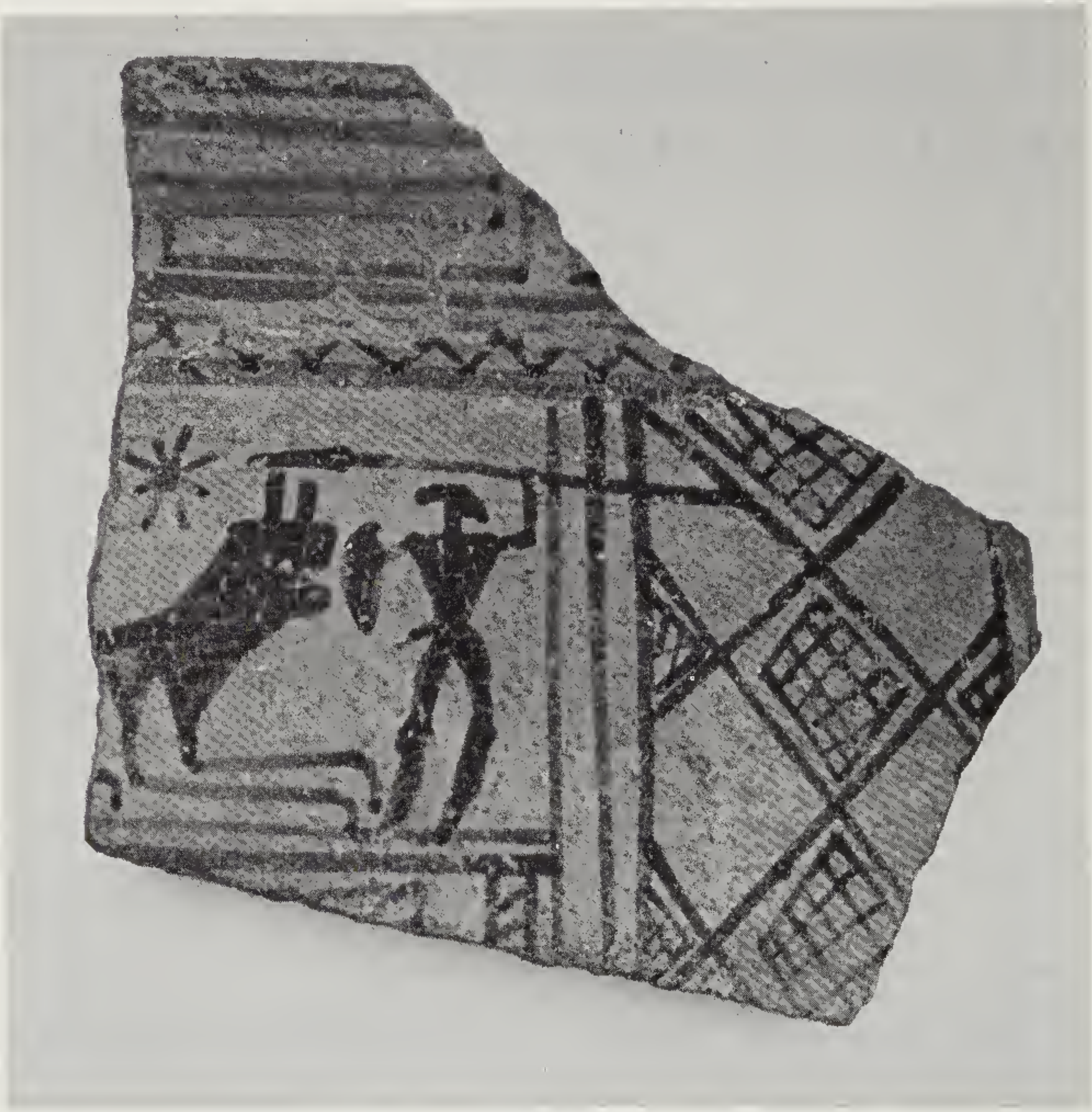

Fig. 1. Fragment of Geometric crater from Kato Phana. Chios Museum. Scale: 4:3.

on Kato Phana in 1935, brief allusions to it have been made in studies of Geometric armour and weapons, Geometric lions, Geometric iconography (mythical or otherwise), and Geometric art in general;[8] but the scene has received no detailed consideration.

The limits of the figured panel are preserved on three sides; how much of it is missing, off to the left? Like all other Chian Geometric fragments with human figures, this piece comes from a crater. Thanks to better preserved craters from Emporio with linear decoration,[9] for which the whole design can be reconstructed, we know something of the usual syntax favoured by the Chians: several horizontal strips in the centre, flanked by two vertical columns of ornament each side. Our figured panel, as one might expect, occupies the place of honour, in the uppermost of the central horizontal strips on the body, just below the lip. At the lower break one can make out part of a hatched meander, occupying the second central strip. To the right is part of a flanking column, with a net of hatched lozenges. This sort of scheme goes some way to explaining the sketchy, miniaturist character of Chian Geometric figure work, where none of the scenes—to judge from the fragments—appears to be more than 5 cm high: scenes intended to fill a long narrow space on a large shape, in which a very horizontal motif like the ship could be comfortably included. And so, to complete the scene, we should probably need much more than the lion's rump. There is room at least for another warrior to the left: an Iolaus, if you choose to see the lion as Nemean, confronting a Heracles; or possibly for another warrior facing another lion, in a chiastic arrangement as on the gold band from the Teke tholos near Knossos;[10] or even for a warrior and a ship, a juxtaposition which may seem puzzling to us, but which does indeed occur on a Late Geometric fragment from the Argive Heraeum.[11] The possibilities are endless; let us speculate no more, and concentrate on what we can see.

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[8] H. Lorimer, *BSA* 42 (1947) 77 n. 4; ead., *Homer and the Monuments* (London 1950) 170 n. 2; B. Kaeser, *Zur Darstellungsweise der griechischen Flächenkunst von der geom. Zeit . . . eine untersuchung an der Darstellung des Schildes* (Bonn 1981) 28 ff; K. Kübler, *Kerameikos* V. 1, 177 n. 171; T. B. L. Webster, *BSA* 50 (1955) 40; K. Fittschen, *Untersuchungen zum Beginn der Sagendarstellungen bei den Griechen* (Berlin 1969) 83 ff., L 39; Schweitzer, op. cit. (n. 5), 103.

Only the front half of our lion is preserved, with one of his hind paws. The ears and forelegs are shown side by side, but otherwise he is in profile. To each paw an Attic painter might have added five claws in a row; but in this miniature style there is no room for claws. The squareness of the beast's head may owe something to the Neo-Hittite type, as seen in the protomes of oriental bronze cauldrons.[12] He bares his two triangular teeth, and there is also the suggestion of a tongue. As he crouches, ready to pounce, there can be no doubt about his hostile intentions; his forepaw is almost treading upon the warrior's advanced foot.

The warrior is of diminutive stature, not because he is supposed to be a pygmy, but because Geometric painters usually contrived to keep the heads of living creatures on the same level, in the interests of good composition; similar instances of isocephaly abound in the scenes on the Dipylon craters.[13] His equipment is described by the excavator as 'shield, sword and spear';[14] but the alleged sword has no hilt, and looks more like an early expression of heroic nudity. The shield, no bigger than the lion's head, is held out in front of the body and must therefore correspond to the round pre-hoplite type with single hand-grip, here shown in profile. The spear, held high above the lion's head, projects out of the picture across the framing lines and into the column of lozenge net; the painter may have been short of space, but he has also contrived to make the weapon look as conspicuous as possible.

At this point it becomes necessary to defend the honour of our warrior, and also the originality of our painter. Schweitzer, commenting on this piece, observed that 'absurdities such as the battle with the lion in which the warrior turns his back to the animal, and the confusion between left and right in the weapons, indicate the derivativeness of this figured art'.[15] According to the usual Geometric convention, the warrior's torso has been drawn in frontal view for the sake of clarity, so that the silhouette technique shall not obscure the action of his two arms. Unless he is left-handed, he is indeed turning his back—but to us, and not to the animal; only reversing the direction of the whole scene could the painter avoid giving us this impression. But any suspicion that he is facing away from the lion can quickly be dispelled. How could he possibly aim a shield and spear behind his back, towards an animal which he could not see? As for his curiously janiform head, comparison with two other pieces from Kato Phana with warriors[16] will show that the horizontal part to the left represents his face, looking over the lion's head; whereas the drooping projection to the right must be the crest of his helmet. Down below, in spite of his bow-legged appearance, his two feet are also turned leftwards towards the lion, partly coinciding with the baseline. But not only is our hero standing his ground; the painter, far from producing a garbled imitation of more accomplished work elsewhere, has here achieved a most unusual rendering. To appreciate his originality, we should look briefly at the development of the theme in early Greek art.

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[9] e.g. *Emporio* 106 fig. 62 no. 35.

[10] *BSA* 62 (1967) pl. 12, 3; *GG* fig. 32*c*.

[11] G. Ahlberg, *Fighting on Land and Sea in Greek Geometric Art* (Stockholm 1971) 34 fig. 41, B 10. This piece looks Attic rather than Argive.

[12] *GG* 365 fig. 113 (the Barberini cauldron). Cf. also a contemporary lid from Crete, J. K. Brock, *Fortetsa* (Cambridge 1957) no. 1435.

[13] e.g. Paris A 517 (*GGP* pl. 7a), isocephaly of men and horses.

[14] *Kato Phana* 158 no. 33.

The latest general study is that of Fittschen,[17] published in 1969. He mustered forty-five representations of the late eighth and early seventh centuries, dividing them into various iconographic categories: scenes where the man is clearly at a disadvantage, whether struggling against one or more usually two lions; scenes with more than one man hunting a lion; heraldic scenes showing a man—or rather, a divine being—standing between two rampant lions, controlling them rather then fighting them; and scenes showing a single man fighting a single lion, which may be rampant or, like ours, crouching. Even among the last category, Fittschen argued strongly against any facile recognition of the first Labour of Heracles. Instead, he drew attention to oriental influences—especially for the heraldic scenes—supposing none of the Greek representations to be older than the middle of the eighth century.

More recently, however, it has become possible to trace the lion theme—and its introduction from the Orient—well back into the preceding century, and in Crete. First, Boardman argued convincingly for a late ninth-century date for the Teke gold band, assigning it to the hand of an eastern goldsmith resident at Knossos;[18] indeed, scenes like this one, where the hero or god masterfully grasps the beast's forepaw in a typically oriental gesture, could have played an important part in introducing the theme to the Greek world. But then came the surprising discovery of a lion scene on an early ninth-century bell-crater from Knossos, a prototype of Fittschen's first class where a man struggles between two lions.[19] This vessel takes us back to a time before any figured oriental work is known to have been reaching the Greek world, and when any attempt at representational art was very rare indeed. If the idea of this violent scene is oriental, perhaps it could have reached Crete indirectly through Cypriot heirlooms of the Late Bronze Age such as cylinder-seals or bronze stands with figured decoration, examples of which have in fact been found in later Cretan contexts;[20] but we need not pursue this problem here. More important is the immediate sequel, seen in a Cretan bronze relief which follows the tradition of the Teke goldsmith. The central composition on the Fortetsa quiver[21] owes something to both the earlier scenes. The masterful warrior and the right-hand lion are very much as on the Teke gold band, except that he threatens the animal with a sword. His aggressive gesture with the weapon, and the addition of a second lion, both recall the violent scene on the crater; but because he is so obviously in control, we think of him as a supernatural being, a Master of Animals. Already we notice a confusion of two concepts: a hero's struggle against desperate odds, and a god presiding calmly over wild nature.

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[15] Schweitzer, loc. cit. (n. 8).

[16] *Emporio* fig. 64*x*, where nose and chin are shown; *Kato Phana* pl. 35 no. 30, showing the hairs of the crest.

[17] Fittschen, loc. cit. (n. 8).

[18] Boardman, *BSA* 62 (1967) 57 ff. pl. 12 no. 3, dated by stratigraphical evidence to Cretan PGB (*c*.840–810 BC), the phase of pottery associated with the first occupant in the reused Minoan tholos tomb. From the same mould is the Nelidov diadem: R. A. Higgins, *BSA* 64 (1969) 150 pl. 43*a*.

[19] L. H. Sackett, *BSA* 71 (1976) 117 ff. pl. 16.

Thus, by the time of the Late Geometric scene from Kato Phana, the lion theme had already been attempted in Greek art for a century and a half; Fittschen's analysis covers only later stages. From what we have seen of its early development in Crete, we should not be surprised that the theme could produce many more permutations and combinations when it spread to other parts of the Greek world. By the middle of the eighth century the 'struggle against two lions' had reached Attica, perhaps through the Attic gold bands and whatever Oriental prototypes may lie behind them.[22] In Attic vase-painting the earliest scene of this kind is on a small oinochoe of around 750.[23] The rendering is particularly ferocious; the warrior, looking into the jaws of death, puts up a desperate struggle with his sword; the whole effect could hardly be in greater contrast to the restraint of the Chian scene. And yet, by the end of Attic Geometric, the same format may be adapted to produce a heraldic scene with a divine Master of Animals. On a shallow skyphos from Anavysos, decorated inside with a figured zone in the manner of the Oriental metal bowls, the warrior is now reduced to a remote miniature figure, but apparently taming the ferocity of the two lions with sword and spear.[24]

Turning to the pictures where a man confronts a single lion, one wonders whether the Kato Phana scene may not reflect a similar transformation. Perhaps a god should not need the protection of a shield, and in any case it is hazardous to interpret a composition which may be far from complete. Nevertheless, in this category, our scene is unique in showing no direct contact between man and lion. Compare, for example, the fragments of a Late Geometric relief pithos from Amorgos,[25] similar in format but utterly different in spirit, where the warrior busily engages the beast with spear and sword at once. Our warrior, by contrast, seems to dominate the lion, merely by poising the enormous spear over the beast's head. Either he is a god, who has no need to use his spear; or the painter may be anticipating later Archaic art by showing not the conflict itself, but a quiet moment of tension before the conflict. In either case the scene is unique; but it is also derivative in the sense that Homeric poetry is derivative, being composed through the manipulation of pre-existing formulae. In no other early lion scene does the warrior carry this combination of helmet, spear, and shield with single hand-grip, here shown in profile. But this is normal equipment for a Late Geometric warrior; the formula has been extracted from pictures of purely human conflict,[26] and here introduced for the first time into the iconography of the lion scenes. Thus, on what may be Homer's own island, we see one of his contemporaries applying to visual art a formulaic technique similar to that on which the composition of Homeric epic depends.[27]

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[20] J. N. Coldstream in *Acta of the Int. Arch. Symp.: The Relations between Cyprus and Crete c. 2000–500 B.C.* (Nicosia 1979) 259 f. pl. 45; id. in *Πεπραγμένα Δ' Διεθν. Κρητ. Συν.* (Athens 1980) 68 f. pls. 11, 12, 13*a*.

[21] Brock, op. cit. (n. 12) 135 f. no. 1569 pls. 116, 169; J. Boardman, *The Cretan Collection in Oxford* (Oxford 1961) 134 f. fig. 50b; P. Blome, *Die figürliche Bildwelt Kretas in der geometrischen und früharchaischen Periode* (Mainz 1982) 67 f. pl. 2. 2.

[22] D. Ohly, *Griechische Goldbleche des 8. Jhs v. Chr.* (Berlin 1953) groups I and II; Schweitzer, op. cit. (n. 5) 189 ff. pls. 222–3; Fittschen, op. cit. (n. 8) 222 ff.; *GG* 123 f.; I. Beyer, *Die Tempel von Dreros und Prinias A* (Freiburg 1976) 46 ff. Against the theories of a Rhodian (Schweitzer) or Cretan (Fittschen, Beyer) origin see respectively *Gnomon* 44 (1972) 600 and *AJA* 85 (1981) 345 f.

[23] M. Brouskari, *'Από τὸν 'Αθηναϊκὸ Κεραμεικὸ τοῦ 8 ου π. Χ. Αἰώνα* (Athens 1979) 24 ff., 60 ff., *ΕΠΚ* 643, pls. 10, 11. Although the author suggests a slightly later date, all 83 vessels from this single grave group seem to me to fall within the MG II and LG Ia phases.

[24] Schweitzer, op. cit. (n. 5) 54 f. pl. 70; B. Borell, *Attisch geometrische Schalen. Eine spätgeometrische Keramikgattung und ihre Beziehungen zum Orient* (Mainz 1978) 11 n. 31 pl. 15.

[25] *CVA* Karlsruhe 2 pl. 48, 11; Fittschen, op. cit. (n. 8) 83, 88.

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[26] Kaesar, loc. cit. (n. 8). K. de Vries (*Teiresias* Suppl. 2 (1979) 67 ff. fig. 16. 5) has drawn attention to another such 'formula' on Boeotian fibulae: a warrior thrusting his spear diagonally downwards, whether against a foeman or a lion.

[27] I thank Aris Tsaravopoulos, Director of the Chios Museum, for kindly permitting me to study this piece in Apr. 1984. The clay is red-brown, with airholes and small white grits. The inside is coated with solid black paint, but the upper surface of the rim is reserved. Too little of the rim survives to allow an estimate of its diameter.

CHIOS AND SAMOS IN THE ARCHAIC PERIOD

H. KYRIELEIS

It is accepted archaeological method to define the individuality of a monument, a style, or a culture by comparing it with different although related phenomena. Through comparative studies characteristics may be elucidated through either contrast or analogy. In the study of ancient Chios other areas have naturally played an important role as comparative material. In studies on Chian pottery, sculpture, or architecture objects of other origins have been brought into the discussion to stress chronological or morphological aspects. Using this comparative method we not only accentuate specific features, but we can also show how different parts of the ancient world are related and how they influence each other. We need not particularly emphasize the fact that in ancient Greece, with its microcosmic city- and island-states, such interrelations constituted a decisive element in their spiritual and artistic unity, and in their historical development.

It is only natural, therefore, in connection with our subject of Chios in the ancient world, to glance at the large neighbouring island of Samos. The two islands lie within sight of each other and through their common geographic proximity to the coast of Asia Minor they have already much in common. Further, the fact that both belonged to the same Ionian tribal and cultural region was in itself of fundamental importance. Chios and Samos were the most important island states of the Archaic period in the Ionian East. In the sixth century BC they counted among the richest states in Greece. Both displayed an open attitude towards the outside world as a result of their seafaring and trade, and they enjoyed a lively exchange with distant lands. I need only point to Naucratis where Chios played a leading role, but where Samian merchants had also settled. In addition to the few literary sources the archaeological finds here speak for themselves. For instance, the extensive trading relations of Chios are documented above all by the distribution of Chian pottery,[1] while on Samos the wealth of imported goods from all over the Mediterranean and the east demonstrate the island's connections.[2]

Herodotus (I. 143) mentions yet another peculiarity, which in the sixth century linked Chios and Samos as island states as opposed to the cities on the mainland. As sea powers they were not under Persian domination or influence since the Persians had as yet no fleet. As a result of this geographical proximity and basic external similarities one would perhaps expect close cultural relations between Samos and Chios. However, even what little Herodotus reveals on this subject warns us against believing that the two islands were very closely connected. The people of Chios, we are told (1. 142), spoke the same dialect as the inhabitants of Erythrae, while the Samians had their own dialect: *Σάμιοι δὲ ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν μοῦνοι.* Moreover, in Naucratis, where the Greeks for purely external reasons worked closer together than at home, similar conditions seem to have prevailed, according to Herodotus (2. 178). While Chios here made common cause with other northern Ionian cities like Teos, Phocaea, and Clazomenae, with Lesbos and even with Rhodes, and founded the Hellenion as a common cult and trade centre, Samos kept apart and, like Miletus and Aegina, founded a sanctuary of its own. Herodotus, who of course knew conditions in Ionia particularly well, certainly did not make these remarks without a reason. He apparently wished to indicate that there were in fact important differences, even antagonisms, between these neighbouring and equally important islands. For further knowledge of the relationship between Chios and Samos in the Archaic period we have to turn to the results of archaeological research.

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[1] R. M. Cook, *BSA* 44 (1949) 154 ff. fig. 2; cf. D. Williams, *AA* 1983, 181 ff.

[2] See the bibliography in H. Kyrieleis, *Führer durch das Heraion von Samos* (Athens 1981) 142.

Here, however, we come up against a difficulty: the state of research on the two islands differs considerably. Beside the significant complex of Archaic buildings and finds from the Samian Heraeum, the excavations in Chios at Phanai and Emporio, for instance, have yielded comparatively few and fragmentary finds. The main Archaic cities on both islands so far remain largely unknown, although we at least have a number of important marble sculptures from the city of Samos as well as finds from graves. In addition, the recent excavations on Samos by Konstantinos Tsakos in the Artemis sanctuary *extra muros* have brought to light many and significant finds. On the whole we so far know very much less archaeologically about Archaic Chios than about Samos. This strongly limits the possibility of comparisons between the two islands straightaway. We must therefore restrict our investigation to certain aspects in order to define at least some characteristic traits. New finds, above all on Chios, could add to and alter the picture at any time. I cannot dwell at length here on the Archaic finds from the two islands, so I begin with some general, to some extent statistical, comments on the Archaic finds which will suggest some similarities and some conspicuous differences. I take the opportunity too of presenting some finds from the more recent excavations in the Samian Heraeum.

During the Archaic period both islands were above all seafaring and trading states, so we can reasonably expect their trading relations to be reflected in the archaeological material. Thus, the high percentage of Cypriote limestone and terracotta figures from the Samian Heraeum[3] as well as from the sanctuary in the port of Emporio[4] is conspicuous. The types found at the two sites partly correspond, as may be judged by comparison of a fragment of the hair of a figure from Emporio (Fig. 1)[5] with a head found last year in the Samian Heraeum (Colour plate II*a*). Such Cypriote finds are, however, not restricted to Chios and Samos, but occur relatively often elsewhere, for instance at Lindos and Smyrna.[6] In my opinion they suggest that Cyprus was an important port of call on the trading route to Egypt, although evidence for this on Cyprus is so far slight.

The connections with Egypt via Naucratis seem at first glance to be confirmed by the presence of faience figurines, amulets, scarabs and the like, on Chios as well as on Samos.

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[3] G. Schmidt, *Samos* VII (1968).

[4] J. Boardman, *Excavations in Chios 1952–55. Greek Emporio* (*BSA* Suppl. 6, London 1967) 181, 193, 199 pl. 68. 79. (Hereafter *Greek Emporio*.)

[5] *Greek Emporio* p. 79. 92; cf. Schmidt, op. cit., pl. 40. 3; 68 f. 77.

[6] Chr. Blinkenberg, *Lindos* I (Berlin 1931) 476 ff. pls. 86 ff.; E. Akurgal, *Alt-Smyrna* I (Ankara 1983) 104 pl. 130.

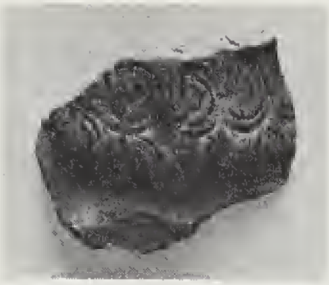

Fig. 1. Fragment of a Cypriot terracotta from Emporio.

I again refer to a selection of finds from Emporio[7] and a vase in the shape of a monkey recently found on Samos (Colour plate II*b*). It is, however, striking that so far almost no genuinely Egyptian pieces have been found on Chios but only Egyptianizing faience, which can be attributed to workshops on Rhodes or at Naucratis.[8] The monkey vase from Samos also belongs to this category. Except for a few faience pieces, which may be Egyptian, nothing certainly Egyptian is so far known from Chios. Samos, on the other hand, has yielded not only Egyptian faience but also a surprising number of Egyptian bronzes.[9] In 1983 an Egyptian bronze situla was found together with a 30 cm-high limestone statuette, representing yet another category of Egyptian import.

It looks, therefore, as though the connections between Chios and Egypt attested in literary sources and in the excavations at Naucratis cannot be corroborated through actual Egyptian imports on Chios, while Samos has produced more such objects than any other site outside Egypt.

The difference in goods imported into the two islands becomes even more striking when we look at what came from the Near East, from Phoenicia, Syria, and Mesopotamia. To my knowledge almost no Near Eastern import has been found on Chios so far, or at least yet published. Yet there is no other site in Greece where so many and such varied oriental imports have come to light as on Samos.[10] Almost every season of excavation offers new evidence. From last year's campaign I illustrate one example, a hammered bronze cup of Assyrian type decorated with a double lion's head (Colour plate II*c*).

There is, of course, a risk that the difference in the state of exploration on Chios and Samos may produce arbitrary results that do not do justice to the historical situation. It is true that the Heraeum was no Panhellenic sanctuary but it was nonetheless of far more than local importance, and in any case of greater significance than the sanctuaries of Kato Phana and Emporio. The wealth of Oriental votives in the Heraeum could thus be ascribed to its international fame, rather than imply any unusual historical situation. And it may be that the sanctuary on Chios with similar oriental votives has yet to be found. On the other hand, the body of material from Kato Phana and Emporio is by no means only of local origin. Moreover it is remarkable that on these Chian sites the faience objects and the Cypriote terracotta and limestone figures are not accompanied by oriental ivories[11] or the tridacna shells[12] so well represented on Samos.

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[7] *Greek Emporio* 241 pl. 95 f. Cf. K. Kourouniotis, *ADelt* 1 (1915) 79 fig. 17; W. Lamb, *BSA* 35 (1934/5) 155 f. pl. 33. 6–8; V. Webb, *Archaic Greek Faience* (Warminster 1978) Index s.v.; G. Hölbl, *ÖJh* 54 (1983) 1 ff., 7 ff.

[8] Webb, loc. cit.

[9] U. Jantzen, *Samos* VIII (1972) 5 ff. pls. 1 ff.

[10] See nn. 2, 9, 11. On eastern seals from Chios, J. Boardman, *JdI* 81 (1966) 30.

Other interesting differences can be observed, for instance in the amount of pottery imported into Chios and Samos from the Greek mainland. As Boardman has observed, no Laconian pottery whatsoever has been found on Chios.[13] In contrast, Samos is the principal finding-place for this ware.[14] Attic black-figure is very rare on Chios;[15] on Samos it is common and of high quality.[16] The same holds true for Corinthian pottery,[17] and during the recent excavations a number of Protocorinthian aryballoi have been unearthed. Ionian 'Fikellura' pottery seems hardly represented on Chios, while it is particularly common on Samos, and it can be reasonably argued that at least some of these vessels were manufactured in Samian workshops.[18] For unknown reasons the Chiotes apparently renounced the most important and generally desired classes of pottery from other Greek centres and almost without exception preferred their locally produced vessels.

So far we have mainly been able to demonstrate the distinct and conspicuous divergences in the archaeological record from the two islands during the Archaic period. The mention of 'Fikellura' pottery already broaches the question of what direct exchange of locally produced goods there was between them. Can we point to Samian imports on Chios and to Chian on Samos? And how extensive might such an exchange have been? It can immediately be said that such direct contacts are extremely rare to judge from the archaeological evidence. I mention the instances known to me:

In the sanctuary of Apollo Phanaios, Kourouniotis and Lamb found two bronze griffin protomes (Figs. 2, 3).[19] Together with an ear of a third from Emporio[20] these so far constitute the sole evidence for bronze griffin cauldrons on Chios. As Jantzen already noted,[21] the protomes from Phanai are very closely related to the late group of Samian griffin protomes. A large number of griffins (far more than 100) have been found on Samos, and unfinished pieces show that they certainly originated in Samian workshops. Again and again excavations have yielded new griffins: the early hammered examples, magnificent cast pieces, and especially the relatively uniform smaller versions from the late seventh and early sixth centuries BC. The isolated griffins on Chios belong to this last group and it is, in my opinion, probable that they were manufactured in the important specialist workshops on Samos. The lead griffin protomes from the Athena temple at Emporio,[22] which, according to Boardman, belonged to the cult-statue[23] and probably were of local workmanship, are in any case typologically quite different. Apart from

[11] B. Freyer-Schauenburg, *Elfenbeine aus dem samischen Heraion* (Hamburg 1966) 51 ff. pls. 12 ff.

[12] R. A. Stucky, *Dedalo* 10 (1974) 42 ff. nos. 51 ff.; J. Boessneck and A. von den Driesch, *AM* 98 (1983) 22 ff.

[13] Boardman, *BSA* 51 (1956) 60.

[14] Cf. B. B. Shefton, *BSA* 49 (1954) 299 ff.; C. M. Stibbe, *Lakonische Vasenmaler des 6. Jhs. v. Chr.* (Amsterdam 1972) 292 and *passim.*

[15] *Greek Emporio* 155.

[16] Publication by G. Schmidt has been long in preparation.

[17] Boardman, *BSA* 51 (1956) 60; *Greek Emporio* 153; cf. H. Walter, *AM* 74 (1959) 57 ff.; A. Furtwängler, *AM* 95 (1980) 183 f.

[18] E. Walter-Karydi, *Samos* VI. 1 (1973) 2 ff., 33 pls. 2 ff. Clay analysis, however, seems to point to Miletus as a major production centre for Fikellura pottery. Cf. preliminary remarks by P. Dupont, *Dacia* 27 (1983) 19 ff.

[19] W. Lamb, *BSA* 35 (1934/5) 148 pl. 31. 38; Kourouniotis, op. cit. (n. 7), 77 fig. 13.

[20] *Greek Emporio* 224 f. pl. 93. 390.

[21] U. Jantzen, *Griechische Greifenkessel* (Berlin 1955) 75, 78 no. 137, 180.

[22] *Greek Emporio* 26 ff., 203 pls. 84 f. no. 166.

[23] Cf. now also M. J. Mellink in K. de Vries (ed.), *From Athens to Gordion* (Memorial Symposium for Rodney S. Young, 1975; Philadelphia 1980) 93 figs. 5, 6.

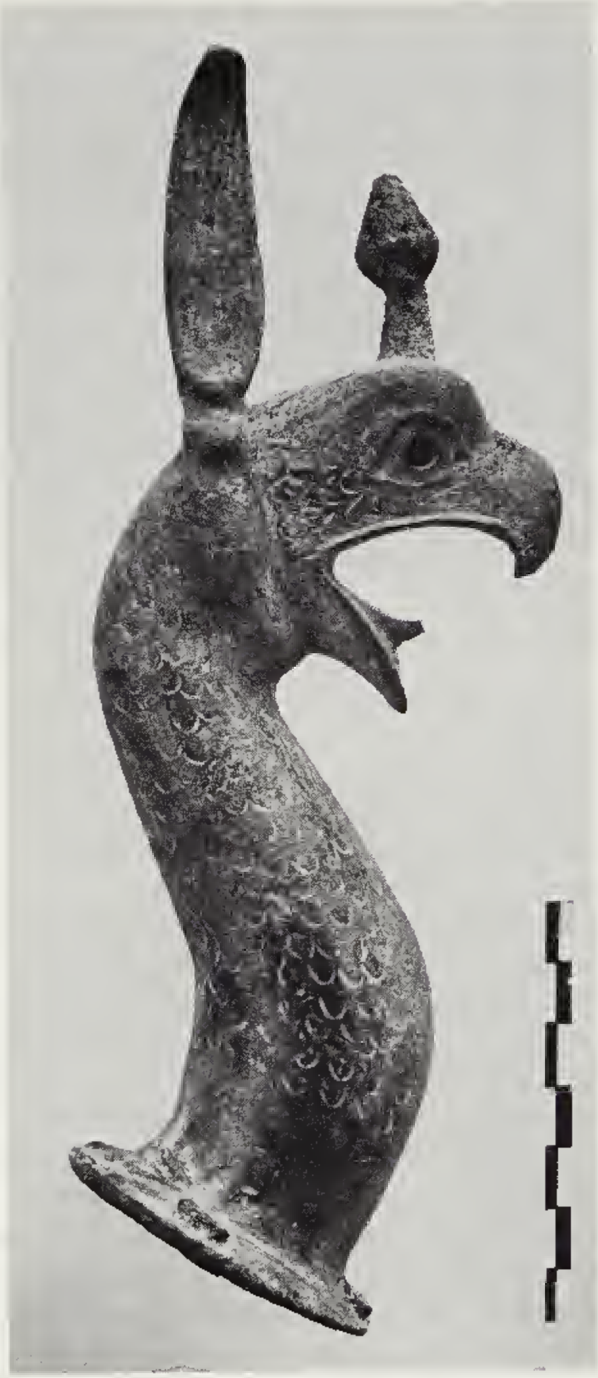

Fig. 2. Bronze griffin protome from Phanai.

these two or three griffins I find nothing on Chios that, with reasonable certainty, can be brought into connection with Archaic Samos.

Evidence for movement in the other direction is equally disappointing. The well-known Chian pottery, so well represented, for instance, on Aegina and at Tocra, which reached Italy and the Black Sea, hardly occurs on Samos. Except for the few sherds published by E. Walter-Karydi[24] only two additional fragments have been found in

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[24] Walter-Karydi, op. cit. (n. 18), pl. 98.

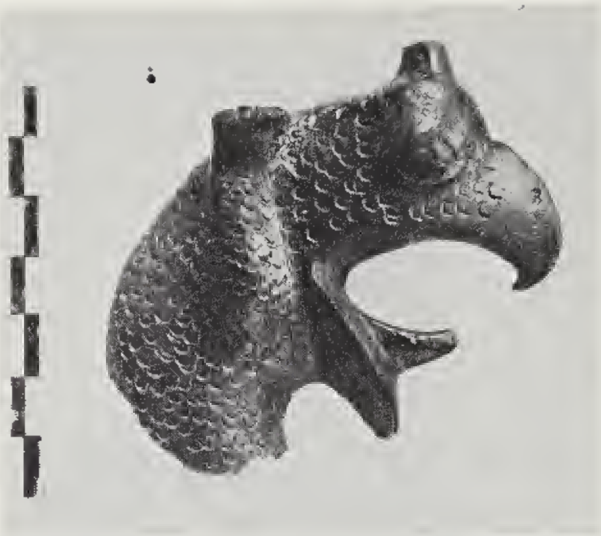

Fig. 3. Head of a bronze griffin protome from Phanai.

recent years. One comes from a chalice of the familiar Chian type with red and white lotus decoration on the black interior; the other (Fig. 4) is from the handle zone of a seventh-century skyphos-chalice, of a shape similar to the famous pieces in Würzburg.[25] The latter is interesting since it represents a new decorative scheme for the shape, being, to my knowledge, the only example of a pictorial handle zone, with an animal frieze instead of the usual pattern.

It is possible that there are one or two Chian pieces among the terracottas, bronzes, etc., found on Samos which have not as yet been recognized, but these cannot be many. And one should not overlook the fact that in Samos there is much Corinthian, Attic, and Laconian pottery, but hardly any Chian although this has a wide distribution elsewhere. This is all the more striking since other neighbours of Chios, on the coast of Asia Minor, imported Chian ware. At Erythrae and Pitane, for example, there is such a quantity that it has been suggested that Erythrae itself was one of the centres of production.[26]

In pottery then, the very close contacts between Chios and the cities of Asia Minor on the opposite coast make even clearer Samos' very different record in this respect. It is no accident that Herodotus' remark, mentioned above in another context, that Chios and Erythrae had the same dialect but Samos had its own, corresponds closely with this observation.

Granted that direct contacts were very limited, as the archaeological record shows, can we postulate some mutual influence? This is, of course, a difficult matter, because Chios and Samos belong to the same Ionian cultural orbit, which means that they share certain basic typological art forms (as Ionic capitals, animal friezes, certain ornaments). In addition, it is difficult to determine in some categories such as bronzes, terracottas, or ceramics, what is specifically Chian and what is Samian. In these circumstances I see the

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[25] E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg* (Munich 1932) nos. 128–9, pls. 13–14; Walter-Karydi, op. cit., 68 pl. 91. 742–3. On the form of the painted handle-attachments cf. *Greek Emporio* 120 pl. 35. 372.

[26] C. Bayburtluoğlu, in *Les Céramiques de la Grèce de l'Est et leur diffusion en Occident* (Centre Jean Berard, Naples 1976; Paris/Naples 1978) 27 ff.

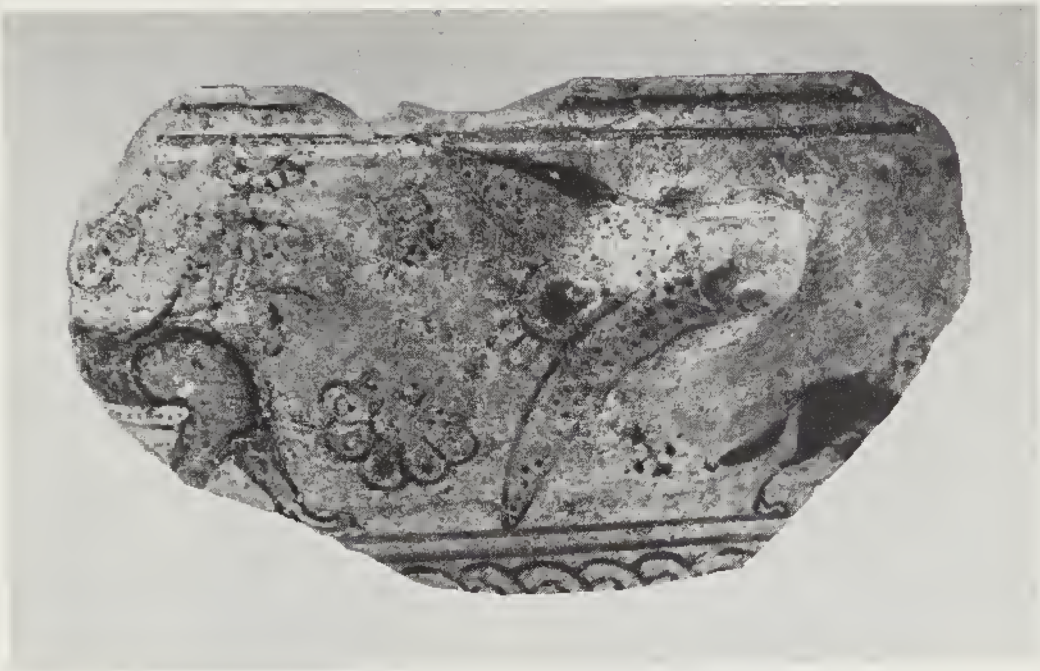

Fig. 4. Fragment of a Chian skyphos from
the Samian Heraeum.

only two areas in which possible mutual influence can be discerned or postulated. In both cases decisive stylistic—and so basic—differences can also be observed.

I start with architecture, where I mainly repeat what Boardman discussed at greater length in 1959.[27] The earliest example of monumental Ionic columnar architecture is the first dipteros in the Heraeum of Samos, built about 570–560 BC. Apart from some fragments of the column shafts only limestone column bases are preserved, in part built into the foundations of the second dipteros of the late Archaic period.[28] It can hardly be doubted that the earliest limestone bases of the Apollo temple at Phanai were based on the Samian prototypes.[29] In the use of double fillets between the convex and concave mouldings they are already close to the bases of the second Samian dipteros.[30] These early bases at Phanai constitute the only direct link with Samian architecture. The marble bases of another, later temple at Phanai, with their deep flutings and strong double astragals, are much closer to the Artemisium of Ephesus than to Samos.[31]

Otherwise what strikes the eye are the differences in the architectural idioms of the island. Leaf ornaments like an unpublished piece in the museum at Chios (inv. 1877), or others at Kato Phana and Emporio,[32] have no parallels whatsoever on Samos. This element points rather to the especially close contacts between Chian and north Ionian architecture: similar architectural ornament is met at Smyrna and Phocaea, for example, and from Aeolic Lesbos.[33] From the late sixth century on there developed in Chios a distinctive Chian school of architectural decoration, characterized by rich and original variations on the Ionic egg-and-dart motif, and by the peculiar anta-bases in the form of lions' paws.[34] There is nothing comparable in the more conservative Samian architecture, and architectural contacts between Chios and Samos appear to be confined to the earliest limestone bases from Kato Phana.

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[27] Boardman, *AntJ* 39 (1959) 170 ff.

[28] H. Johannes, *AM* 62 (1937) 13 ff.

[29] Boardman, op. cit. (n. 27) 174 fig. 1*a*, *b*.

[30] Ibid. 176 fig. 2*b*.

[31] Ibid. 183, nos. 34–5, figs. 1*c*, 2*c*.

[32] Ibid. 174 no. 14, 176 f. pl. 26; *Greek Emporio* 67 f. pl. 17. 49.

[33] Akurgal, op. cit. (n. 6) 83 ff. pls. 138 ff., 175 f.; id., *Die Kunst Anatoliens* (Berlin 1961) 284 figs. 252 f.; cf. *Greek Emporio* 68.

Another case of influence, this time passing in the opposite direction, seems to me to appear in ceramics. The case I treat here is a very special and isolated one. The white or light slip on which figures or ornaments are painted is characteristic of good Chian pottery. Such a slip is found on a sherd from the Samian Heraeum decorated with dancing women, which has been called Chian by Walter-Karydi for this reason.[35] In 1977 we found another, larger piece belonging to the same vase (Colour plate III). Apparently it was a hydria of unusual, lekythos-like form.[36] Pipers in long chitons and dancing women are depicted in two friezes. The lower part of the base was decorated with multi-coloured lotus-flowers, and palmettes were painted under the horizontal handles. The context is dated to 590/580 BC. There are no direct parallels in East Ionian ceramics either for the form of the vase or for its decoration. As A. Furtwängler has shown,[37] the form of the women's dress with the veil tucked into the belt and the trailing hem of the chiton is the same as that of the Samian 'Hera' of Cheramyes. The closest parallels for the hairstyle and the flowing outlines can be found in Samian terracotta sculpture (Fig. 5),[38] and the clay is apparently also Samian. It is highly probable, then, that the vessel was made on Samos, although the technique is not Samian. The white slip and the vivid red and black are typically Chian, as well as the brown and yellow tones, produced by thinned paint. Apparently we are dealing with the attempt of a Samian vase-painter to imitate the popular and successful Chian technique. This original and innovative painter seems to be one of the few Samians ever interested in Chian art!

Apart from these few and isolated examples we are confronted with striking absence of contacts, relations, or common traits in the cultures of the two islands in the Archaic period. This picture is confirmed by observation of characteristic stylistic features such as have already been noted in the architecture. Here I name only a few, without making detailed comparisons.

Look again at the Samian vessel with the pipers and dancers. The style of the figures is defined by flowing contours, soft and rounded forms, and the absence of any angularity. Details are not rendered by incision but in fine brush strokes which emphasize even more the soft, flowing character. If we compare this with Chian work of approximately the same period, important differences become obvious: for example, on the Athena plate from Emporio[39] which also does without incision. Here we have straight contours, emphasized and almost rectangular, with a very careful and dense arrangement of the dress ornament. The same is apparent, in a slightly coarser form and accentuated by incision, on another fragment from Emporio,[40] which is also thematically related to the Samian piece since it depicts dancers and a piper (Fig. 6). Here the sharp angle of the waist is fundamentally different from that of the Samian figures. Finally, a large Chian chalice in the Grand Style from Aegina with a mythical representation of a fight and standing figures (Fig. 7),[41] on which we see again a predilection for straight lines, precise

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[34] Boardman, op. cit. (n. 27), 177 ff., 193 ff. pls. 29 ff., 33; *Greek Emporio* 74 ff. figs. 39, 40, 42 pl. 15, 17.

[35] Walter-Karydi, *Samos* VI. 1 (1973) no. 845 pl. 98.

[36] Furtwängler, op. cit. (n. 17) 188 ff. pls. 54 f. Beil. 1.

[37] Ibid. 190 ff.

[38] D. Ohly, *AM* 66 (1941) 37 ff. pl. 35.

[39] *Greek Emporio* 23, 163 pl. 60. 785; Walter-Karydi, op. cit. pl. 96. 720.

[40] *Greek Emporio* 158, 161 pl. 59. 748.

[41] D. Williams, *AA* 1983, 156 ff. figs. 1 ff.

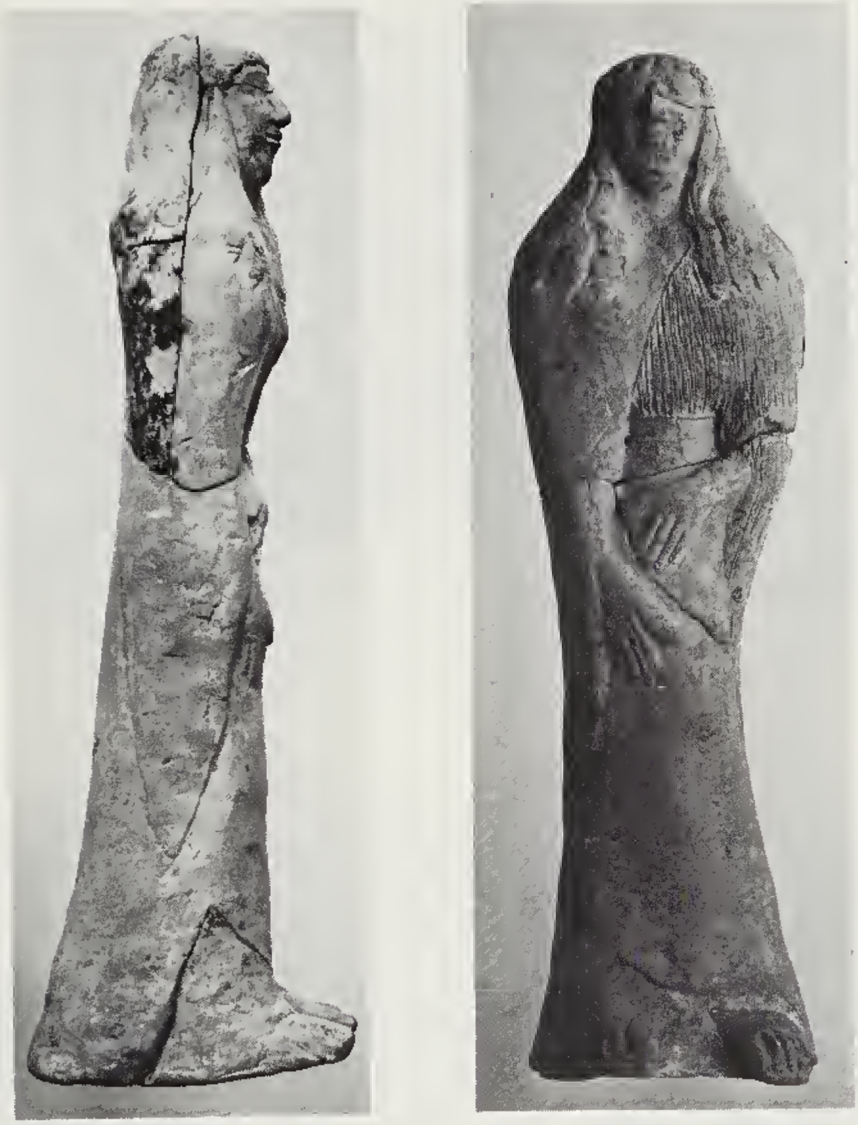

Fig. 5. Terracotta statuette from the Samian Heraeum.

angles, and a fine linear arrangement of areas. I think these examples are sufficient to make clear the fundamental stylistic differences,[42] and similar distinctions can also perhaps be demonstrated by the following examples.

From the excavations of Kourouniotis at Phanai comes a cast bronze protome of a horse (Fig. 8).[43] It originally decorated the upper rim of a rod tripod for a cauldron, as we can see from other, better preserved, examples elsewhere. The piece is 11 cm high and can be dated in the first half of the sixth century, probably from a Chian workshop. The decoration of the neckband is the same as that often seen on Chian vases. The frieze of hanging tassels also points to the north Ionian area, as is shown by comparison with the chariot-horses from a later relief from Cyzicus.[44] Stylistic characteristics of the Chian

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[42] Cf. also the fragment of a relief vase from Chios, N. Kontoleon, *AE* 1969, 217 pl. 58b. See below, p. 277 Fig. 2.

[43] K. Kourouniotis, *ADelt* 2 (1916) 209 fig. 29.

[44] E. Akurgal, *Die Kunst Anatoliens* (Berlin 1961) fig. 207.

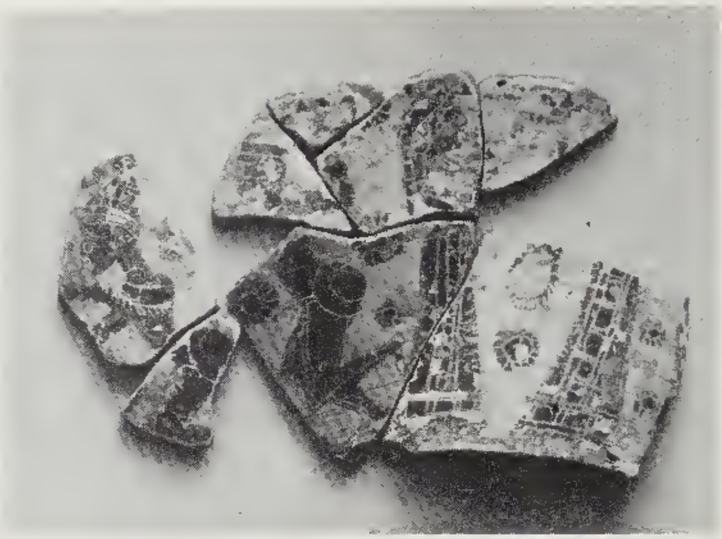

Fig. 6. Fragments of a Chian chalice with dancers from Emporio.

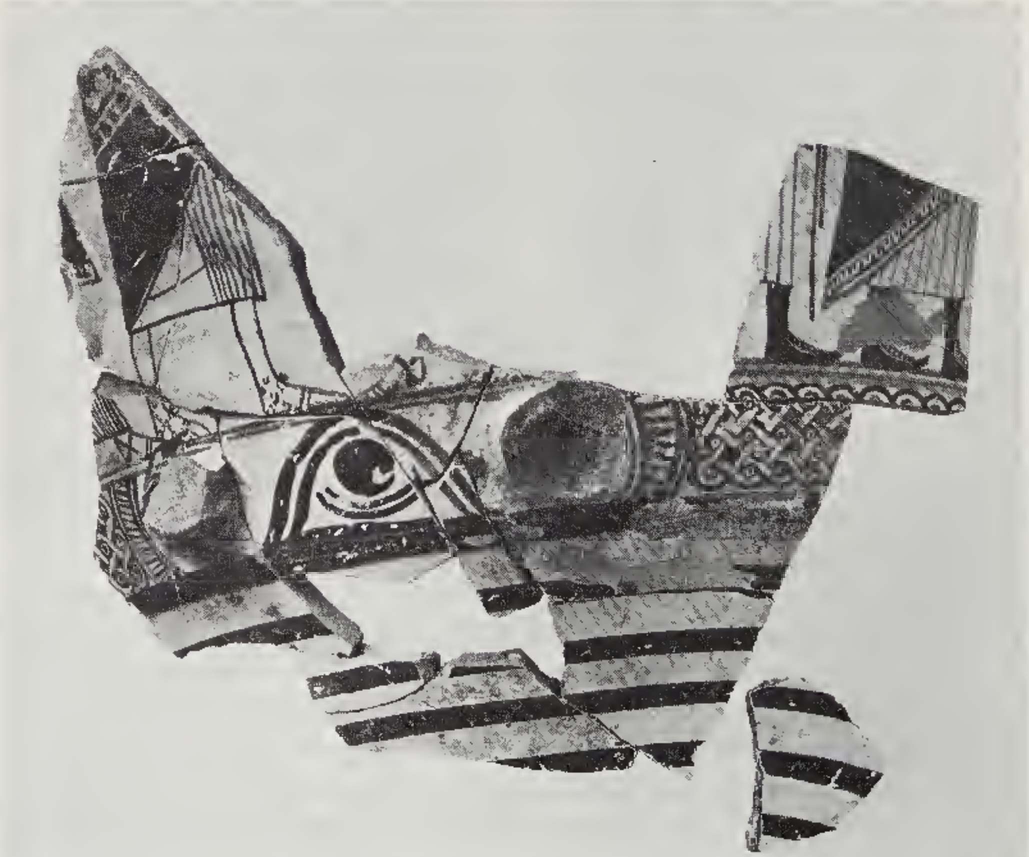

Fig. 7. Fragments of a Chian chalice from Aegina.

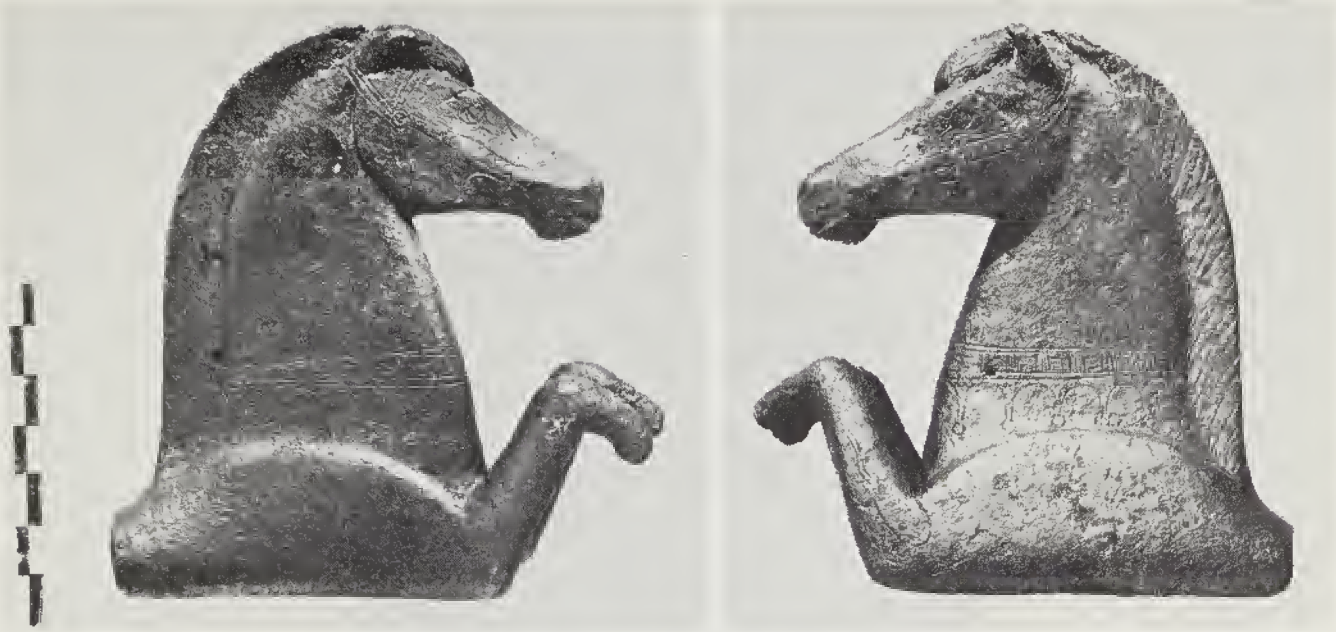

Fig. 8. Bronze horse protome from Phanai.

protome are its simple geometric contours, straight lines, regular, as if compass-drawn curves, and emphasized angles; simple surfaces with hardly any plasticity. Details, such as the eye, the hair of the short mane, the harness and the muscles of the legs, are incised in fine geometric lines on the surface of the bronze.

In Samos several tripod-protomes of this kind have been found.[45] They show a different horse type with long hanging mane and can serve as good examples of Samian workmanship. There is a small example of relatively coarse execution, now in Berlin, and another found in the Heraeum as recently as 1983 (Fig. 9). It is the same size as the protome from Phanai, and from the photograph of its front one can easily see that it is of comparable quality. The contours of the Samian horses are tenser, defined by S-shaped curves, and the plasticity of the surface is more emphasized. Details of the head are rendered plastically and not just by incision, while the rendering of the mane emphasizes the movement of the neck. The contrast is similar to that observed in the painted figures: in Chios, straight lines, rectilinear ornament; in Samos, more flowing contours and a stronger emphasis on plasticity. The Chian figures appear more abstract than the Samian.

It would be satisfying to be able to draw similar comparisons in large-scale sculpture, since Chian sculpture was famous through the work of masters such as Mikkiades, Archermos, Bupalos, and Athenis. However, the attribution of individual pieces from Delos and Athens to the Chian school is not without problems[46] and cannot here be used as a basis for discussion. And in Chios itself there have so far been found only a few fragments of Archaic sculpture. Nevertheless, some general observations are possible even about these few fragments, and the results are similar to those already deduced. We begin with the famous torsos of the two korai in Chios Museum (Figs. 10, 11), which

[45] Jantzen, op. cit. (n. 21) 87 ff. pl. 60. 1–2.

[46] G. Lippold, *Die griechische Plastik* (Munich 1950) 62 f.; cf. *Greek Emporio* 183; P. Scherrer, *ÖJh* 54 (1983) 19 ff., 25.

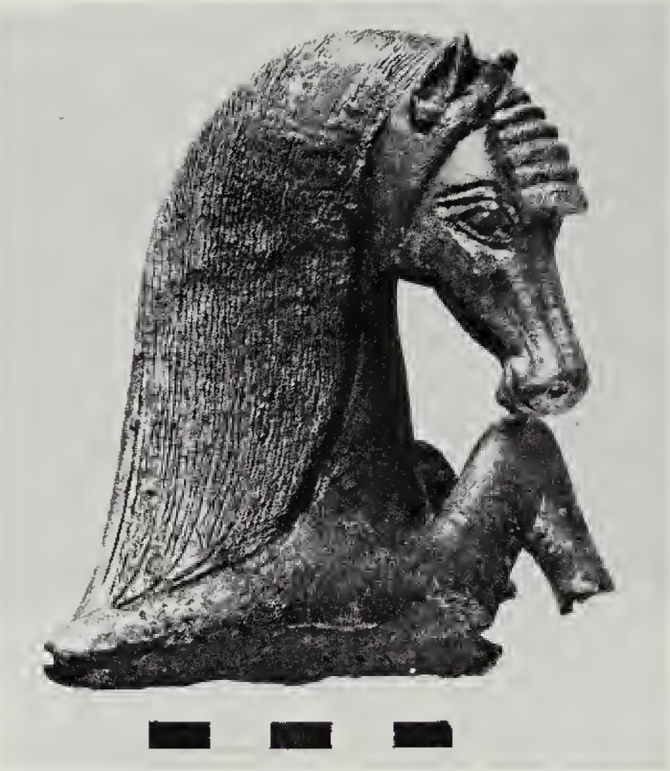

Fig. 9. Bronze horse protome from the Samian Heraeum.

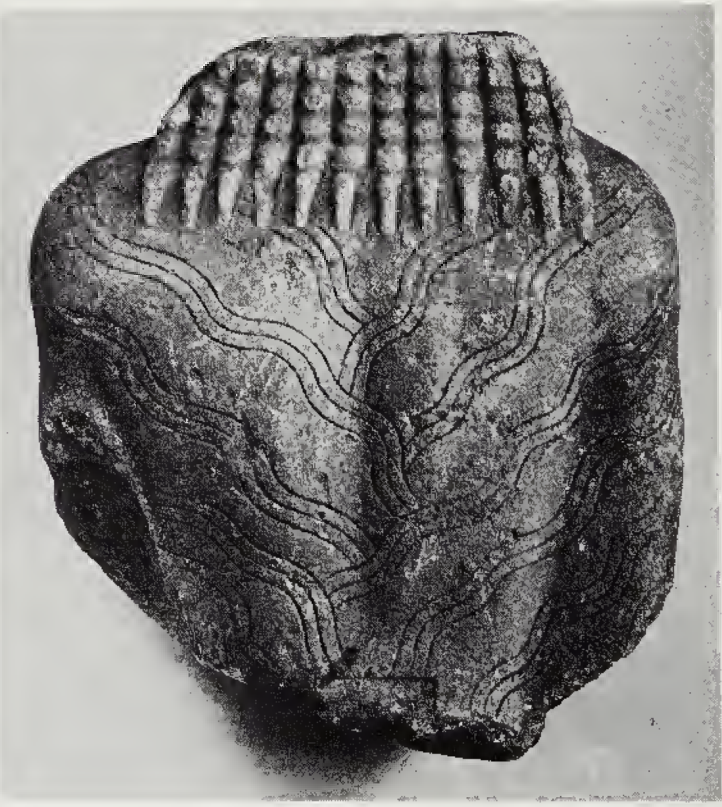

Fig. 10. Torso of an Archaic kore. Chios Museum inv. 225.

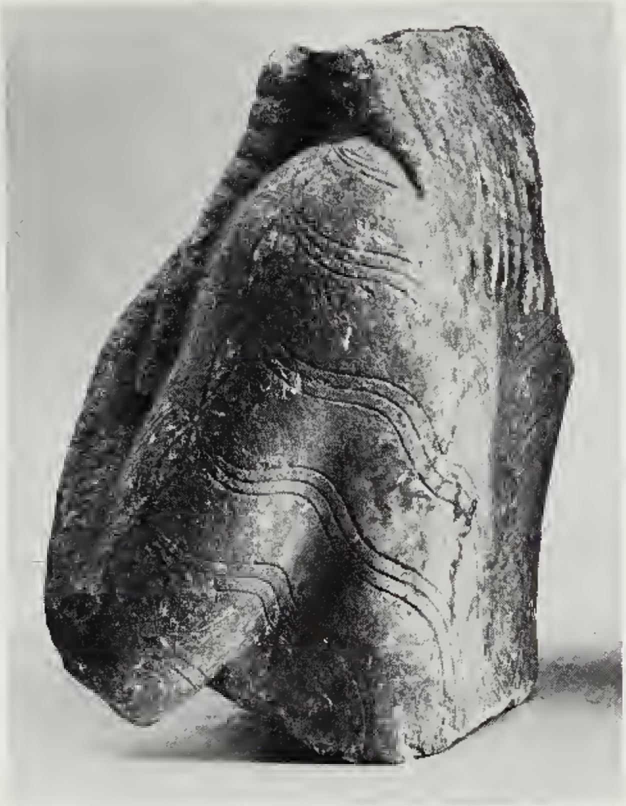

Fig. 11. Torso of an Archaic kore. Chios Museum inv. 226.

have been dated by Boardman (correctly in my opinion) to the end of the first quarter of the sixth century.[47] The pictures make clear that the basic form of the body is somewhat rectangular with characteristic straight edges outlining the back. The magnificent pattern of folds on the chiton is engraved on the surface without any plasticity. It covers the form of the body in a very abstract fashion, virtually without following it or underlining it. It is also characteristic that the gaping openings of the seams between the buttons on the arm are not outlined by a round contour, as nature would require, but take the form of a chain of rhomboids.

If we compare this with the Samian figure dedicated by Cheramyes (Fig. 12),[48] which is not far removed in time from the Chian torsos, we then observe the quite different Samian characteristics: a basically rounded body without angular edges, flowing contours, and plastically rendered folds which follow the movement of the body, to accentuate and underline it. In sum, there is stronger abstraction and ornamented surface in the Chian work; more flowing and plastically rendered forms in the Samian.

That these are not isolated cases but reflect basic peculiarities of Chian and Samian sculpture can be shown also by another comparison which I take from Boardman's publication of Emporio. From Metochi in Chios comes a fragment of the torso of a

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[47] *Antike Plastik* I (1962) 43 ff. pls. 38 ff.

[48] Lippold, op. cit. 56; B. Freyer-Schauenburg, *Samos* XI (1974) 21 ff. pls. 5, 6.

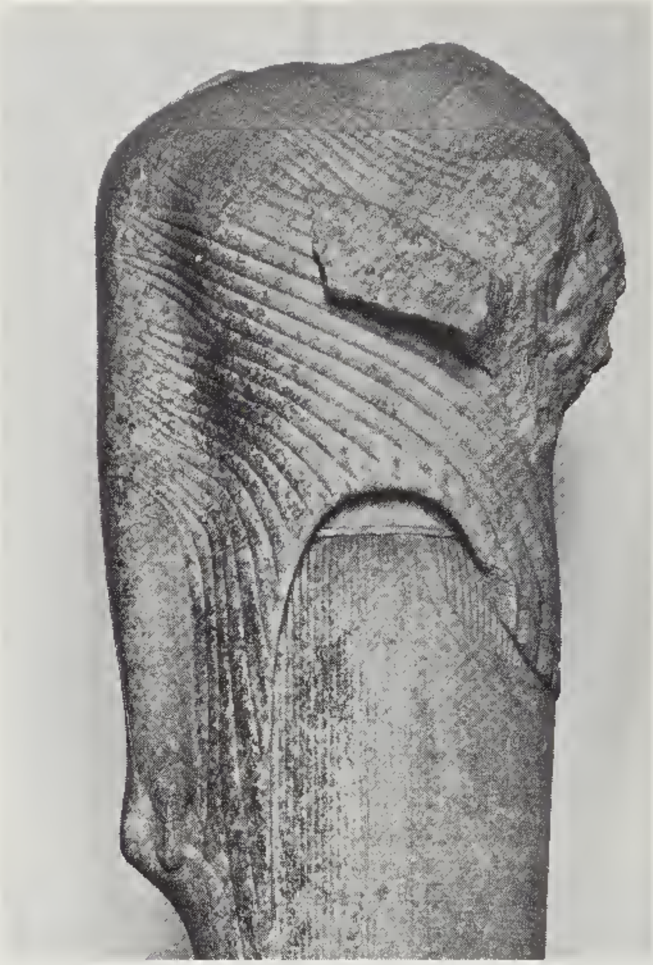

Fig. 12. The kore of Cheramyes. Paris, Louvre Museum.

marble kore (Fig. 13).[49] Only part of the chiton which falls over the belt, and some folds of the skirt, are preserved. Although we are dealing with a relatively small part of the whole figure, some stylistic features are quite clear and striking. The side contour of the torso is a perfectly straight line. The overfall of the chiton is rendered in a sharp line which is more graphic than plastic. The rounding of the torso forms a swelling spherical surface with no plastic articulation. On this almost geometrical vaulted surface the dress-folds are rendered in fine wavy lines like pure ornament. Their non-plastic character is further emphasized by the fact that their line does not affect in any way the contour of the overfall.

A Samian kore of approximately the same period, the third quarter of the sixth century, has a completely different character (Fig. 14).[50] The contours are moving, with the folds accompanying the movement of the body, and the overfall of the chiton presents a strong and fluent form composed of the round ends of the folds.

In carved ornament too the same differences can be observed, as the following comparison demonstrates. The fine anthemion stele in Chios (Fig. 15) is carved in a

[49] *Greek Emporio* 182 f. pl. 69. 7.

[50] Freyer-Schauenburg, op. cit. 43 f. no. 20 pl. 11.

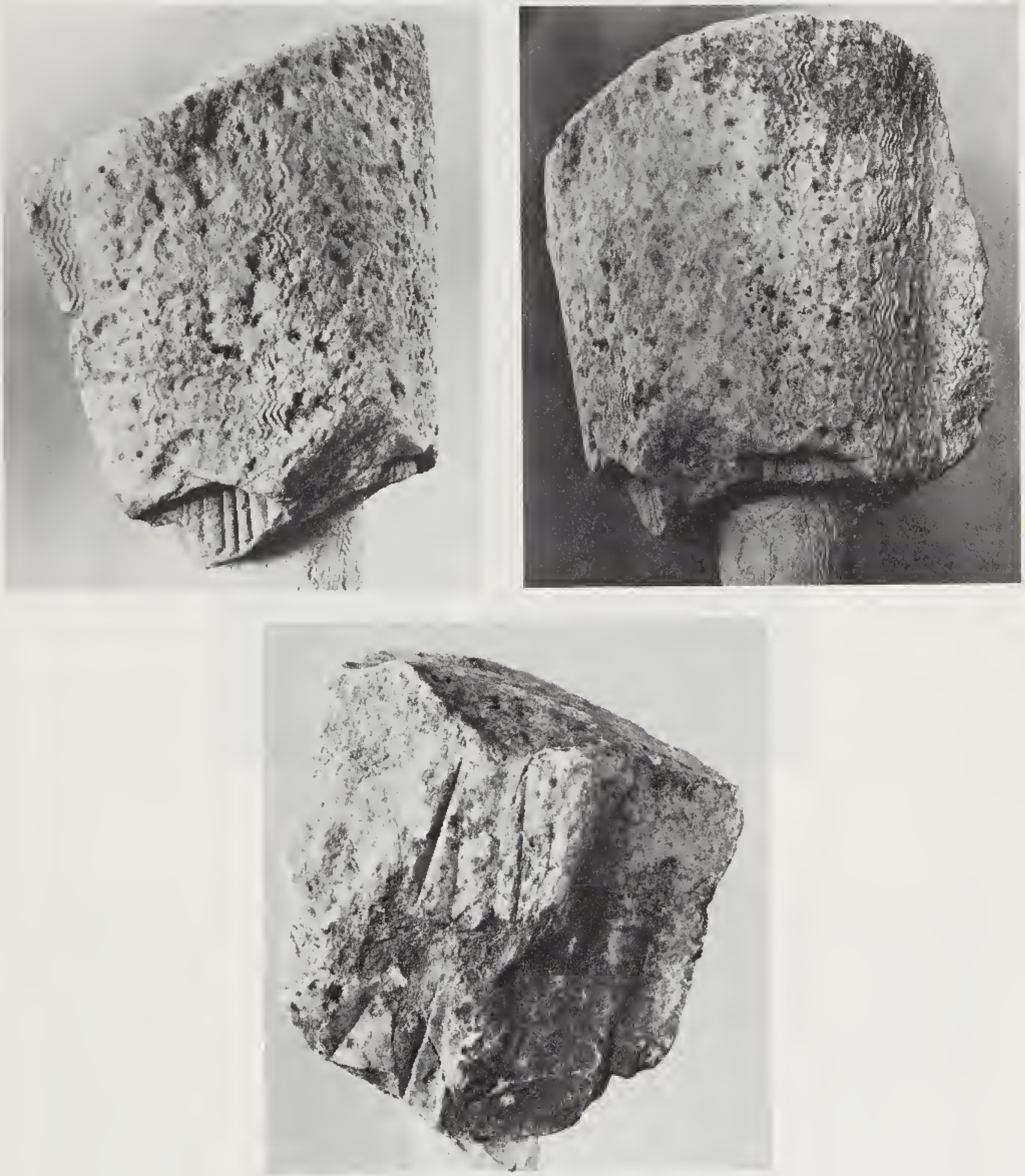

Fig. 13. Fragment of a kore from Metochi, Chios.

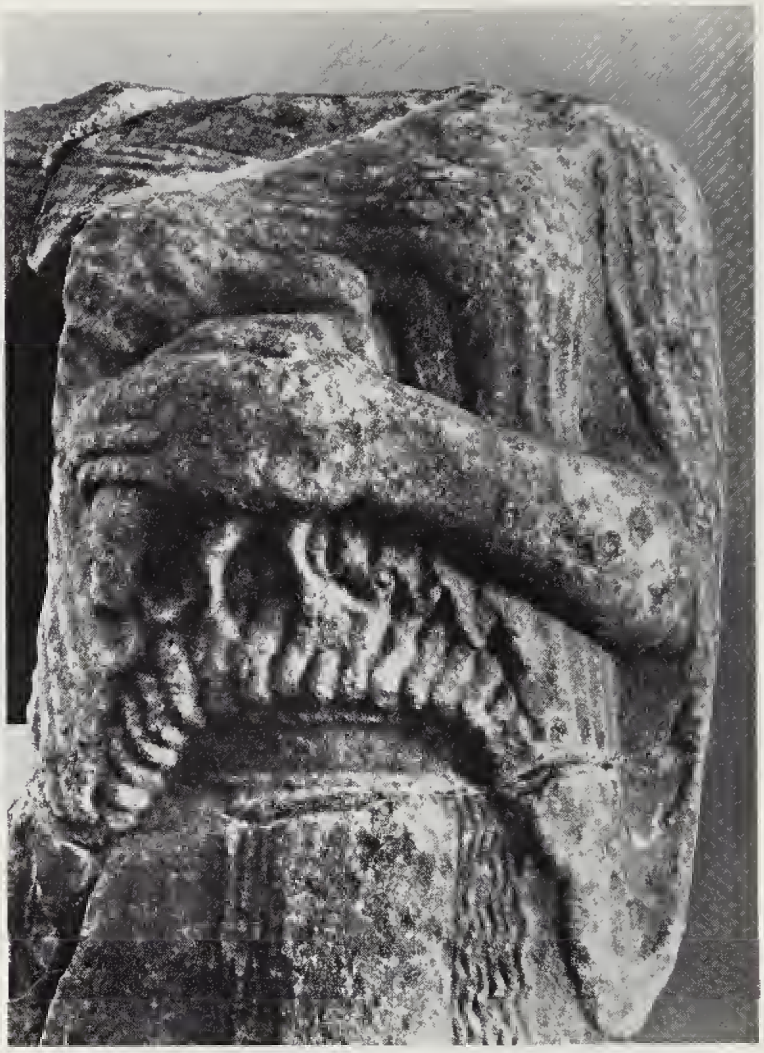

Fig. 14. Kore from the Samian Heraeum.

characteristic local sandstone of brownish colour and is certainly Chian.[51] It came from a cemetery and seems, from the roughly cut date between the volute, to have been reused in a house in 1850. Its date can be approximately inferred from comparison with Samian architectural decoration. The outline of the palmette is no longer circular as on the antefixes of the older dipteros of Hera of the second quarter of the sixth century,[52] but is somewhat raised at the centre; on the other hand it has not yet attained the elongated shape of the ridge-tiles on the 'Südbau' in the third quarter of the century.[53] The leaf-tips between the broad palmette leaves are, however, closer to the 'Südbau' antefixes, so a date for the Chian stele in the 540s seems plausible. The graphic character of the Chian anthemion stands in stark contrast with the strong plasticity of volutes and palmettes on Samian antefixes. The curving profile of leaves and volute channel is answered in Chios by the slight recessing of their borders, which strongly emphasizes the linear outlines.

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[51] N. Kontoleon, *AE* 1938, 101–4 fig. 1.

[52] E. Buschor, *AM* 55 (1930) 90 Beil. 23; *AM* 72 (1957) Beil. 1, 2.

[53] Buschor, op. cit. 17 Beil. 15; O. Ziegenhaus, *AM* 72 (1957) 72–3 fig. 1 Beil. 92–3.

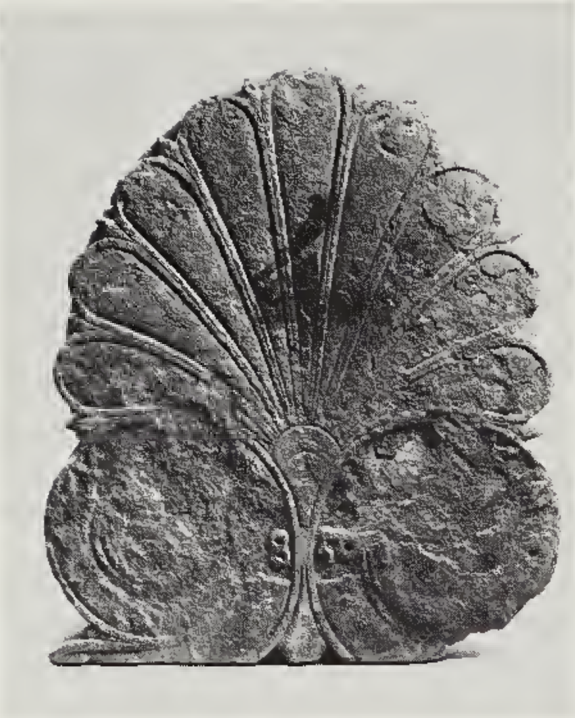

Fig. 15. Anthemion stele from Chios.

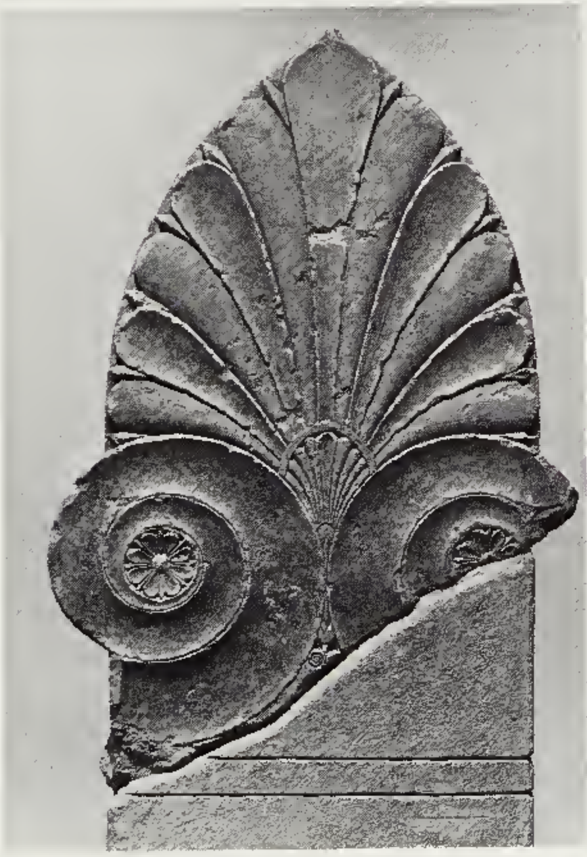

Fig. 16. Anthemion stele from Samos.

This non-plastic style of carving, which concentrates rather on surface decoration, is a persistent Chian feature which becomes the more apparent when placed beside a somewhat later Samian stele-anthemion (Fig. 16),[54] where the different artistic principle is well displayed by the alternating convex and concave forms.

So far as we can see, then, there are important differences between the sculptural schools of Chios and Samos. The examples discussed simply show that on Samos round, organically fluent forms with strong plasticity prevail, whereas on Chios the character of the sculpture is defined by stereometrically simplified forms and an evident fondness for graphic decoration of the surfaces. It may be that it is exactly this 'ornamental' approach, the predilection for fine and precise decoration of the surface, which gave the Chian school its special reputation.

Perhaps it is also no accident but related to the obvious differences between the two schools, that we have from Chios until now only draped statues. The kouros, a pure plastic form without many possibilities for ornament, is, on the other hand, represented by many examples in Samos but not at all in Chios.

In conclusion we may observe that there are surprisingly few common features between Samos and Chios in the Archaic period, whereas there are striking differences. We see that Chios had more intense connections with northern Ionia, while Samos had stronger links with Miletus and southern Ionia. Thus, Herodotus' remark about language is confirmed by the archaeological record: in the realm of art too the islands spoke different dialects.

I wish to thank Elias Tsirivakos and Aris Tsaravopoulos (Mytilene Ephorate of Antiquities), Martha Ohly, and John Boardman, for photographs and permission to publish. Figs. 1, 6 are from photographs by J. Boardman; Fig. 12 from Hirmer Verlag; colour plates II, III by the author; the other Figs. by G. Hellner (German Archaeological Institute, Athens).

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[54] E. Buschor, *AM* 58 (1933) 31 ff. Beil. 12. 2 (cf. Beil. 11–12). Freyer-Schauenburg, op. cit. (n. 48) no. 93 pl. 73 (cf. nos. 91–6, pls. 72 ff.).

CHIOS AND DELPHI

P. AMANDRY

I. RELIGION

The Altar of Apollo Pythios

THE sanctuary of Apollo Pythios at Delphi was, according to Pindar, the 'common hearth of Hellas'. No other sanctuary had such a clearly defined panhellenic character. All regions of the Greek world were represented by one or more dedications. In the course of the second century AD Pausanias describes or mentions a fair number of those which could be seen although he neglects to mention others. Herodotus in the fifth century and Plutarch 500 years later, mention a few incidentally in the course of their historical and philosophical works. The inscriptions which have been discovered by excavation have revealed the existence of others not mentioned by any ancient writer.

In the list, obviously incomplete, of dedications, the Greeks of the diaspora to all the shores of the Mediterranean are very well represented: in the west, Massalia, the colonies of the Lipari islands and the Etruscan ports of Caere and Spina, Tarentum, Syracuse; in the south, Cyrene; in the north, Potidaea; in the east, Clazomenae and Cnidus. Their dedications generally took the form of statues or small chapels (Treasuries), sometimes tripods.

But the Chiotes stood apart from all other people and cities of the Greek world by the nature of the monument which they dedicated to Apollo: the large altar on which sacrifices were performed in front of the god's temple. This monument was, by its very nature, a unique offering in the whole Delphic sanctuary. Herodotus indicated the name of the dedicators incidentally in his account of the famous hetaera of Naucratis, Rhodopis. From a tithe of the fortune (*μεγάλα χρήματα*) which she earned from exercising her profession, she caused to be made a considerable number of iron spits which she sent to Delphi as an offering to Apollo. They could be seen at the time of Herodotus, piled behind the altar which the Chiotes dedicated before the temple itself (*ὄπισθε μὲν τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸν Χῖοι ἀνέθεσαν, ἀντίον δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νηοῦ*: 2. 135. 4).

The altar was not the only offering of the Chiotes at Delphi. On two decrees of the Amphictionic League of the third century BC in honour of the *ἱερομνήμονες* of Chios, Polyarchides son of Hermarchos and Leochides son of Anaxiades (on these decrees and similar ones, see below, p. 221), we read, among other considerations 'because he took care of the maintenance of the offerings, the altar and all others, made by the city of Chios' (*ἐπειδὴ . . . ἐπεμελήθη δὲ τᾶς θεραπείας τῶν ἀναθημάτων, τοῦ τε βωμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ὧν ἀνέθηκεν ἁ πόλις ἁ Χίων*). We do not know the nature of the other offerings, but the actual wording of the decree shows that they were not comparable in importance to the altar.

The remains of the monument were identified as soon as they were discovered, in 1893, during the excavations of the sanctuary by the French School[1] which had begun the previous year: the base appeared, composed of four courses of grey limestone and one of white marble on whose south side was engraved an inscription: 'The Delphians gave *προμαντεία* to the Chiotes' (*Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Χίοις προμαντείην*: Fig. 1). On that base there stood, still in place, a full course of orthostates in black stone and three orthostates of the same material, part of the second course, as well as part of the massive core for which the orthostates were the revetment.[2] A certain number of blocks belonging to the altar were found near by, among them a block from the cornice in white marble, broken in three pieces, which bore the dedication: 'The Chiotes (gave) the altar to Apollo' (*Χῖοι Ἀπόλλωνι τὸν βωμόν*: Figs. 2, 3).[3]

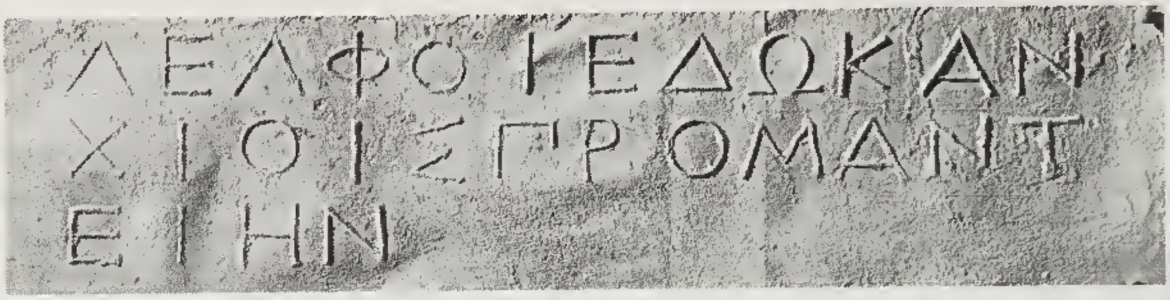
Fig. 1. Altar of Apollo at Delphi; decree awarding *προμαντεία* to the Chians (impression).

The altar remained standing until the abolition of Apollo's cult. About the fifth century AD it was still almost intact, since the Delphians had engraved on at least three of the blocks of the course with the dedicatory inscription dozens of crosses and other Christian symbols (Fig. 8), perhaps as a gesture of bravado towards the pagan cult.[4]

In modern times, the altar's east wall, alongside the Sacred Way, has been twice restored: partly, in 1920, by Joseph Replat, the architect of the French School in Athens, at the expense of the municipality of Chios;[5] and over its full length, in 1959, by the

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[1] Th. Homolle, *BCH* 17 (1893) 614; 20 (1896) 617–20.

[2] Since the altar was built on a steep slope neither the foundations nor the first two courses of orthostates were visible for all their length. At the north part of the monument the white marble and black stone give way to grey limestone. The black stone has been variously called marble and limestone, and its colour has been judged by some to be black, by others blue, light blue, dark blue, or blue-black. It is true that this stone, like many others, offers a different shade of colour when viewed in a fresh break or on a long-weathered surface, but no one has doubted its Chian origin. There is a stone of this type in Chios, in use to the present day and until recently quarried near Chios town at the place known, for this reason, as Latomi. But there are at Delphi various other blocks from different monuments in a black stone of unknown origin. Petrographic analysis will probably determine whether the altar blocks are of Chian stone.

[3] The dark colour of the wall was thus emphasized by the whiteness of the courses of marble above and below, in the foundation and at the cornice. On these experiments in polychromy in Chios see J. Boardman, *Greek Emporio* (London 1967) 82–3.

[4] *BCH* 105 (1981) 739–40.

[5] On 12 Mar. 1920 the Minister of Public Education in the Greek government informed the Director of the French School at Athens that the sum of 10,000 dr. had been deposited in a bank by the municipality of Chios in the name of the ephor of antiquities at Delphi, N. Pappadakis, for the restoration of the altar, and that this sum was held at the disposal of the French School.

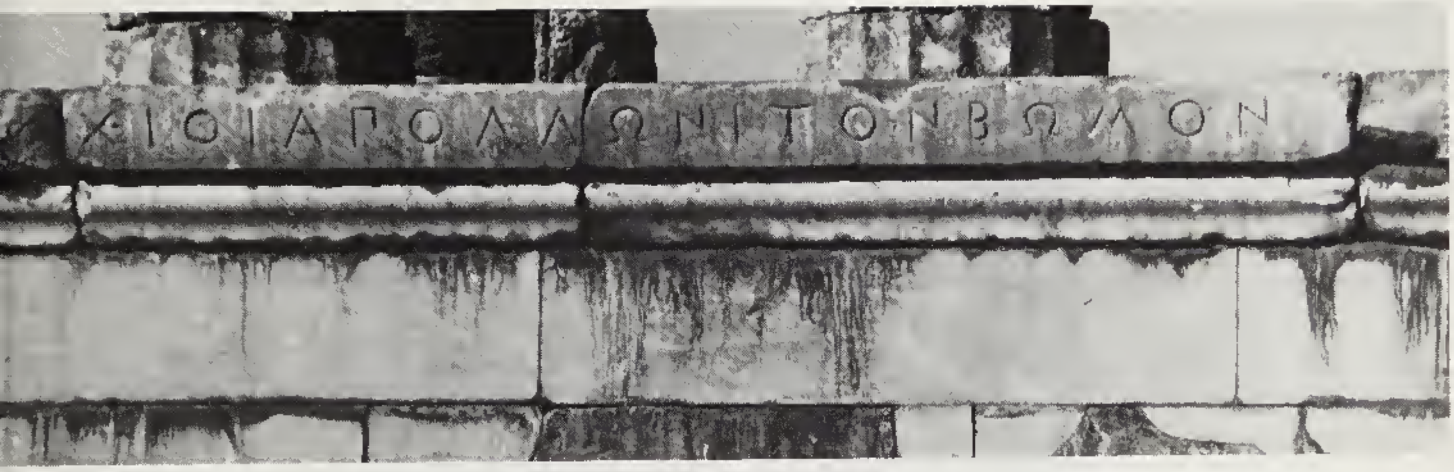

Fig. 2. Altar of Apollo at Delphi; the dedication of the Chians.

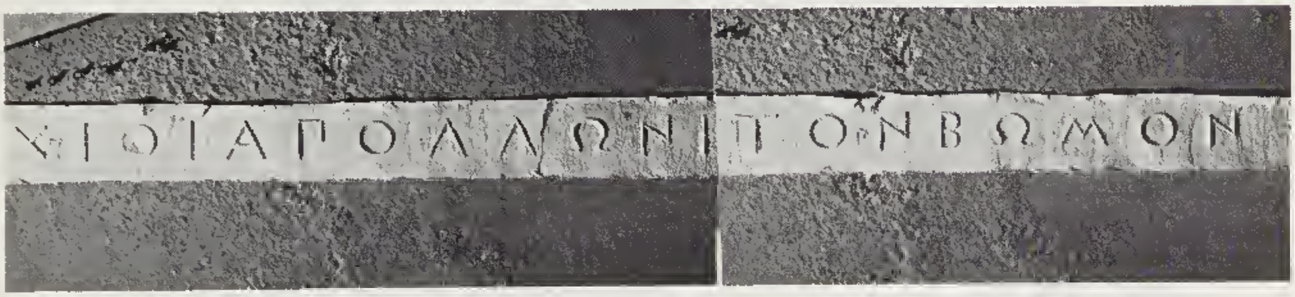

Fig. 3. Impression of the inscription in Fig. 2.

Greek Restoration Service. During the first restoration (Fig. 4, above) care was taken to use modern materials as little as possible and not to cover completely the ancient stones.[6] In the second (Fig. 4, below) the concrete revetment slabs were replaced by blocks taken from a quarry between Delphi and Arachova, whose blue-black colour matched the ancient stones well.[7]

In 1919, Fernand Courby resumed the study of the monuments on the terrace of the temple of Apollo, which had been interrupted by the war. He was about to finish his study of the altar when the decision was taken to proceed with its restoration. Courby and Replat disagreed on the altar's height: between the marble foundation course and

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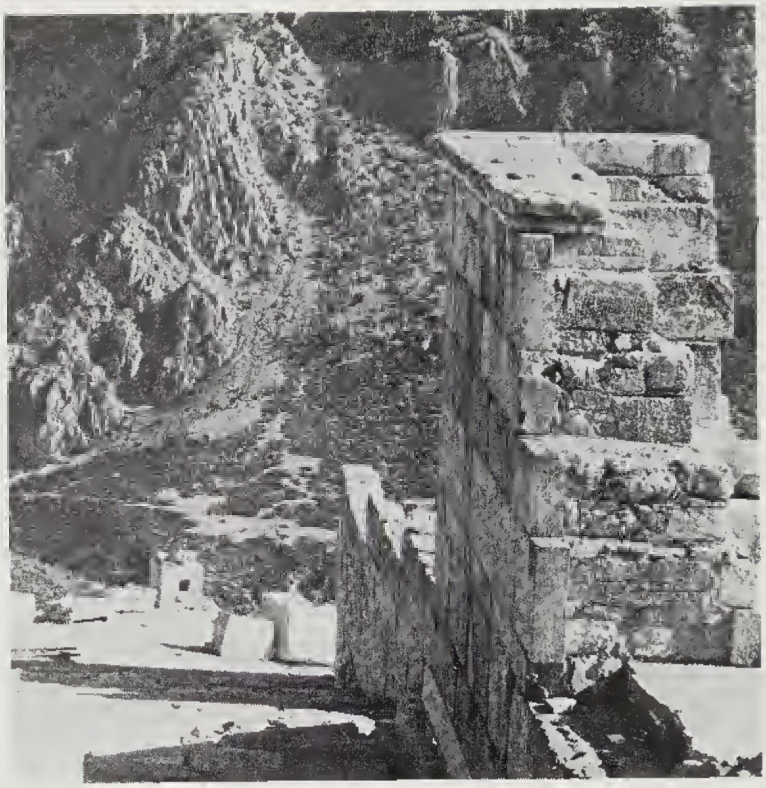
[6] J. Replat, 'Note sur la restauration partielle de l'autel de Chios à Delphes', *BCH* 44 (1920) 328–53. But in a report addressed to the Director of the French School at Athens F. Courby wrote: 'This reconstruction can only be conducted in a hypothetical manner since so many elements are missing. It cannot therefore be total ... It seems to me necessary to leave the greater part of the ruin in its present state ... Rather than fill gaps with new blocks of grey marble I think it would be better to use some sort of masonry covered with grey cement on which the lines of the courses and the approximate positions of the joints could be marked ... In sum, to make a very incomplete reconstruction and not use fine new material.'

[7] E. Stikas, 'La restauration de l'autel d'Apollon à Delphes', *BCH* 103 (1979) 479–500.



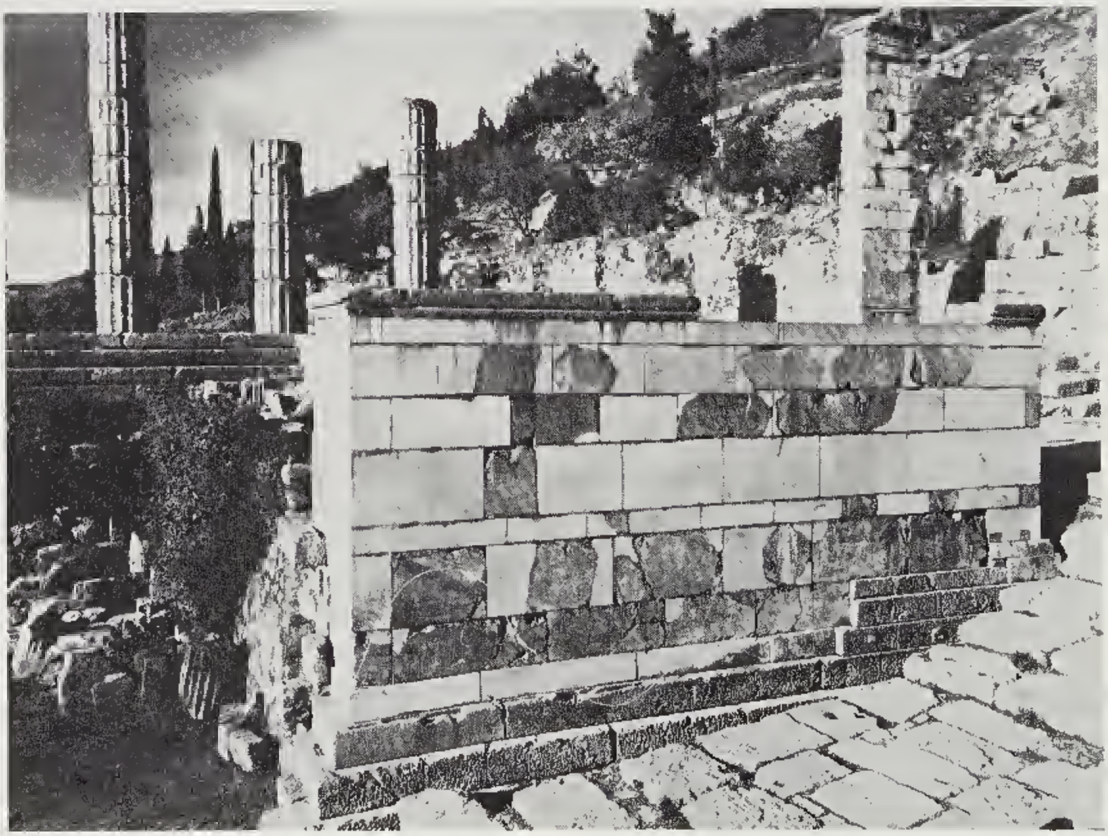


Fig. 4. Altar of Apollo at Delphi. Above, the 1920 restoration, from the north. Below, the 1959 restoration, from the east.

the marble cornice bearing the dedication Replat restored eight courses and Courby seven.[8] Courby's solution was the one which was finally adopted for the 1959 restoration.[9]

In any case, the altar as it stands today is incomplete in its height: the course with the moulding and inscription was not the final one. On its surface we can see not only the cuttings for the clamps which bound the blocks together on three of their sides, but also pry-holes for the crow-bar to lever into position the blocks of another course. We can imagine that this course, of which nothing has been found, or at least nothing, so far identified, must have been decorated either with egg-and-dart or leaf-and-dart.[10] Was this the final course, that is, the level of sacrifice, or was it a shallow decorative course inserted between the cornice and the sacrificial table?

In their drawings of the reconstructed altar, Courby and Stikas indicate the table by dots, as they do also its corners which they show as 'horns' or akroteria, as we know them from representations on vases and reliefs, or as they have been found on the reasonably well preserved altar of Poseidon at Cape Monodendri, the one to Demeter at Pergamum, and at other sites in Asia Minor.[11] G. Gruben has tried to attribute to Apollo's altar four akroteria found at Delphi, which he divided into two pairs, one belonging to the first phase of the monument, the other to a reconstruction of the Roman period.[12] It is true that two of these akroteria form a pair, which could quite probably belong to the altar of the Chiotes (Fig. 5); but we also have a volute which appears to belong to a third akroterion of the same type. As for the other two, they differ considerably from each other.

The date of the dedication of the altar by the Chiotes is also uncertain. On the one hand, we have the evidence offered by the monument itself, that is the form of the lettering on the inscription and the profile of the moulding of the cornice; on the other hand, scholars have searched Chios' history to find an appropriate moment for such a dedication.

The letter forms are embarrassing for they show nothing typically Archaic (Figs. 2 and 3). From Chios itself we lack comparanda.[13] Other Ionian inscriptions at Delphi appear to be definitely older than that on the altar: one dedication by the Samians (Fig. 6), whose date is also uncertain,[14] and the signature of Bion on the base of Gelon's tripod

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[8] F. Courby, *FD* II, *La terrasse du temple* 2 (1921) ch. 3, 'L'autel de Chios' 119–37.

[9] Doubts about the accuracy of this reconstruction were voiced by P. de La Coste-Messelière, *BCH* 93 (1969) 747 n. 3.

[10] For an altar dedicated at Delphi by Ionians one should seek parallels in those parts of the Greek world where the architecture was normally Ionic. On altars in Ionia cf. W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*³ (London 1950) 140–2; H. Hoffmann, *AJA* 57 (1953) 189–95. For various altars, Archaic to Hellenistic: A. von Gerkan, *Milet* I. 4, *Der Poseidonaltar bei Kap Monodendri* (Berlin 1915) and K. Tuchelt, *Istanbuler Mitt.* 23/24 (1973/4) 167–8, for Miletus; A. Bammer, *AA* 1972, 453–7, 714–28 and *Die Architektur des jüngeren Artemision von Ephesos* (Wiesbaden 1972) 31–2, for Ephesus; C. H. Bohtz, *Pergamon* XIII (1981) 51–3, for Pergamum; H. Schleif, *AM* 58 (1933) 174–210, and H. Walter, *Das Heraion von Samos* (Munich 1976) 70–2, for Samos; G. Gruben, *AA* 1982, 184–90, 656–61, for Paros.

[11] On these altar akroteria see W. Koenigs, *Istanbuler Mitt.* 30 (1980) 58–91.

[12] G. Gruben, *Münchner Jahrbuch* 1972, 24–6. These *akroteria* have sometimes been confused with door consoles: W. B. Dinsmoor, *BCH* 37 (1913) 59.

[13] L. H. Jeffery, *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford 1961) 336: 'The archaic inscriptions of Chios are very scanty compared with the numbers from Samos and Miletos.'

[14] Dated by Pomtow 500/499 it might equally be later than 479: Jeffery, op. cit., 330 no. 17; J. Pouilloux, *FD* III. 4 no. 455.

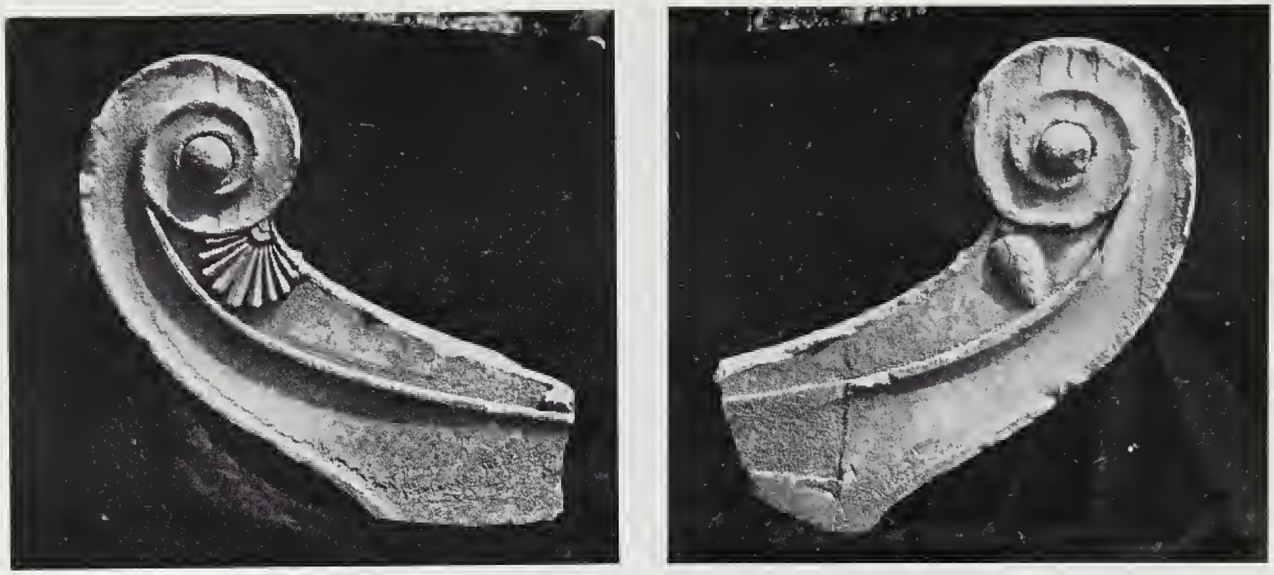

Fig. 5. Akroterion, probably from the Altar of Apollo.

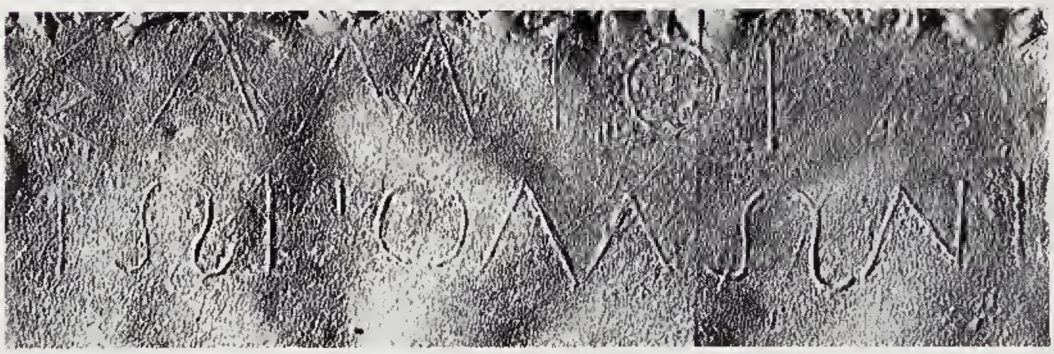

Fig. 6. Dedication by the Samians at Delphi (impression).

(Fig. 7), which is dated in the years 480–475.[15] But since the date of Herodotus' visit to Delphi does not permit lowering the dedication of the altar below the middle or third quarter of the fifth century, and the political scene was favourable to such a dedication after the Persian Wars, Th. Homolle dates its construction in the years following the battle of Mycale, and his opinion has been accepted by most scholars.[16]

In his commentary on the edition of the text in *Sylloge*^{3} 19*a*, H. Pomtow proposed a higher date, purely on the basis of historical evidence. He rejected the possibility that the altar would have been dedicated by Chiotes at the time of Strattis' tyranny and Persian domination of the island (516–479); but he nevertheless admitted that there could have

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[15] Courby, op. cit. (n. 8) 250–1; *Sylloge Ins. Gr.*^{3} 34.

[16] Th. Homolle, *BCH* 20 (1896) 617–18: 'The very fine letters date to the fifth century . . . The history of Chios is not well enough known for us to hope to determine the date and the reason for the dedication of the monument . . . The great altar seems to be of the period of the Persian Wars . . . The battle of Mycale, which coincided with an aristocratic revolution in Chios that detached the island from Persian influence and re-established its close ties with Greece . . . may have been the occasion for offerings.' Courby, op. cit. 136–second quarter of the 5th c.; G. Daux, *FD* III. 3 no. 212–not before 480; La Coste-Messelière, *BCH* 93 (1969) 747–*c*.475; Jeffery, op. cit. 338 no. 46 pl. 65–'has been attributed to the first half of the fifth century, perhaps to the period shortly after the battle of Mycale.'

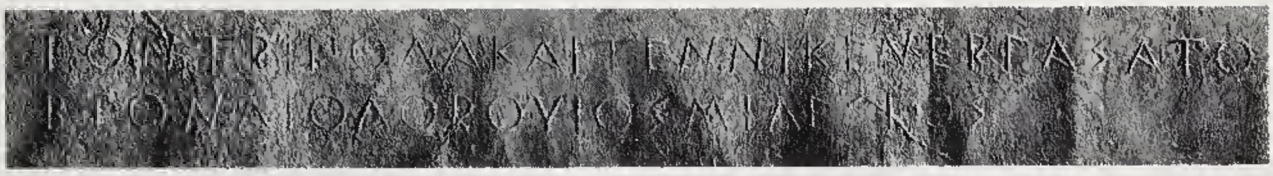

Fig. 7. Signature of the Milesian Bion on the base of the tripod of Gelon at Delphi (impression).

been such a dedication in the interval created by the Ionian revolt, between 500 and 494 BC. This hypothesis, which does not take sufficient account of the lettering of the inscription, raises the question of the relations between mainland Greece and Ionia at the time of Persian domination. Despite the loyalty that Strattis, like the other tyrants who ruled Greek cities of Ionia, showed towards Darius in the incident of the bridge over the Istros during the Persian expedition against the Scythians (Hdt. 4. 138), is it impossible to imagine that the Ionians could have made dedications to Greek sanctuaries, at least before the Ionian Revolt, at a time when there was no open conflict between Greece and Persia?[17]

A date prior to the Persian Wars has also been suggested for the construction of the altar on the evidence of the profile of the cornice on which the dedication is engraved. This *cyma reversa* has been compared by Lucy Shoe with six other examples from Chios itself and classified by her in a group which includes the Siphnian and Massalian Treasuries at Delphi, the Letoon on Delos, and the altar of the Peisistratids in Athens.[18] She thought it difficult to reconcile the date of the mouldings with that of the inscription: 'It should come from the earliest possible date the inscription will allow, if possible still in the sixth century.'

In his handbook on Greek architecture W. B. Dinsmoor thought that the second quarter of the fifth century BC was too low a date for the altar's construction, which had taken place 'probably at the time of the Alcmaeonid work on the temple itself'.[19] Here in fact lies another problem. The temple which Herodotus saw, with whose cult the Chian altar was associated, was the one built by the Alcmaeonids in 515–505 BC.[20] Is it therefore likely that, in front of the new temple, for a quarter or maybe even half a century, victims were sacrificed on a makeshift altar, until the day when the generosity of the Chiotes gave the Pythian sanctuary an altar worthy of its temple?

The altar is not parallel to the façade of the fourth-century temple: the axes of the two monuments differ by about 5°. If it is correct, as is normally accepted, that the foundations of the sixth-century temple were reused for the reconstruction after 373, then the altar was not parallel to the façade of the Alcmaeonids' temple either. If the axis of the altar does not follow that of the temple, this is either because the level of the terrain does not allow them to coincide, or else because the two monuments in question were built at quite different dates,[21] or even because the altar was built on the site of an earlier one, whose orientation corresponded to that of an earlier temple.[22] This last reason has been put forward to explain the orientation of the Chian altar: its location was dictated by tradition and its orientation determined by that of the temple earlier than the one built by the Alcmaeonids. This is a problem of the historical topography of the Pythian sanctuary which does not concern us here. We notice that on the temple terrace, as arranged in the fourth century BC, the altar is aligned along the Sacred Way, at the corner of the polygonal wall into which it was inserted and tied 'sans solution de continuité', thus forming 'en plan, l'épanouissement terminal.'[23]

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[17] The same question arises with the Clazomenian Treasury at Delphi; La Coste-Messelière, *BCH* 93 (1969) 746 n. 1.

[18] L. T. Shoe, *Profiles of Greek Mouldings* (Cambridge, Mass. 1936) 55 pl. 25. 12.

[19] Dinsmoor, op. cit. (n. 10) 141.

[20] La Coste-Messelière, *BCH* 70 (1946) 271–87.

[21] E. Bergquist, *The Archaic Greek Temenos* (Lund 1967) 72–80.

[22] C. G. Yavis, *Greek Altars* (St. Louis, Mo., 1949) 56 § 32. At the Samian Heraeum, however, the monumental altar constructed in the 6th c. (altar VIII), at the same time as the Rhoikos temple, was differently oriented from the earlier altars over which it was built, and aligned with the temple: H. Schleif, *AM* 58 (1933) 174–210.

A monument cannot survive a thousand years without suffering from the effects of weather, natural accidents, the passage of armies, even changes in taste, without bearing traces of repair, reconstruction, or modification. Courby and Replat were not surprised, after the close examination of the blocks which they undertook in 1919 and 1920 before the first restoration, nor was Stikas, who was able to examine them himself in 1959 after dismantling the first restoration and before the start of the new one, to be forced to the conclusion that the altar had been subject in antiquity not only to repairs but also to modifications. These occurred on two occasions, according to Courby, and on three, according to Stikas, the dates being difficult to determine, during the Hellenistic period on the one hand, and in the Roman on the other. The first of the modifications is thought to have been the most important and to have affected even the lower parts of the monument.[24]

The main observations on which these conclusions are based are:

(1) 'The great number of clamps which one can observe on the upper surface of certain orthostates' (Replat), 'of different types and so close to each other that one can hardly see them as contemporary' (Courby);

(2) The shape of these clamps, which though they show slight differences as Courby has noted, are all of the hook or pi-shaped type;

(3) The method of sealing the dowels by pouring molten lead into horizontal channels cut into the top surface of the stone.

Here are some extracts from Courby's conclusions:

> These orthostates . . . have the common peculiarity of pi-shaped clamps and of dowels sealed by molten lead . . . on the other hand, except for the method of sealing, we observe that the technique of the blocks is Archaic: this is clearly shown by the fine cutting of the joints . . . In brief, we can assert that the facing of orthostates dates to the mid fifth century BC and therefore goes back to the date of the altar's erection, but that in the third century at the earliest—at the time when the use of pour-channels appears—it underwent major repair, and was consequently the object of new work.

Or again, in the report already mentioned (n. 6):

> The altar, which dates from 475, was repaired much later. There is no doubt about this. The use of hook-clamps and of rectangular dowels with pour-channels is clear proof. It seems that the repair affected only the orthostate facing.

The main advantage of restoration is to clear ground of the encumbrance of blocks. The most serious disadvantage is to remove from sight all evidence for any possible verification, essentially the resting and bearing surfaces of the blocks. At present we can

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[23] E. Bourguet, *Les Ruines de Delphes* (Paris 1914) 175. Cf. also E. Stikas, *BCH* 103 (1979) 491 and fig. 9.

[24] See especially Replat, op. cit. (n. 6), 331–2, 341, 346; Courby, op. cit. (n. 8), 124–6, 130–1, 136–7; Stikas, op. cit. (n. 7), 500.

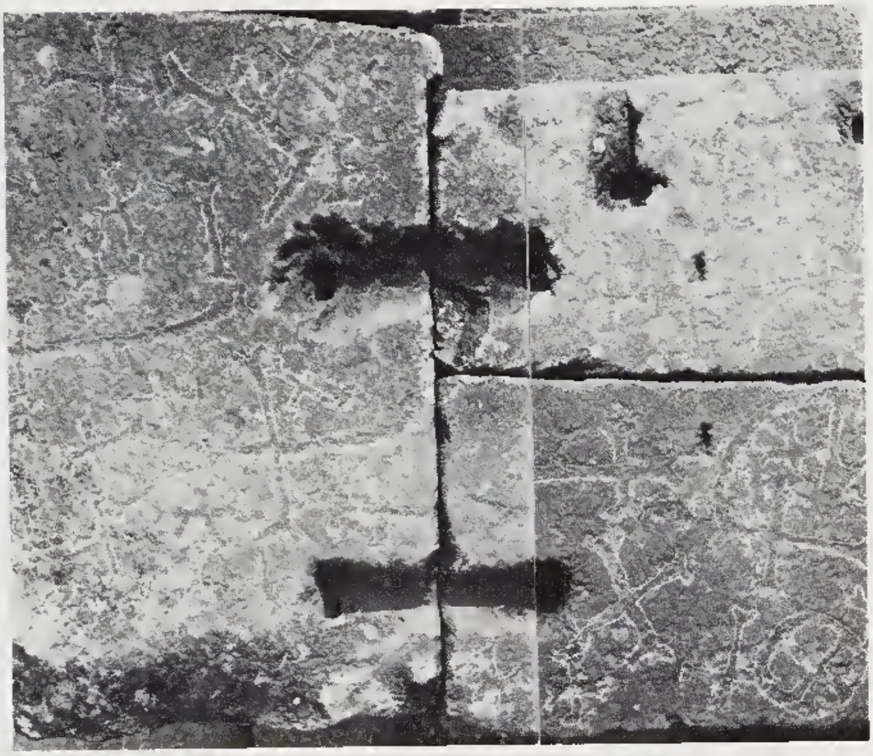

Fig. 8. Detail of the bearing surface of the moulding course bearing the dedication of the Chians on the Altar of Apollo.

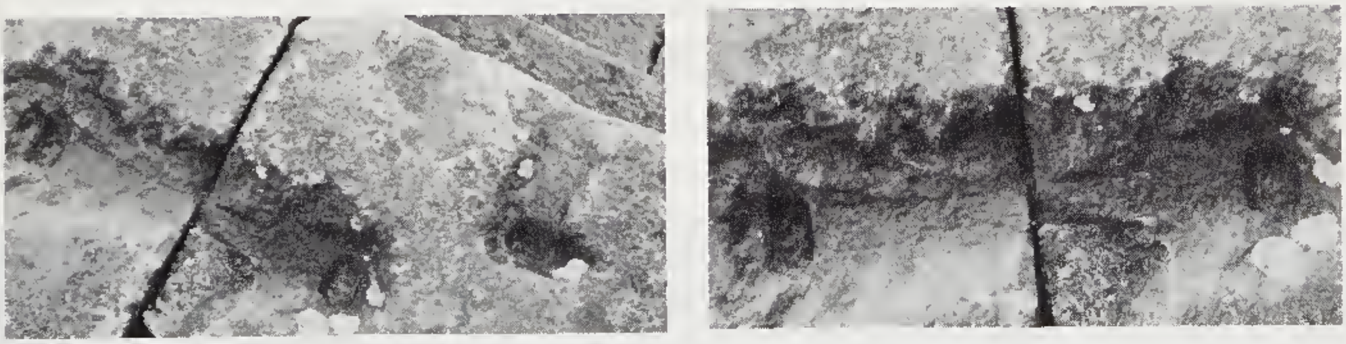

Fig. 9. Cuttings for clamps on the moulding course.

examine only the bearing surface of the inscribed course (Figs. 8 and 9), that of the foundation of the prothysis (Figs. 10 and 11), and all the surfaces of a half-dozen blocks from the interior which were not employed in the restoration of 1959, because their existence was unknown. In 1920, Courby suggested photographing the bearing surfaces of the stones, but this was not done. Courby and Replat drew a number of them. In 1959, the bearing surface of each course, once set in place, was drawn, starting from the first course of orthostates. No photographs were ever taken by Stikas or his collaborators, of either the whole or any detail, either during the course of dismantling the old restoration or during the reconstruction.

To my knowledge the only photographs which give an impression of the monument during these works were taken by me. While visiting Delphi as a tourist, on 3 August 1959, I saw that Replat's restoration had been dismantled, and that they had even taken

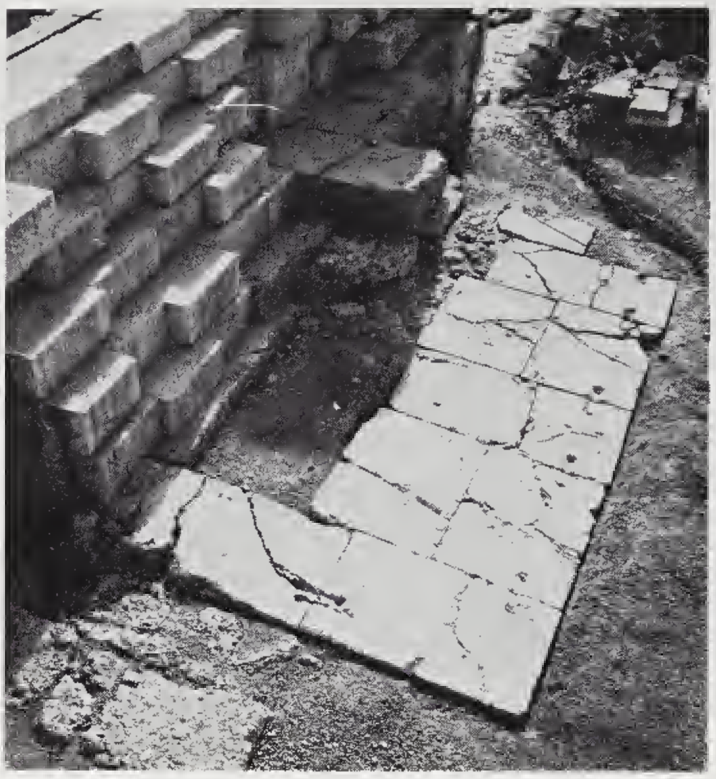

Fig. 10. Foundations of the prothysis of the Altar of Apollo; at the left, part of the core restored in 1959 with new materials.

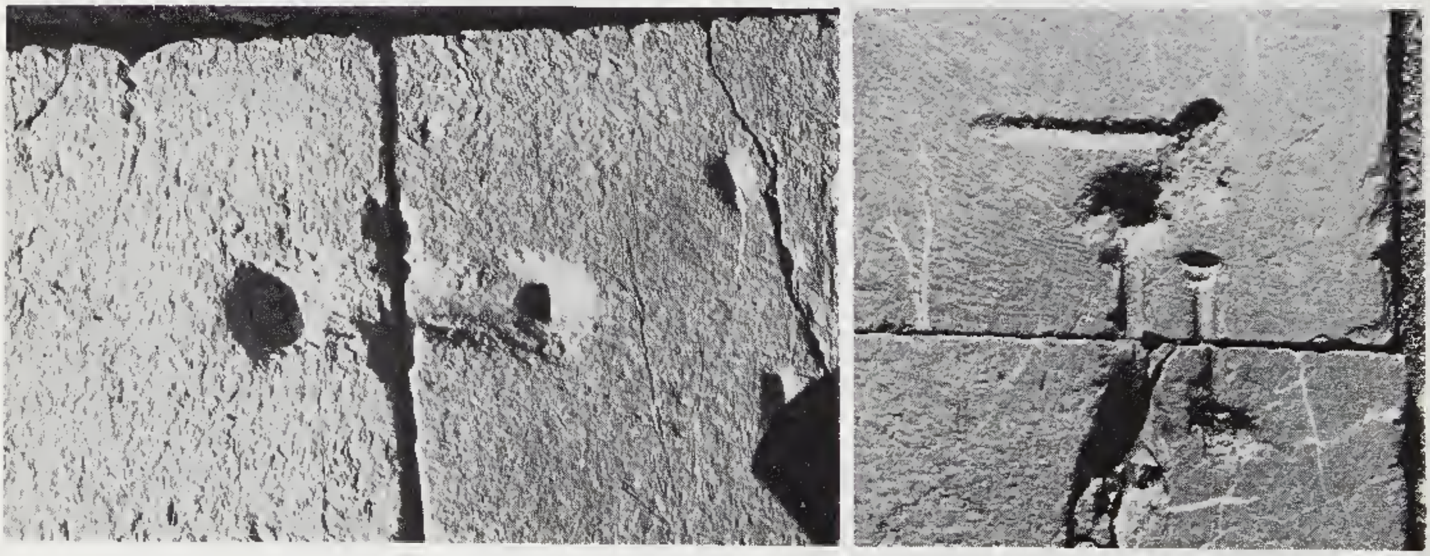

Fig. 11. Cuttings for clamps and dowels in the foundations of the prothysis.

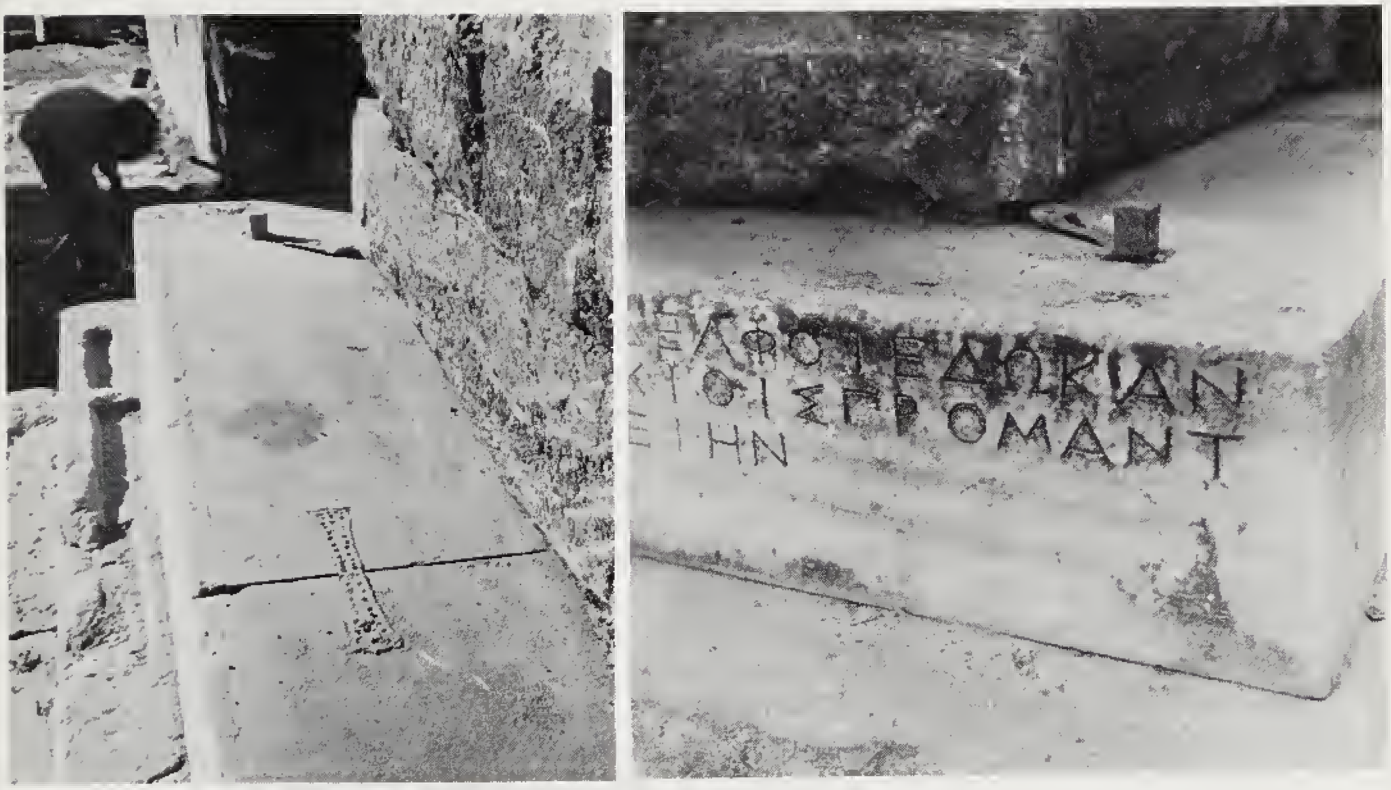

Fig. 12. South-east angle of the foundation after the removal of the orthostates (1959).

down the two first blocks at the south of the first course of orthostates, found *in situ* and left by Replat in the state in which they were discovered. One could therefore see for the first time since antiquity part of the bearing surface of the marble course of the foundation. I could not suspect that day the documentary value of the five photographs which I took:[25] not only was this course of the foundation never photographed, but it was not even drawn!

We see on the photographs (Fig. 12) that the orthostate of the south face was anchored to the marble course of the foundation near the south-east angle by a rectangular dowel sealed with molten lead running from the west face of the block, and that the first two blocks from the south of the marble course were held together by a clamp embedded in a mass of lead which was scored on the surface, in a cutting of rectangular shape flaring slightly at its ends.

These details confirm, complete and add precision to the observations made by Courby and Replat. The rectangular dowels with horizontal pour-channels are found in all the courses round the monument; the top of the north wall of the stair was fastened in the same way to the foundations of the prothysis (Fig. 11). Courby did not know of any examples of this method of sealing 'hidden' dowels before the third century BC. Some older examples do exist, but it is true that its use remains relatively rare before the third century.[26] The cuttings to take the clamps vary somewhat in appearance and especially in size, which may be due to irregular cutting of the stones by different workmen, or else to a difference of date. But the cavities are all of the same type, a little broader at the ends than at the join, with an average depth of 3 cm at the stem of the clamp and from 5.5 to 6 cm at the hook ends, which are roughly truncated cones.[27]

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[25] Photographs registered in the Phototheca of the French School at Athens, nos. 5183–7.

[26] R. Martin, *Manuel d'architecture grecque* I (1965) 286–7. See below, n. 34.

This type of assembly of dowels and clamps cannot date earlier than the beginning of the Hellenistic period, and may be later. But how can one assert that the technique of stone cutting is Archaic, 'except for the method of sealing'? At the end of the Archaic or the beginning of the Classical period, not only would the dowels not have been sealed by pour-channels, but the stones of a single course would have been bound by means of swallow-tail clamps,[28] or double-T clamps. If these clamps had been replaced by the hook-clamps in the Hellenistic period, the earlier cuttings would have left traces. In fact, however, from the foundations to the top course, from the orthostates to the inner structure and the foundations of the prothysis, one can only see the beds for hook-clamps. The structure is homogeneous and of a single origin. The orthostates have not been used to revet a pre-existing structure;[29] on the contrary, at each level of the construction, it is the exterior blocks which were set in place first, as is shown by the direction of the pour-channels.

A simple conclusion is inevitable: the altar whose remains have been found is not an Archaic altar remodelled entirely in the Hellenistic period, but it is a construction of the Hellenistic period made of completely new materials. Courby wrote in the report already quoted: 'We can no longer draw any conclusions except about the last stage of the monument; that is, we cannot go back beyond the period when the monument was fastened with hook-shaped clamps and dowels with pour-channels'. There was indeed no possibility of going back beyond this period, but this is not 'the last stage of the monument'; it is simply another monument. There were two Chian altars at Delphi. The first is the one seen by Herodotus, dedicated by the Chiotes to Apollo either in the last years of the sixth century (about 505–500) or immediately after the Persian Wars (about 479–475). Archaeological evidence (the profile of the cornice, and the date of completion of the temple by the Alcmaeonids) encourage us to prefer the earlier date; the historical evidence is more in favour of the later, but it remains to be seen whether this evidence can be conclusive. Of this first altar nothing has remained, unless some blocks of black stone and white marble derive from it, reused in the foundations of the north euthynteria of the fourth-century temple.

The second altar was most probably an exact replica of the first. Paradoxically, proof can be found in the contradictory evidence offered on a single block by the dedication and the moulding. This dilemma had led Courby, when he proposed to date the construction of the altar to the second quarter of the fifth century, to take refuge in a kind of compromise between a higher date indicated by the profile of a moulding which was 'still Archaic', and a lower date suggested by the lettering of the inscription. This rough-and-ready conclusion was satisfactory neither for the moulding nor for the inscription. The dedicatory text, in its brevity, certainly reproduces that of the dedication of the first altar. But one could not possibly claim that the mason tried also to reproduce the older letter-forms: if it were not for the moulding and Herodotus, this inscription would have been dated to the fourth century (Figs. 2 and 3). As for the moulding, one could suppose that the cornice blocks belonged to the first altar, whose dedication would have been cut on another course, and that they were reused in the second altar. But it is difficult to believe that the blocks of an upper course were not bound together by any clamp. Now, on the surface of this course (Figs. 8 and 9), one can see only hook-clamps, identical with those of the rest of the monument and, as elsewhere, no traces can be seen of clamps of any other type. There was no lack in antiquity, any more than today, of masons skilled at reproducing ancient mouldings and making new ones so like the old as to mislead. A typical example is offered by the altar of Hera on Samos, rebuilt in marble at an uncertain date (Hellenistic or beginning of the Roman period?) on the model of the Archaic poros altar.[30] This is probably what happened at Delphi. The concern to build an altar which would be an exact replica of the first explains not only the coexistence in an otherwise homogeneous monument of a moulding of Archaic type, of an inscription whose lettering is not clearly defined but certainly later, of clamps and dowels of a type current in the Hellenistic period, but also the relatively modest dimensions of the monument, compared with those of the altars of temples nearly contemporary with that of Delphi, such as the temples of Tegea and Nemea.

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[27] It is one of the variants of the hook clamp: Martin, op. cit. 278 fig. 120*c*. Clamps of the same form in the altar of Hera on Samos: Schleif, op. cit. (n. 22) 183–6 figs. 5–7 and 194 fig. 19. Also on the temple of Artemis at Magnesia, according to Schleif, 210.

[28] Examples in Chios: Boardman, op. cit. (n. 3) 65–9.

[29] As A. Keramopoullos thought, *Guide de Delphes* (Athens 1909) 50–1.

The altar bears another inscription, already mentioned, as brief as the dedication: four words in each case. On the south side of the marble foundation course, well placed so as to be seen by anyone coming up the Sacred Way, and in large letters, is the shortest of the many decrees by which the Delphians granted *προμαντεία* to communities or individuals (Figs. 1 and 12). Nothing indicates that this is a renewal of the privilege, such as we know from at least two examples in the fourth century BC.[31] It is a matter of the first grant of *προμαντεία* to the Chiotes. But does the date of this agree with that of the lettering? Th. Homolle thought so: he connected the grant of *προμαντεία* to the Chiotes with the establishment of close relations between Delphi and Chios, which began in the middle of the third century BC[32] (see Part II of this paper). The lettering of the four words is not characteristic of any period;[33] it appears to be rather more developed than that of the dedication, but the mason was not the same. It seems to me most probable that the decree of *προμαντεία* was copied, as was the dedication. Strictly speaking one might detect an archaizing feature in the equal length of the three bars of the epsilon. More significant appears to be the brevity of the text, the stoichedon arrangement of the letters, and the juxtaposition of a Doric and Ionic form, perhaps owing to a copyist's error. The right of *προμαντεία* must have been granted to the Chiotes when they dedicated the first altar, the text copied on the next monument, possibly even before the block on which it appears was set in place, which would have made the mason's task easier.

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[30] Schleif, op. cit. (n. 22) 190–2.

[31] H. Pomtow, *Sylloge Ins. Gr.*^{3} nos. 19*b*, 293.

[32] Th. Homolle, *BCH* 20 (1896) 619. Inscriptions record eighteen examples of the concession of the right of *προμαντεία* to corporate bodies (fifteen to cities, three to associations); J. Pouilloux, *BCH* 76 (1952) 484–513. J. Bousquet, *BCH* 81 (1957) 485–95; 82 (1958) 84–5. The texts date to the 4th and 3rd c. apart from one of the early 2nd. But two examples of renewal of the privilege in the 4th c. (for Naxians and Thurians) prove that the practice was older.

[33] The letter-forms have been judged 'very peculiar' (Pouilloux, op. cit. 488). One could say of them what E. Bourguet wrote of the *προμαντεία* decree for the Siphnians (also dated by Homolle to the third century): 'well-cut letters but lacking any characteristic forms which can immediately indicate their date' (*FD* III. 1 no. 197). This is why G. Daux has given no opinion on the date of the decree cut on the altar: *FD* III. 3 no. 213.

Why did a new altar replace the first and at what date? Even if, as everything seems to suggest, the dedication and the *προμαντεία* decree were copied on to the monument at the time of its construction, the inscribing of these texts is of no help in determining the date of the construction. The only significant piece of evidence is the use of hook-clamps and the use of molten lead in horizontal channels, which, leaving aside some isolated exceptions, give an approximate *terminus post quem* of the beginning of the Hellenistic period.[34] An altar is linked with a temple. The first altar was that of the temple of the Alcmaeonids; the second altar was that of the temple built after the accident of 373 BC which destroyed the Alcmaeonid temple. We do not know how serious the damage suffered by the sanctuary of Pythian Apollo was, nor the importance of the changes which were made in the area of the temple. It would be logical to place the construction of the new altar in the context of restoration work after the completion of the temple itself, in the time of Alexander.

We find no mention of the altar in the accounts drawn up in the fourth and third century BC by the committees of the *ναοποιοί* and treasurers. But, first, the state of the record which we possess is very incomplete and, secondly, these accounts list only expenses concerned with works which were paid for by funds administered by these committees. However, the reference in the Amphictionic decrees in honour of the *ἱερομνήμονες* Polyarchides and Leochides, to the care which they had taken in the maintenance of the altar and other offerings of Chios, shows that the altar was considered, by the Amphictiony and by the Chiotes, as a special offering, having the same status as a Treasury, conferring certain rights on the dedicator and also imposing on him certain duties. We shall never know whether it was a Chiote mason who cut in the dedication on the altar two omegas of Ionic type, or a Delphian mason who imitated the first dedication. But if one could be certain that the black stone of the revetment of the altar derives from quarries on the island of Chios, one could at once establish that, with an interval of a century and a half or two centuries, the Chiotes made a demonstration of the same generosity and the same devotion towards Pythian Apollo on two occasions.

II. POLITICS

Chios in the Delphic Amphictiony

Towards the middle of the third century BC a new period opens in relations between

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[34] Hook-clamps appear in the second quarter of the 4th c., coexist with the double-T clamps for some thirty years, and replace them wholly in the course of the third quarter of the century. The same conclusions have been drawn from observation of monuments in Athens, the Peloponnese, Delphi and elsewhere. At Delphi the tholos in the Athena sanctuary has hook-clamps while at the same date (about 370) the Theban Treasury has double-T clamps. In the limestone temple of Athena, about 360, there are hook-clamps. In the Treasury of Cyrene there are double-T clamps in the euthynteria and the first course of the krepis and hook-clamps in the rest of the building, which probably correspond with the two periods of construction, begun in about 360/355 and completed about 335/330: J. Bousquet, *FD* II, *Le Trésor de Cyrène* (1952) 22–5, 69. In the Temple of Apollo there are double-T clamps except in the foundations of the cella paving, where there are hook clamps, as in the gymnasium palaestra (about 335–25). Horizontal pour-channels for fastening dowels appear in the Theban Treasury, the limestone temple of Athena, and the Treasury of Cyrene, but their use is limited to corner-blocks in some courses, especially in the higher parts of the building: J.-P. Michaud, *FD* II, *Le Trésor de Thèbes* (1973) 124 pl. 51–2 figs. 96–8; *Le Temple en calcaire* (1977) 105–6. The dowels at the corners of a base built on the paving of the opisthodomos of the Temple of Apollo were fastened by means of pour-channels, but it is not certain that the base is contemporary with the completion of the temple.

Chios and Delphi, which will last for some sixty years. The worship of Apollo has no part to play, politics is the sole reason. Ties are formed, not with the Pythian sanctuary or with the city of Delphi, but with the Aetolians, with the Amphictiony as intermediary.

The Aetolians administered Delphi during the whole of the third century. In 247/6 (a date now firmly established after long discussion), they took the initiative in giving a voice to the Chiotes within the Delphic amphictiony, without even respecting the forms of protocol according to which the decision should have been taken by the Amphictiony itself (where, in any case, the Aetolians had assured themselves a majority). The text which communicated this decision to the Chiotes has not been found, but we can easily guess its terms thanks to the decree passed in Chios in answer to the Aetolians' announcement. The first *ἱερομνήμων* sent by Chios as a representative to a session of the Amphictiony was entrusted with the task of having this decree inscribed on two marble stelae and ensuring that one was set up at Delphi and the other in Aetolia, at the sanctuary of Apollo in Thermon. The Delphic copy has been found, sufficiently well preserved to enable us to restore the text almost entirely.[35]

The decree first recalls that the Aetolians had bestowed on the Chiotes *πολιτεία* and *ἀσυλία*, then that the Chiotes granted in return to the Aetolians *πολιτεία*, *ἀτέλεια*, *προεδρία*, and the right to attend all meetings of the boule and the ekklesia, and lastly that the Aetolians gave the Chiotes a voice at the Amphictiony. In gratitude, the Chiotes bestowed on the *κοινόν* of the Aetolians a golden crown, which would be delivered and proclaimed by the Chiote *θεωροί* at the Aetolian festivals of the Laphriaia and Thermika, and at the Delphic festival of the Pythia. The decree stipulated that the same person could not hold the office of *ἱερομνήμων* twice. (The *ἱερομνήμων* was nominated for one year, that is, for the two annual sessions of the Amphictiony, in spring and in the autumn. Since the Chian year did not coincide with the Delphic, which started with the summer solstice, every Chiote *ἱερομνήμων* fulfilled his duty at Delphi under two different archons.) The decree ended with the nomination of the first *ἱερομνήμων* of Chios: Gannon son of Klytomedes.

The decree of Chios must have been voted at the end of 247 or at the beginning of 246. Gannon as *ἱερομνήμων* of Chios appears on two Amphictionic lists during the spring session of 246, under the archonship of Dion. One of these texts concerns work to be undertaken in connection with the celebration of the Pythia.[36] This took place in the summer of 246, at the beginning of the Delphic year 246/5, under the archonship which followed that of Dion; it was there that the Chiote *θεωροί* proclaimed the gift of a golden crown to the Aetolians made by their city.

Since the number of *ἱερομνήμονες* was fixed at 24, representing 12 peoples, two each, the Aetolians must have expelled one of the members of the Amphictiony to make room for the Chiote representative. Two votes were traditionally given to the Ionians of Attica and of Euboea. It is almost certain that the Chiotes replaced the Euboeans: from 246, we still find in the Amphictionic lists an Athenian *ἱερομνήμων*, but not a Euboean.[37]

Other islands of the Aegean benefited from the *ἀσυλία* granted by the Aetolians: Ceos,

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[35] The text of the decree: G. Daux, *FD* III. 3 (1943) no. 214, 171–2; *BCH* 83 (1959) 475–7; *BCH* Suppl. IV (1977) 61–6. Cf. J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* 1961, no. 345; 1977, no. 231. Date: G. Nachtergael, *Les Galates en Grèce et les Sôtéria de Delphes* (Brussels 1977) 279–81.

[36] Amphictionic lists: R. Flacelière, *Les Aitoliens à Delphes* (Paris 1937) 400 no. 25. Text on work for the Pythia: J. Pouilloux, *BCH* Suppl. IV (1977) 103–23.

[37] Flacelière, op. cit. 232–3.

Tenos, Mytilene etc. But the granting of a vote in the Amphictiony was an innovation.[38] We can guess the reasons which prompted the Aetolians to earn the gratitude of the Chiotes by conferring on them an honour which cost them nothing. In their drive for maritime expansion towards the coastline of Asia Minor, the Aetolians chose as an ally a city which was situated in close proximity to this coast and which possessed, thanks to its prosperity, a powerful fleet. In return the Chiotes themselves benefited from Aetolian protection, and the distance between the two protected them from this being transformed into domination.

The following year, the Aetolians decided to modify the formula for the festival of the Soteria, created to celebrate the defeat of the Gauls in which they had played an important part. For this festival, organized hitherto by the Amphictiony, they substituted another, 'isopythic' for musical competitions and 'isonemean' for athletic and equestrian, which they organized themselves. According to the custom, the Aetolian *θεωροί* went round the provinces of the Greek world to announce the founding of this new festival and to ask for its acceptance. We possess, more or less complete, six of these decrees of acceptance: the one from Athens was found in Athens, those of Tenos, of another island of the Cyclades, of Abdera, of Smyrna, and of Chios were found in Delphi.

The Chian decree commemorates, according to the usual convention, the long-standing relationship between the two peoples, the piety of the Aetolians, and their conduct at the time of the barbarian invasion which the Soteria were to celebrate. The Chiotes accepted the new festival, announced by three Aetolian *θεωροί* who brought the decree which established the festival and a letter from the Aetolian *κοινόν* and its strategos Charixenos. They voted the gift of a golden crown to the Aetolian *κοινόν*, and the announcement of this decision was to take place in Chios, in the theatre, during the festival of the Dionysia. The three first *θεωροί* representing Chios at the festival of the Soteria, were to inscribe the decree on a marble stele, which they were to set up in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi.

It is this stele which has been found.[39] The Chian decree was voted in the spring of 245. The first celebration of the Aetolian Soteria took place in the summer of 245, in the month of August, and at this very moment the Chiote *θεωροί* had the stele cut and erected in the Pythian sanctuary.

For the Soteria we may notice in passing that we have the names of only two Chiotes who participated, in different competitions and at very different dates, before and after the period of Aetolian domination. In the list of participants at the Soteria for the years 260/59 or 256/5 carved at Delphi on the polygonal wall, the name of a Chiote flute-player, Dioph[an]to[s], appears. This is still the period of the Amphictionic Soteria. An inscription found in Chios gives a list of contests in which a local boxer, Demetr[ios] son of Diogenes, had won a victory: the Theophania of Chios, the Romaia of Cos, the Heraia of Argos, the Soteria of Delphi, the Ephesia. The career of this athlete is not dated more precisely than second-first century BC. His victory was in one of the contests for which, after the downfall of the Aetolians, the Amphictiony and the city of Delphi guaranteed the organization, until an undetermined date in the first century BC, when the Pythia became once more the only great festival of the Delphic calendar.[40]

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[38] Three other peoples who did not figure among the old members of the Amphictiony were introduced by the Aetolians after the Chians. In the last quarter of the 3rd c. a *ἱερομνήμων* of Cephallenia and a *ἱερομνήμων* of the Athamanians appear in the Amphictionic lists, and towards the end of the century a vote in the Amphictionic assembly is attributed to Magnesia on the Meander. These substitutions were probably made at the expense of the Thessalian peoples, Perrhaebians, Magnetes, and others, whose votes had been partly taken over by the Aetolians, so that at one time the number of Aetolian *ἱερομνήμονες* had been fifteen. But the representation of the Cephallenians and the Athamanians was not as regular as that of the Chiotes, and that of Magnesia lasted no more than fifteen to twenty years. On these questions see Flacelière, op. cit. 228–33, 284–5, 296, 316–17, 323–5, 353, 378–9.

[39] The text of the decree: *FD* III. 3 no. 215; Nachtergael, op. cit. (n. 35), 436 no. 22. Commentary: Flacelière, op. cit. 235–6; Nachtergael, op. cit. 330–5.

We return to the Amphictiony and the representation of Chiotes at the meeting of the League. A Chiote *ἱερομνήμων* sat from 246 to at least 191, and perhaps until 183, as we shall see.

For the period of 55 years from 246–191, we possess a number of more or less complete lists of names of *ἱερομνήμονες* followed by their ethnic, which appear at the head of the acts of each session of the Amphictiony. No complete list lacks the name of a Chiote *ἱερομνήμων*. On many fragmentary lists the name has disappeared but the ethnic remains. We may suppose, with some degree of certainty, that over fifty-five years Chios was regularly represented each year at both sessions of the Amphictiony.

These are the names of Chiote *ἱερομνήμονες* known from these lists, in an approximately chronological order:[41] Gannon, Amphiklos, Konopion, Demonax, Kleokydes, Timokrates, Oinopides, Deina[rchos] (or Deina[goras]), Metrodoros, Didymarchos, Nik[-?-], Argeios(?), Phesinos, Leochides, Polyarchides, Althaios, Alkimachos, Herodotos, Pleistias, Metrophanes, Apollonios.

Some Chiote *ἱερομνήμονες* were honoured either by the Amphictiony or the city of Delphi, or by both.[42] The Amphictiony normally bestowed a golden crown and two *εἰκόνες* of bronze (one at Delphi and one at Chios), with a declaration of the gift of the crown at the athletic contests of the Soteria or of the Pythia, and at the choral contests of young men at the Dionysia in Chios, sometimes the decree was inscribed and set up on two stelae (one at Delphi and one in Chios), and in one case on three stelae (one at Delphi and two in Chios). The city of Delphi awarded the ordinary privileges: *προξενία, προμαντεία, προεδρία*, etc.

Five Chiotes who had been honoured in this way appear in the Amphictionic lists preserved: Amphiklos, Timokrates, Alkimachos, Polyarchides, and Leochides (who took care both of the maintenance of the altar and other Chian offerings at Delphi, as we saw above). But these decrees also mention names of other Chiote *ἱερομνήμονες*: Hermokles, son of Phainomenos, Megakles son of Asklepiades, [-?-]llias son of Antiphon, [-?-]chos son of Heragoras; and of another whose father's name Apollonides is all that remains. We therefore know the names of almost half the Chiote *ἱερομνήμονες* between 246 and 191. Delphic epigraphy thus offers a valuable contribution to the inventory of Chian officials at this period.

When one person was honoured simultaneously by the Amphictiony and the city of

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[40] Diophantos: Nachtergael, op. cit. 413 no. 7 l. 35. Demetrios: L. Robert, *Etudes épigr. et phil.* (Paris 1938) 126–8; Nachtergael, op. cit. 367–8, 491 no. 78. The end of the celebration of the Soteria: ibid. 376–8.

[41] The list established by G. Daux, *Delphes au IIe et au Ier siècle* (Paris 1936) 172–3, using and completing the Amphictionic lists compiled by Flacelière in op. cit., Appendix I.

[42] The Chian record from Delphi, published soon after the discovery of the inscriptions by Homolle, *BCH* 20 (1896) 617–33, was completely re-examined, together with a text found later, by G. Daux, *FD* III. 3 171–200 nos. 212–29. There are two other proxeny decrees for Chiots: *FD* III. 1 nos. 445–6 (E. Bourguet); *BCH* 64/5 (1940/1) 109–10 (J. Bousquet). See also Nachtergael, op. cit. 368–71.

Delphi, the two decrees were sometimes carved on one and the same stele: this is the case with Timokrates, Polyarchides, Hermokles, and the son of Apollonides. The Delphic decree in honour of [-?-]llias was carved under the Chian one of 246, which thanked the Aetolians for granting them a vote at the Amphictiony. Seven of these stelae stood against the foundations of the altar: in the cuttings for their insertion (six on the east side and one on the south) one can still see the lower part of some marble slabs. The Amphictionic decree in honour of Polyarchides specifies that the stele would be erected *παρὰ τὸν βωμόν*.

One of these stelae stands apart from the general banality of the others for its decoration: a sphinx and an amphora, the traditional emblems of Chios (Fig. 13). It carried a decree of the city of Delphi in honour of Amphiklos son of Kallistratos.[43] He was a poet, who was also honoured on Delos. But it is in the capacity of *ἱερομνήμων* that he received *προξενία* at Delphi: his name appears on an Amphictionic list of the second session (spring) in the archonship of Nikaïdas. The decree is dated in the archonship of Amyntas: it was voted at the time when the delegation of Amphiklos to the Amphictiony was coming to an end, at the first session of this archonship (the autumn of the same year). The dates of the archonships of Nikaïdas and of Amyntas belong to a period of a few years beginning in 245. If Nikaïdas was Dion's successor in this office, Amphiklos succeeded Gannon as *ἱερομνήμων* of Chios.

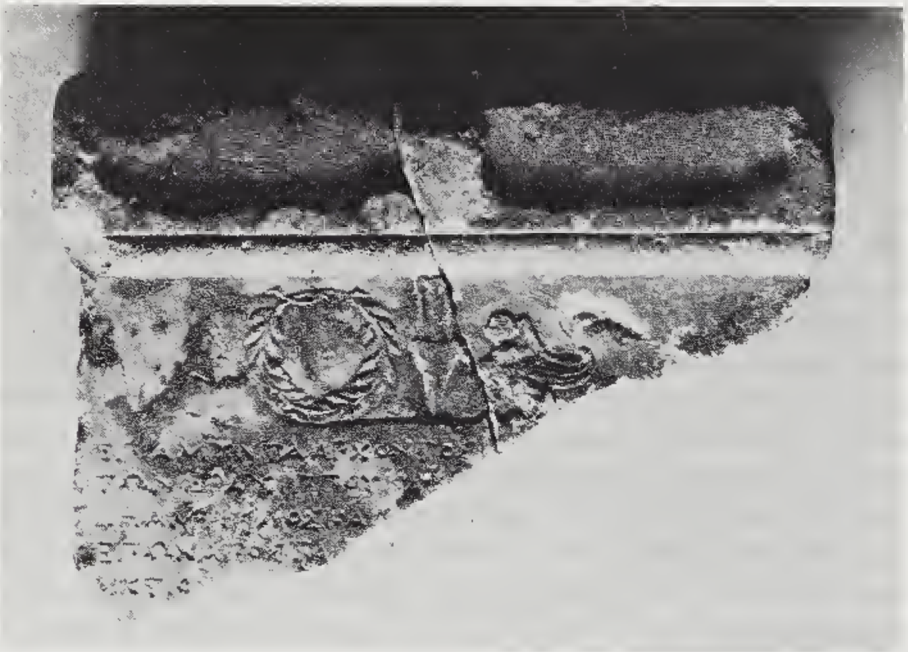

Fig. 13. Decree of the city of Delphi in honour of the Chiote *ἱερομνήμων* Amphiklos.

The chronology of Delphic archonships in the second half of the third century is still rather vague, and for this reason the date of the decrees of the Amphictiony and the city of Delphi in honour of the Chiote *ἱερομνήμονες* is known only approximately. In addition, statistics based on such a small number of surviving decrees could be false.

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[43] The text of the decree: G. Daux, *FD* III. 3 no. 217. Decoration of the stele: M.-A. Zagdoun, *FD* IV. 6 (1977) 69–74 no. 20.

Keeping this in mind, we notice that the golden crowns and *προξενία* appear to have been bestowed more frequently on Chiotes in the course of the last twenty years of the third century than in the course of the previous twenty-five years. Th. Homolle and M. Holleaux both noticed that this is the period when Chiotes played an important part in eastern politics, when they played a diplomatic role as mediators, notably between the Aetolians and Philip V of Macedon.[44] We can suppose, therefore that the Chiote *ἱερομνήμονες*, who went to Delphi twice a year, were also associated with these initiatives, and that the Aetolians thanked them by bestowing honours from both the Amphictiony and the city of Delphi.

But Aetolian domination of the Amphictiony and the Pythian sanctuary ended in 191 BC with the declaration of M. Acilius of the autonomy of both the city and the sanctuary of Delphi. Nevertheless, the Aetolians continued to play an increasingly unimportant part for a quarter of a century, until the day when the Roman victory at Pydna put an end to all interference, Aetolian or Macedonian, in the affairs of Delphi.

The first Amphictionic list which we possess after 191 dates from 178. The composition of the Amphictionic council resembles, with a few differences, what it had been before the Aetolian domination.[45] The Aetolians do not appear by name; but, through third parties, they still have six votes. The Macedonians have six votes too (of which two were granted to King Perseus), the Thessalians have five. The Chiotes have disappeared from the list, while the Euboeans reappear.[46]

At what date did Chios stop being part of the Amphictiony? In the absence of Amphictionic lists from the second decade of the second century which would give us the answer, we possess a decree of the Amphictionic council which dates from 184/3 (archonship of Kraton) in honour of a Thessalian *ἱερομνήμων* from Larissa, Nikostratos (who was a delegate at the Pythia of 186, under the archonship of Nikoboulos), which records the efforts of the Thessalians and the Athenians to restore the Council of the Amphictiony to its original composition, *εἰς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατὰ τὰ πάτρια*. Nikostratos had been sent as an ambassador to Rome with the Athenian Menedemos, and the two emissaries had obtained the Senate's approval for this reform.[47] So in 184/3 the question of the Amphictionic Council's reorganization was still not settled, but was on the point of being so.

A list of Delphian *πρόξενοι* was carved on the polygonal wall from 197/6 and kept up to date regularly until 170, and less regularly until 150.[48] Five Chiotes appear on the list: one for the year 193 (archonship of Peithagoras, 194/3, second semester), Athenagoras son of Athenagoras son of Leosebes; one for the year 185 (archonship of Nikoboulos, 186/5, second semester) Apollonios son of Demetrios; one for the year 184 (archonship of Eukrates, 185/4, second semester), Skymnos son of Apellas;[49] two for the year 183 (archonship of Kraton, 184/3, second semester), Diognetos and Demas sons of

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[44] Th. Homolle, *BCH* 20 (1896) 630; M. Holleaux, *Etudes d'épigr. et d'hist. grecques* iv 331–2, v 309–10.

[45] Daux, op. cit. (n. 41), 304–15.

[46] The reinstatement of the Euboeans in the Amphictionic Council had repercussions in Euboea itself and, after 166, Chalcis disputed with Eretria and Carystus the right of appointing a representative for the island, which led to a judgement, an appeal, and a new judgement. Cf. Daux, op. cit. 341–3.

[47] Daux, op. cit. 280–92.

[48] On this list of *πρόξενοι* Daux, op. cit. 17–46, with analysis of earlier studies, especially by Baunack and Nikitsky.

[49] The geographer: *RE* s.v. 'Skymnos I'. Might his father have been a philosopher of the Academy mentioned by Plutarch and Athenaeus? Cf. *RE* s.v. 'Apelles IX'. The name Apellas is found still in Chios in Cicero's day: *RE* s.v. 'Apellas IV'.

Kallikrates. We have seen above that all the Chiotes who received *προξενία* at Delphi in the course of the second half of the third century were *ἱερομνήμονες*. Was this true also for the last (or at least for four of them, one of the sons of Kallikrates having accompanied his brother)? We cannot prove this but it is a hypothesis which becomes more probable when we take into account the concordance of dates between the vote of the decree in honour of Nikostratos and the gift of *προξενία* to the two sons of Kallikrates. One of them was perhaps, in this year 183, the last Chiote *ἱερομνήμων*. In an Amphictionic Council constituted *κατὰ τὰ πάτρια*, the Chiotes had no place. But they were not evicted without notice, nor improperly: their last representatives were honoured for three consecutive years, and this from the spring session, without waiting for the end of their mandate, as was generally done with their predecessors.

Another citizen of Chios was honoured at Delphi, not by the Amphictiony or by the Delphians, but by his fellow citizens. A base found at the west of the temple of Apollo bears on its upper surface the impression of two feet of a statue and on the front the dedication: *ὁ δῆμος ὁ Χίων Φησῖνον | Σκυθίνου | Χῖον Ἀπόλλωνι* (Fig. 14, 15).[50] The base of another statue of Phesinos was found on the Athenian Acropolis, bearing a similar dedication: *ὁ δῆμος ὁ Χίων Φησῖνον Σκυθίνου Ἀθηνᾶι Πολιάδι καὶ θεοῖς πᾶσι* (*IG* II^2 2802).

The occurrence of the name Phesinos is attested in Chios over many centuries. In the fourth century BC it appears on the reverse of some coins.[51] A man named Phesinos was one of the leaders of the Chian oligarchic party in the period of Alexander (Arrian, *Anab.* 3. 2. 5). In the third century BC one of the three *θεωροί*, appointed in the decree of acceptance of the Soteria in 245 to represent Chios at the first celebration of this festival organized by the Aetolians, was called Oineus son of Phesinos. A Chiote *ἱερομνήμων*, a delegate to the Amphictiony at an unknown date, probably in the last quarter of the third century, was also called Phesinos. Since he does not appear among the *ἱερομνήμονες* for whom we possess honorific decrees of the Amphictiony or the city of Delphi, his father's name is unknown; he may be the son of the previous one.[52] The name Phesinos is attested (in close relation with Skythinos) from the first century BC to the second century AD in many inscriptions[53] and, abbreviated (the first four letters), in the exergue under the sphinx, on the obverse of coins which have on the reverse the amphora and an inscription indicating a gift of King Antiochos.[54]

The two statues at Delphi and in Athens were evidently contemporary, and probably identical. The only evidence as to their date rests in the lettering of the dedicatory inscription: the editors of both inscriptions agreed in dating them to the end of the first

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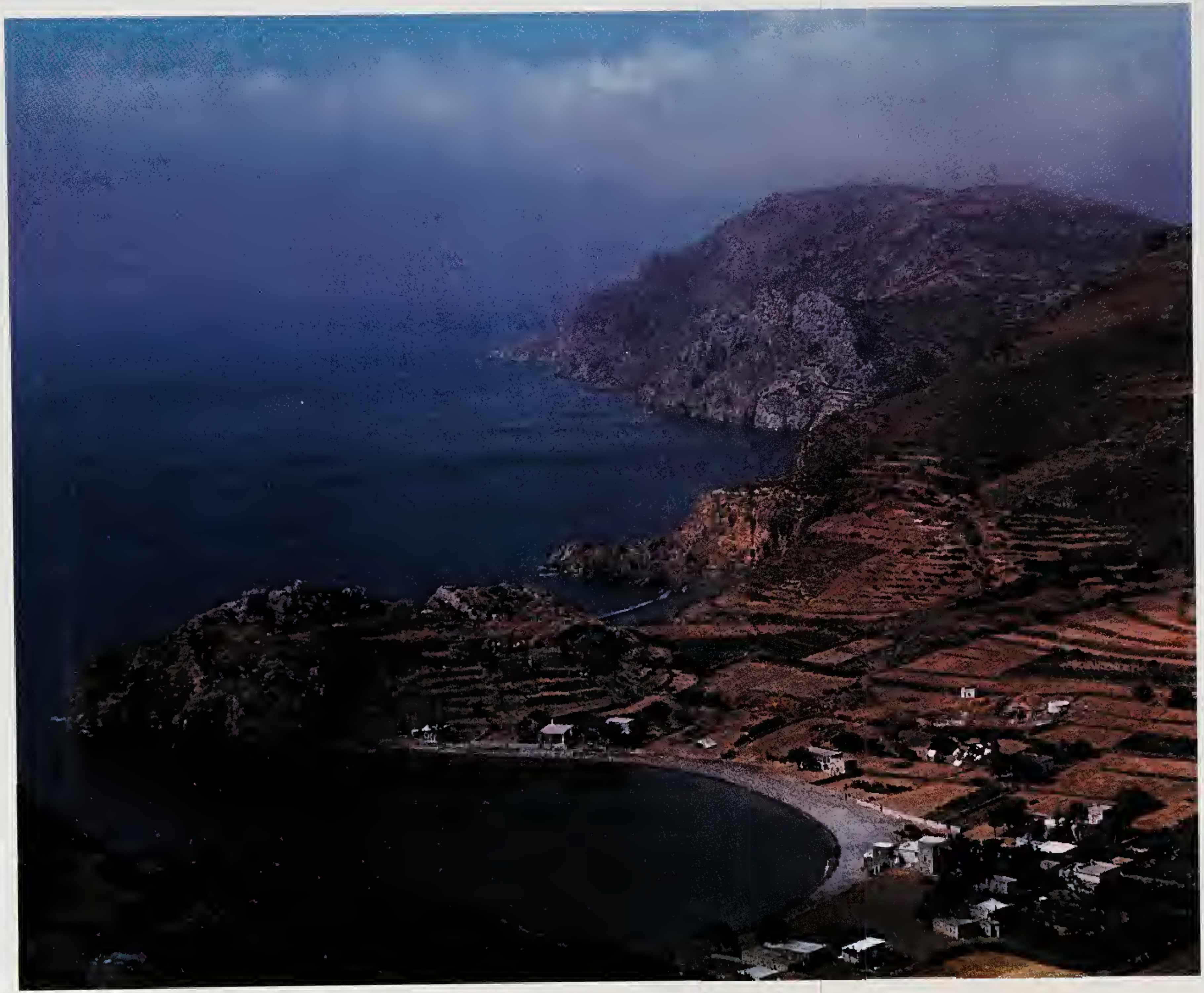
[50] Th. Homolle, *BCH* 20 (1896) 632–33; R. Flacelière, *FD* III. 4 (1954) no. 253 pl. 34. 4. In l. 2 the mason had first written *XIOY* then made a correction by using the vertical hasta of the *Y* as the first leg of the *N* without erasing the oblique strokes of the *Y*.

[51] J. Mavrogordato, *Numismatic Chronicle* 1915, 409.

[52] The patronym *Φησίνου* is found also in another inscription of the 3rd c. BC: W. G. Forrest, *BSA* 55 (1960) 181–7; *SEG* 19 (1963) 580 II l. 46. I thank George Forrest for drawing this inscription to my attention and for other information about Chians of this name.

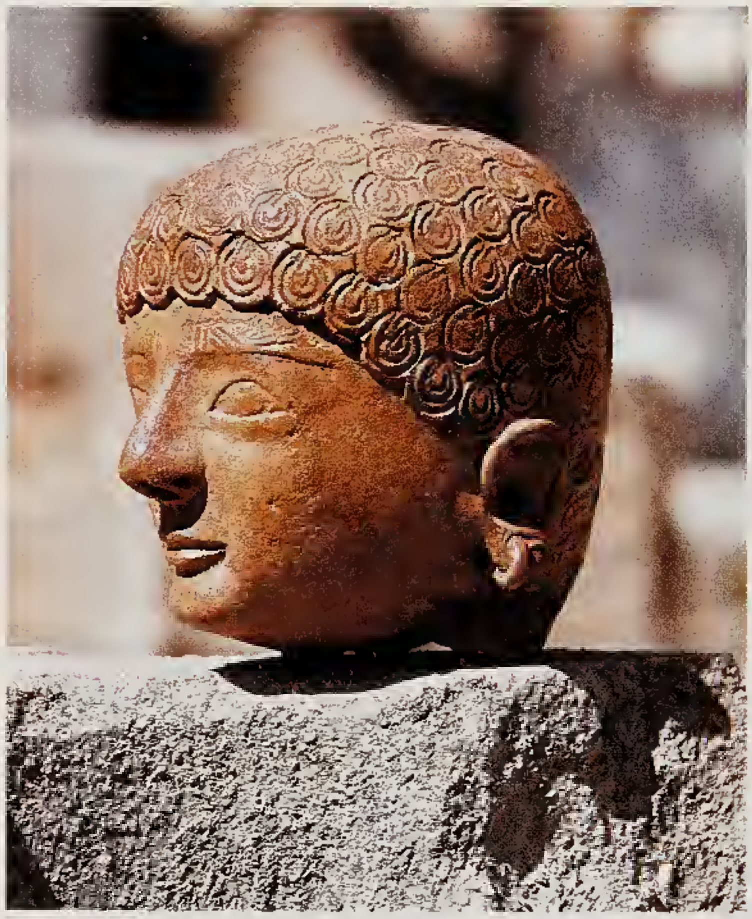
[53] *SEG* 17 (1960) 381; W. G. Forrest, *BSA* 61 (1966) 197–8 nos. 1–2 (cf. J. and L. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* 1969, no. 432; P. M. Fraser in *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens* (Festschrift Dörner, Leiden 1978) 363–71); *CIG* 2242; B. Haussoullier, *BCH* 37 (1913) 230 (uncertain date). On the family Phesinos–Skythinos and the 'hero' Phesinos see Forrest, op. cit. 198.

[54] J. Mavrogordato, *Numismatic Chronicle* 1917, 227 no. 88 pl. 9. 12 (wrongly attributed to Antiochos II). The Chians received this from Antiochos IV: Imhoof-Blumer, *Griech. Münzen* nos. 398–9; B. Head, *Historia Numorum*^{2} 601; L. Robert, *Etudes épigr. et phil.* (Paris 1938) 139.

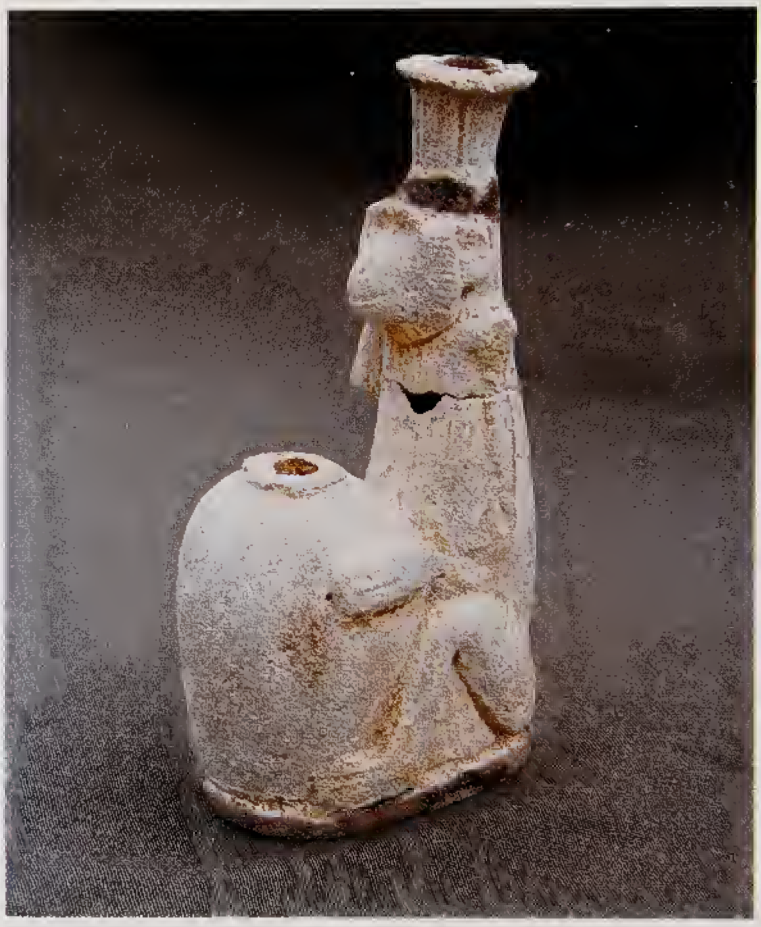


Emporio, from the north.

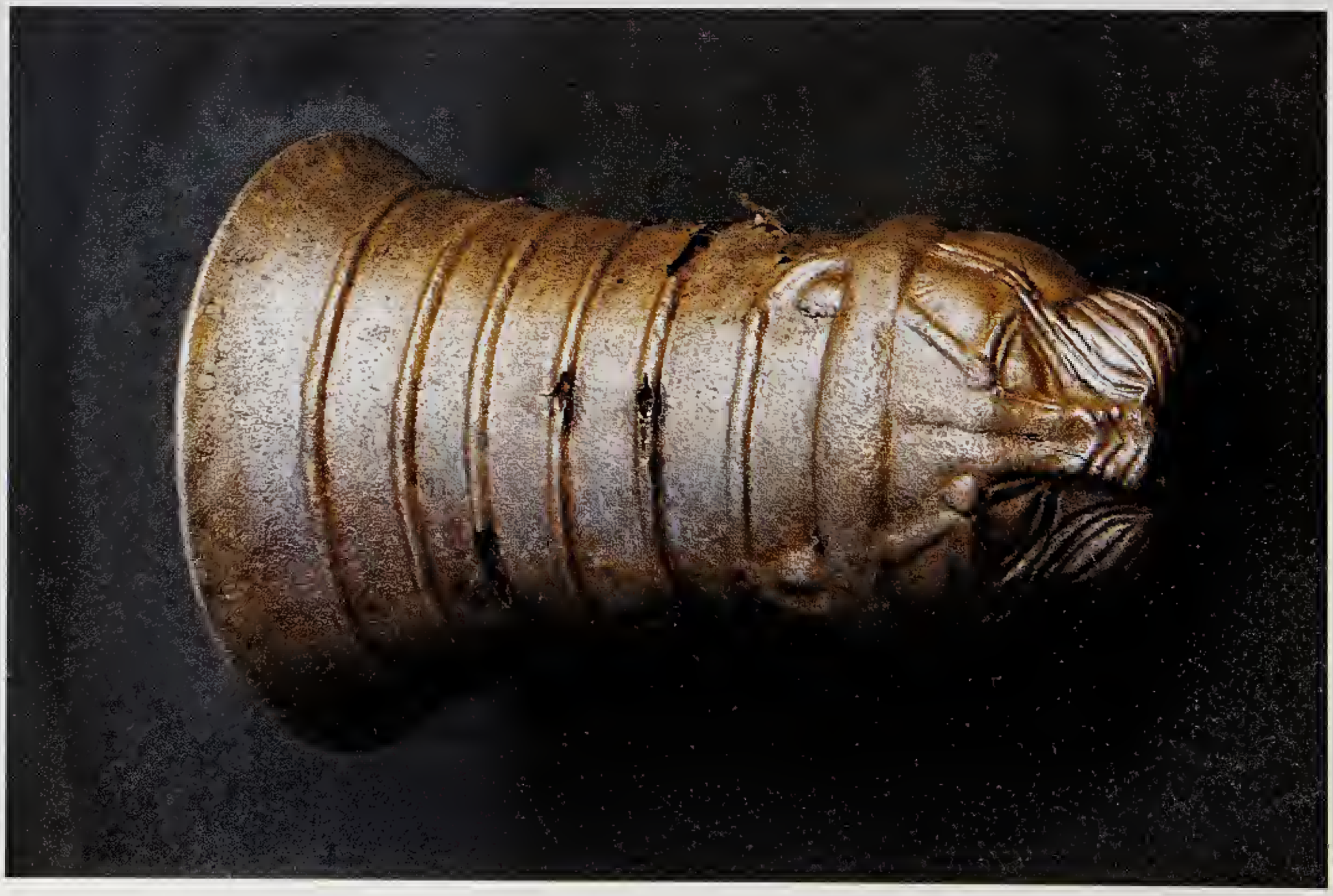
PLATE II



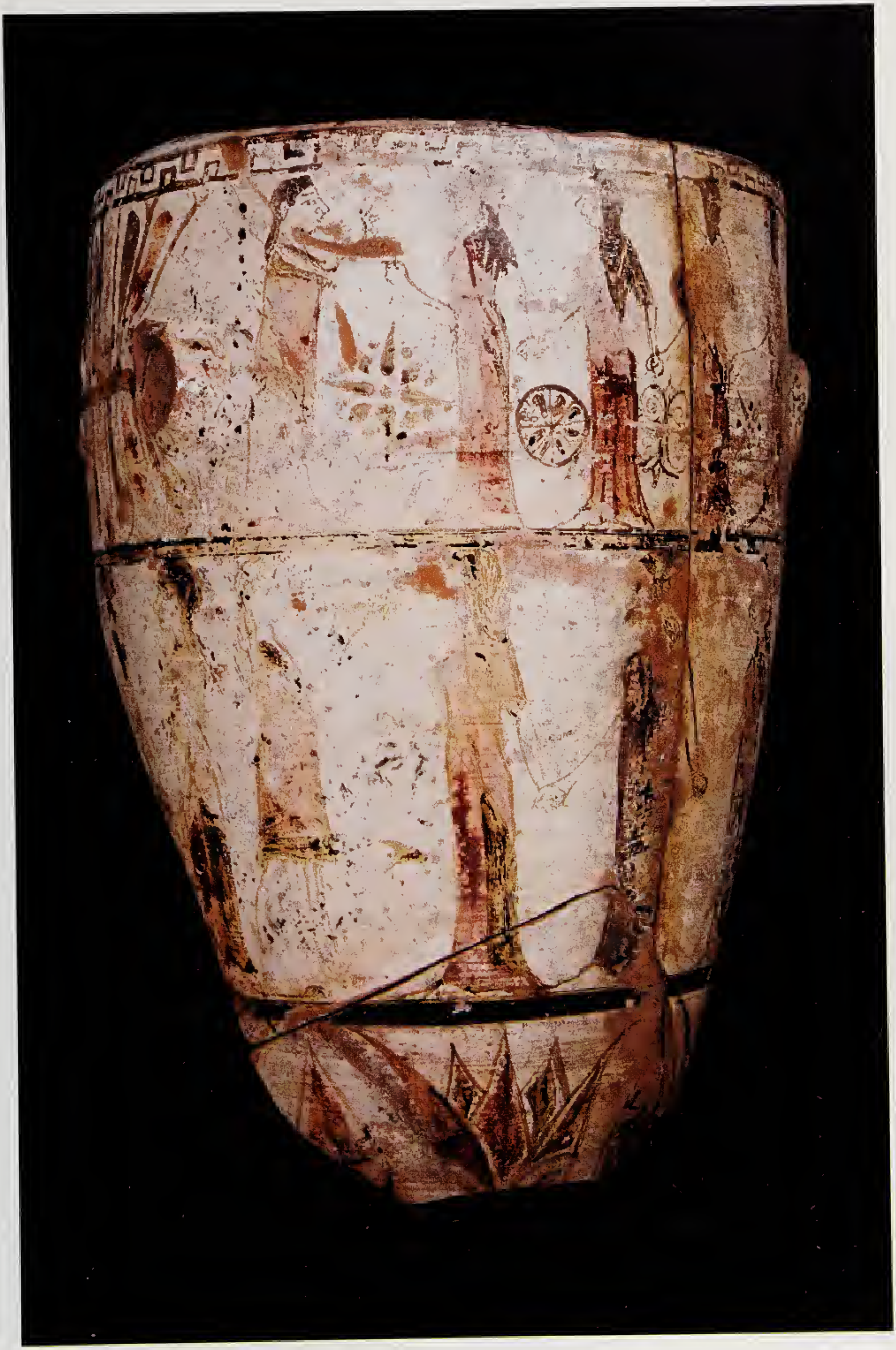
(*a*) Cypriot terracotta head from the Heraeum, Samos.



(*b*) Faience monkey-vase from the Heraeum, Samos.

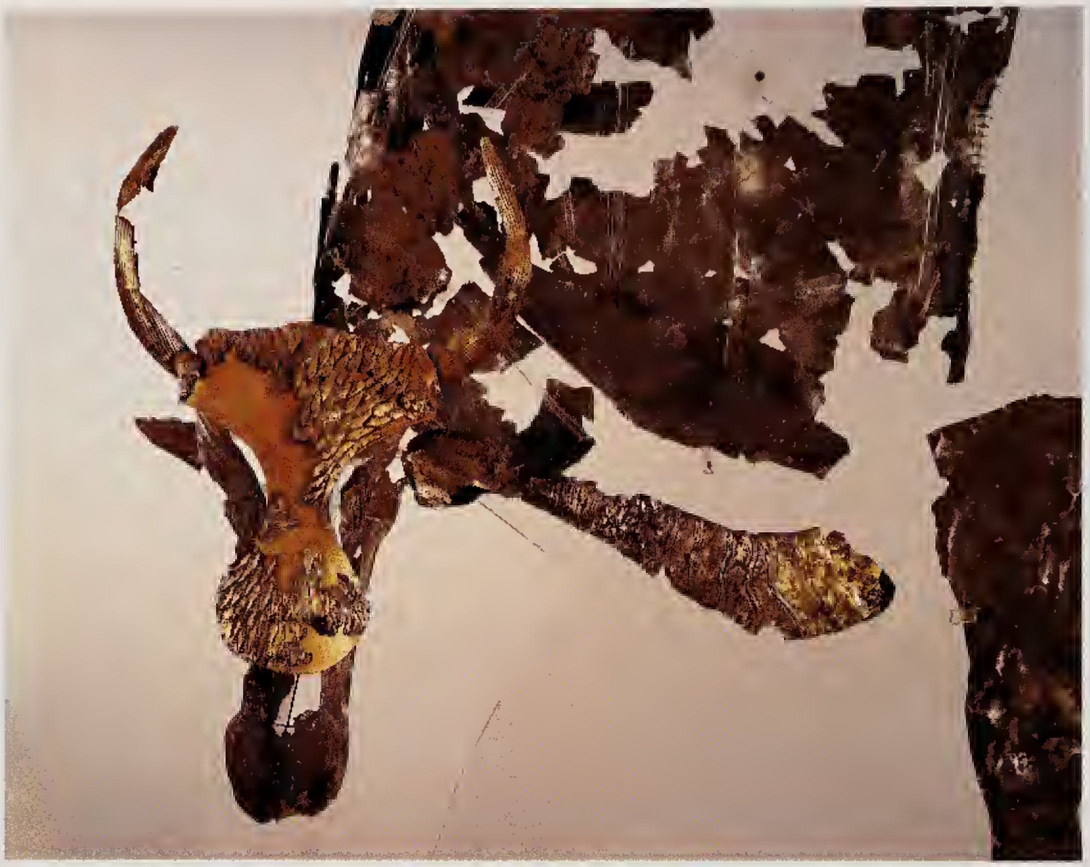


(*c*) Eastern hammered bronze cup from the Heraeum, Samos.

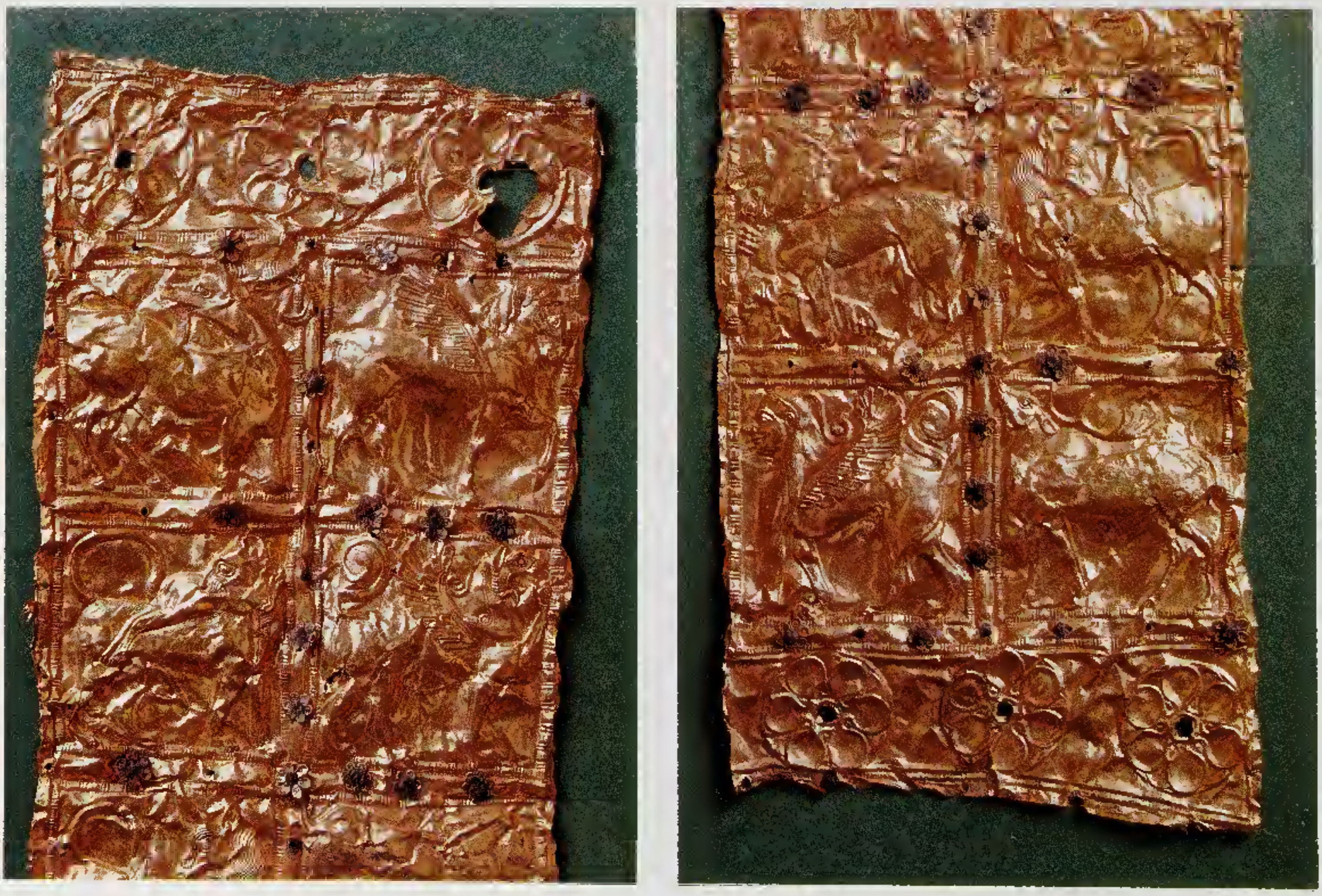


Fragment of vase with scenes of processions from the Heraeum, Samos.

PLATE IV



(*a*) Forepart of a silver bull from Delphi.



(*b*) Gold plaque from Delphi.

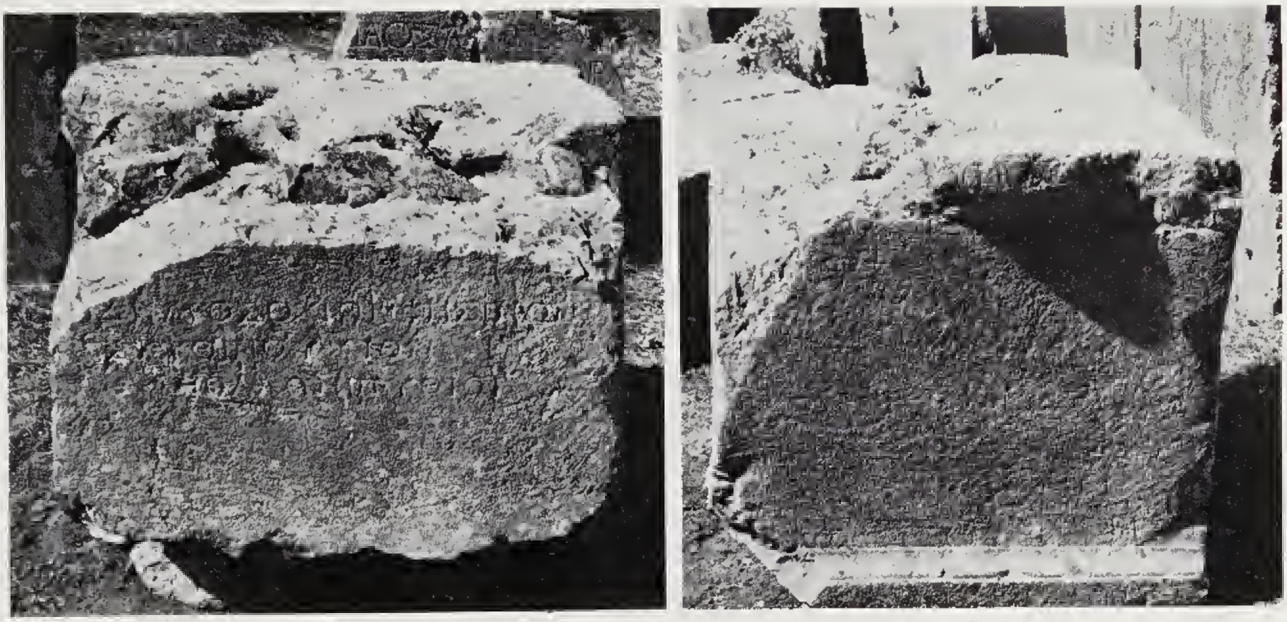


Fig. 14. Front and side of the base of a statue of Phesinos at Delphi.

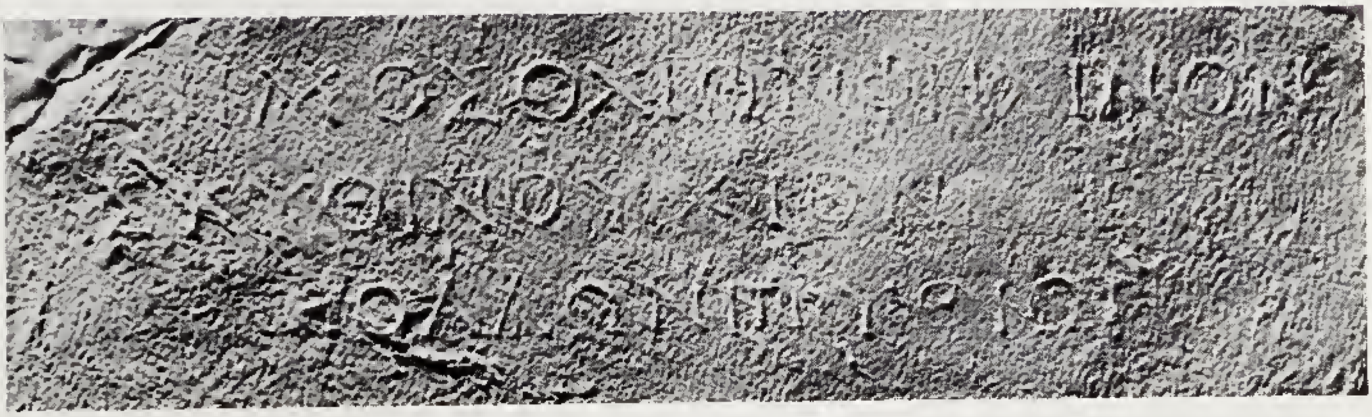


Fig. 15. Dedication of the statue of Phesinos (impression).

century BC.[55] The man thus honoured must have acquired great importance for his fellow citizens to acknowledge him by dedicating his statue both to Athena on the Athenian Acropolis and to Apollo in the sanctuary at Delphi.

III. ART

Chian works at Delphi?

Economic prosperity, political power, artistic fame: three panels of a triptych from which the first two have left sufficient traces for us to restore the main composition and even some details; but the third is so effaced that we can barely distinguish even outlines. Nevertheless, Chian artists enjoyed great fame in the Archaic period, the most celebrated of them being Archermos and his sons, Boupalos and Athenis.

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[55] The writing does not in fact justify such a precise date and account was taken of data irrelevant to the inscriptions themselves. In *CIA* Boeckh dated the Athens inscription to the 4th c. because the name Phesinos appeared on coins of this period and because Arrian mentioned the name. The late-1st-c. BC date proposed by Koehler in *CIG* and generally adopted probably depends on reference to the coins of Antiochos, wrongly identified as Antiochos I or II.

In the great sanctuaries of ancient Greece artists found ideal conditions in which to exploit their talents in the service of those bouts of more or less ostentatious piety which the cities indulged in from time to time. 'Heiligtümer wie Delphi und Olympia waren außer Kultstätten auch Ausstellungen griechischer Kunst, die Künstler fruchtbar beeindruckt haben' (E. Langlotz). We might have expected that Chian sculptors made statues for the sanctuary of the Pythian Apollo commissioned not only by their own home but by other states, just as, for example, the Milesian Bion son of Diodoros had cast and chased a tripod and the statue of Victory which supported its bowl for Gelon of Syracuse (Fig. 7). However, in the first volume of the *Recueil des signatures de sculpteurs grecs* (1953), where J. Marcadé collected all the sculptors' signatures found at Delphi, we find not a single Chian name. This absence may be simply due to the fortunes of destructions and discovery, but though many artists' names carved on statue bases were still visible at Delphi in the second century AD, Pausanias too noted no Chian name.

Only one Chiote is mentioned by Pausanias in the part of his *Periegesis* devoted to Delphi, and he is Glaukos, named for a masterpiece of more technical than artistic quality: the iron support for the crater dedicated by Alyattes about 600 BC (Paus. 10. 16. 1–2). This was all that survived of the offerings sent to Delphi by the Lydian kings. 'This support is the work of Glaukos of Chios, the man who invented the art of welding iron. Its parts are not fastened together by pins or nails but it is the weld that holds it together and binds iron to iron.' Pausanias described this 700-year-old relic as being in the form of a pyramidal tower with openwork sides fitted with horizontal bars, like a stepladder, with the uprights turning outwards at the top to make a broader seat for the crater. The silver crater itself had been melted down by the Phocians during the Sacred War of the fourth century BC, but Herodotus had seen it about 150 years after it had been made and waxed eloquent over the technical prowess in joining the elements of the support (1. 25): 'a large silver crater with an iron support whose parts are welded together, an offering well worth seeing among all those at Delphi, the work of Glaukos of Chios, the only man in the world to have discovered how to weld iron.'[56]

Various other monuments arose in the great sanctuaries, besides statues, especially the Treasuries which carried sculptured, but anonymous decoration. The name of Chios has been mentioned with various degrees of conviction, prudence, or reserve by some connoisseurs of Greek sculpture as the home of one of the artists who made the Caryatids and the east and north friezes of the Treasury of the Siphnians at Delphi.[57]

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[56] There can be no doubt that Pausanias saw the support welded by Glaukos. It was part of one of the votives which had been stripped of their more precious elements in the 4th c. BC and whose remains had been respected to the last days of the Apolline cult. Others are the base of the tripod of Plataea with the serpent column and the bases of the tripods of Gelon and Hieron. But where did Pausanias get his information about the maker of the support or his role as inventor of a new technique? If the support had been clamped to a stone base on which the names of the donor and the artist were associated, as those of Gelon and Bion, the inscription would have been the source for both Herodotus and Pausanias, at least for the name of Glaukos and his home. But would it have mentioned him as the inventor of welding iron? By the Antonine period his reputation in this regard must have faded somewhat and Pausanias could have got this detail from Herodotus.

[57] A. Furtwängler, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1894 col. 127; Ch. Picard and P. de La Coste-Messelière, *FD* IV. 2 (1928) 169 n. 6; La Coste-Messelière, *Au Musée de Delphes* (Paris 1936) 428 n. 3, 440; E. Langlotz, *Studien zur Nordostgriechischen Kunst* (Mainz 1975) 168; Fr. Croissant, *Les protomés féminines archaïques* (Paris 1983) 71–2, 79–83.

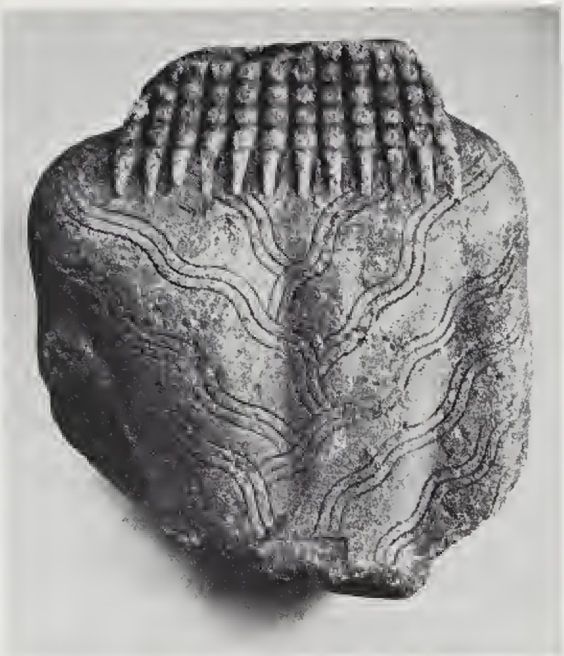

Fig. 16. Torso of a kore, Chios Museum 225.
Photograph: German Institute at Athens.

This is certainly a possibility but unlikely ever to be proved. Definitions of the styles of the various sculpture workshops of Archaic Greece are bound to be inadequate because of the personalities of the individual artists and the influences to which they were exposed in the course of their travels from town to town or from one sanctuary to another;[58] the only exceptions can be where the definition depends on a sufficient number of works whose attribution to a specific workshop is assured.

This is not the case with Chios. The only work which is almost certainly attributable to Archermos is the statue of Nike found on Delos (see, p. 261, Fig. 1). The island itself has so far yielded only the two headless torsos of korai[59] (Fig. 16 and p. 198f., Figs. 10, 11) and some small figures of Cybele in her naiskos. The excavations of Phanai and Emporio have contributed more to our understanding of local styles of architecture than of sculpture. Chios did not have Samos's good fortune in possessing a major sanctuary at an isolated site which has been abandoned since antiquity. The site of the ancient town of Chios has been continuously inhabited to the present day. Even the minor industry of terracotta figurines, which lends itself better than that of major sculpture to the definition of local styles, is no better represented.[60] Comparative studies of types of figurine of which examples have been found at Thasos, Olous, and Lindos lead to the suggestion that its origin is to be sought 'vers la côte d'Asie Mineure, et plus précisément vers Chios, c'est-à-dire vers un site où la documentation locale est dans notre domaine presque inexistante' (Fr. Croissant)—a depressing observation echoed by Ernst

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[58] La Coste-Messelière's wise reflections, op. cit. 439–48, may be read with profit.

[59] Chios Museum 225–6; J. Boardman, *Antike Plastik* I (1962) 43–5 pls. 38–44; G. M. A. Richter, *Korai* (London 1968) 38–9 nos. 37–8 figs. 122–8; B. S. Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton 1977) 98–9; C. Isler-Kerenyi, *Nike* (Erlenbach–Zürich 1969) 79–80; J. G. Pedley, *AJA* 86 (1982) 184–5 nos. 3–4 figs. 5–8; Croissant, op. cit. 75.

[60] Croissant, op. cit. 70–93.

Langlotz's conclusion about major sculpture in marble: 'Die Kunst der berühmtesten ägäischen Marmorwerkstatt in Chios ist am schlechtesten bekannt'.

In these circumstances there is bound to be a very large subjective element in any attributions of sculptures found in Delos, Athens, or Cyrene to a Chian school.[61] In studies of western medieval sculpture art-historians content themselves with definition of regional styles, although romanesque capitals and Gothic statues survive in greater numbers and in a better state of preservation than the pedimental sculpture and relief friezes of the Greek Archaic period, or than the statues of kouroi and korai. Rather than 'jeter, au travers de l'archaïsme, les fictives cloisons étanches de subdivisions multipliées' (P. de La Coste-Messelière), we should be satisfied with identifying regional ensembles without attempting to define more closely localized but illusory styles.

It was in this spirit that Langlotz surveyed the art of northern Ionia in his last book,[62] and in the same sense La Coste-Messelière placed the artist of the east and north friezes of the Siphnian Treasury somewhere between Chios and Clazomenae. With the same reservation I have used the name of Chios in connection with some Archaic works found at Delphi in 1939 in the two pits where they had been buried pell-mell, at the end of the fifth or beginning of the fourth century BC, together with ordinary votives (such as spearheads and dozens of arrowheads) as well as precious objects of gold, silver, and ivory.[63]

Among these was the statue of a bull[64] (Fig. 17, Colour plate IV*a*), slightly larger than natural size for such a beast, made of some fifty silver plaques, large and small according to the parts of the body represented. The plaques were fastened by small silver nails to strips of copper which were themselves fastened to a wooden core. Some areas were gilded: horns, the hair on the muzzle, nostrils, the inside of the ears, dewlap, hoofs, genitals. The statue, already damaged, had been placed in the pit, where the wood was burnt and the silver plaques subsequently crushed and flattened. To determine the date and origin of the statue we have only the slightest indications: the way the hair of the pelt is stylized and the patterning of the dewlap. The undulating pattern on the plaques of the dewlap recall the comparable wavy-line patterns on the torsos of the two korai from Chios. This purely graphic decoration, without parallel elsewhere in Archaic sculpture, is distinctive enough to make comparison with the decoration of the bull's dewlap not without significance. If this is accepted the statue might have been made by a Chiote in the first half of the sixth century BC. It is as much a technical masterpiece, without parallel among the known σφυρήλατα, as it is a work of art in the ordinary sense of the term, but in the Archaic period the skilled metalworker enjoyed the same prestige as creative, formal artists, and their skills were designated with the same word, τέχνη.

From the same find come two complementary gold plaques[65] (Fig. 18, Colour plate IV*b*), 35 cm high, decorated in repoussé in eight panels depicting various real and imaginary animals: wild goat, winged horse, griffin, panther, lion carrying its prey on its back (a goat, deer, or doe), bull, deer, sphinx. The plaques date to the middle or third

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[61] Pedley, op. cit. 183–91. This article is devoted to the Chian school in the sixth century and completes the author's *Greek Sculpture of the Archaic Period: The Island Workshops* (Mainz 1976), where he has used the same method to group the works of the studios of Naxos, Paros, and Samos. On Chian Archaic sculpture see also Langlotz, op. cit. 168–9; Ridgway, op. cit. 99 n. 16.

[62] In this respect it is interesting to consider how Langlotz's view changed from *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen* (Nuremberg 1927) to *Studien* (n. 57) in 1975.

[63] *BCH* 63 (1939) 86–119.

[64] *BCH* Suppl. iv (1977) 273–93.

[65] *AM* 77 (1962) 35–71.

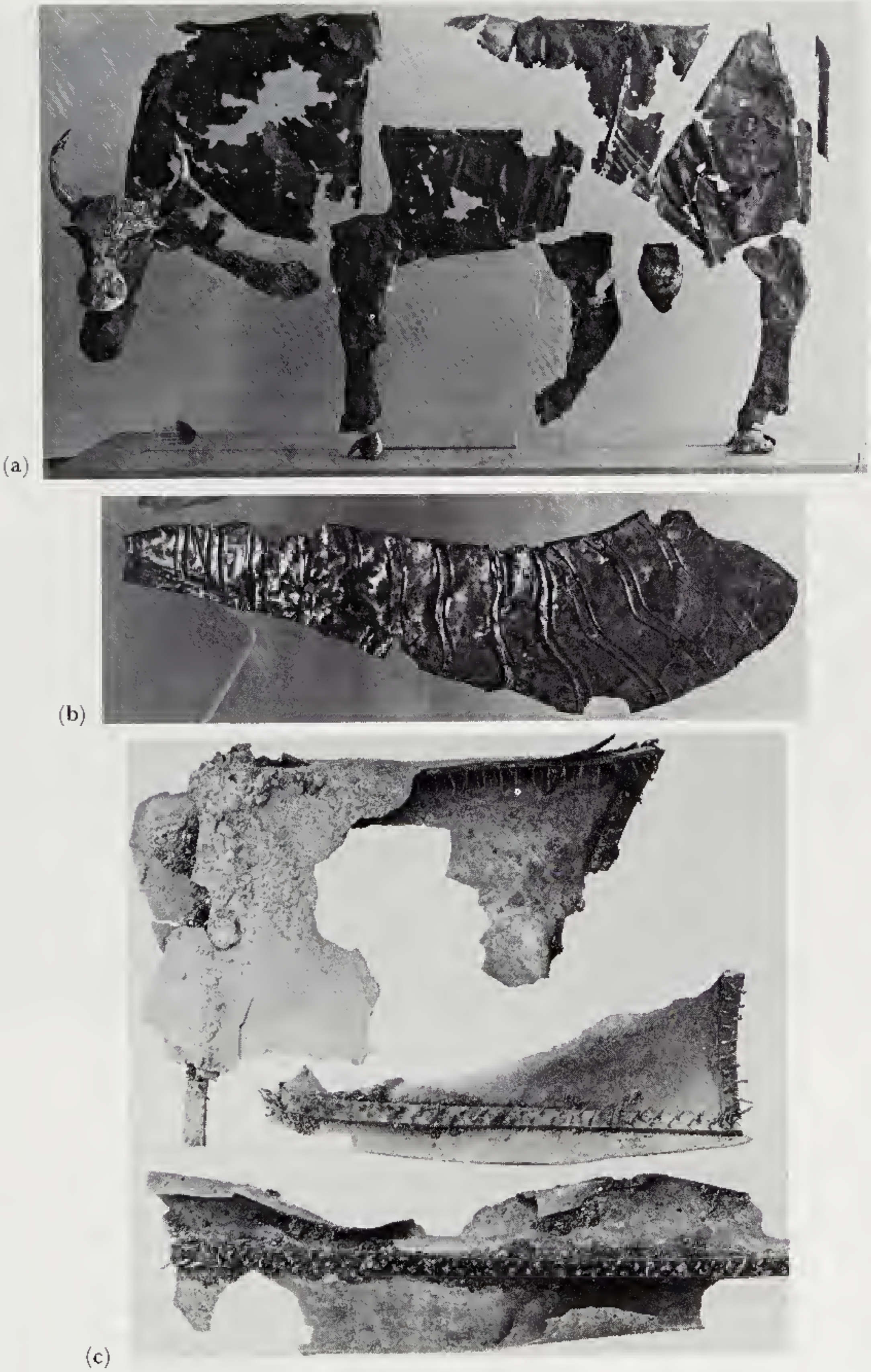

Fig. 17. Silver statue of a bull at Delphi. (*a*) the ensemble; (*b*) gilt dewlap; (*c*) parts of the body found.

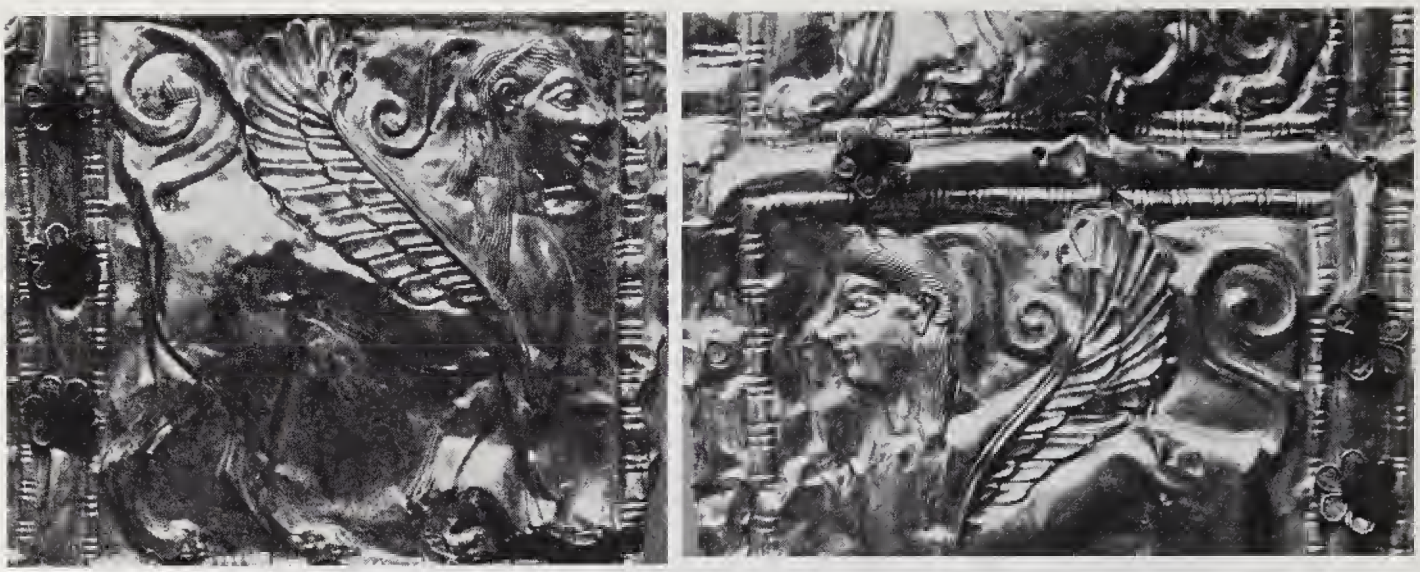

Fig. 18. Gold plaques from Delphi; details.

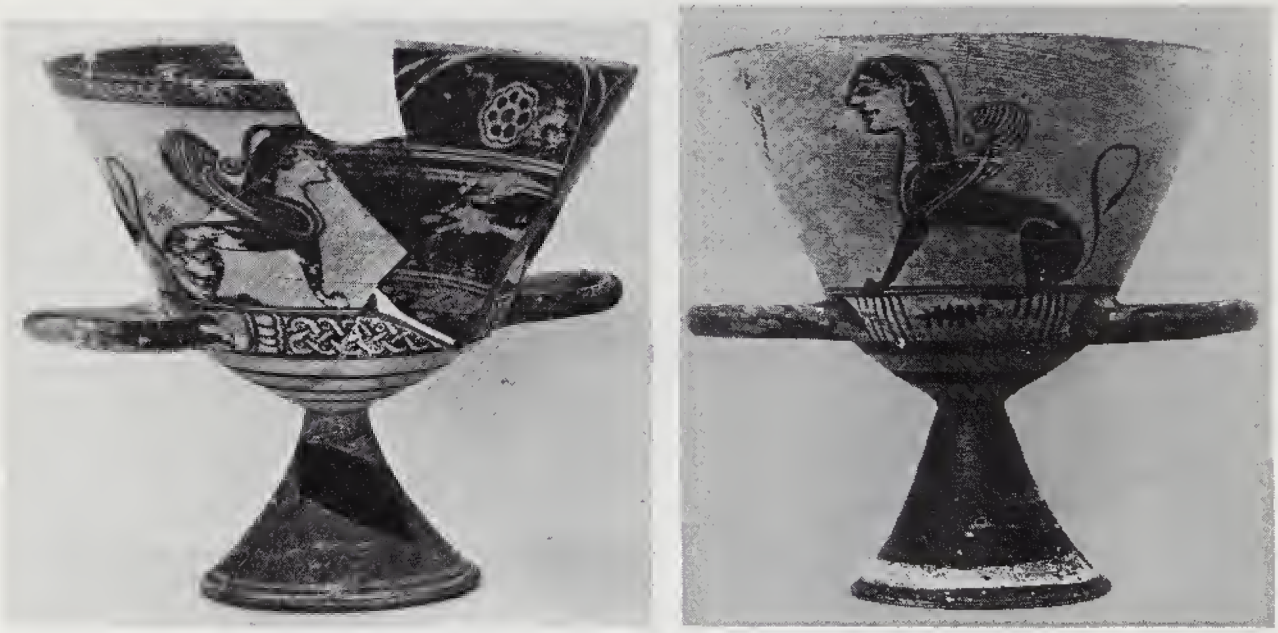

Fig. 19. Chian chalices: (*a*) from Tocra, Cyrenaica (*Tocra* I pl. 42, 784); (*b*) from Marion in Cyprus.

quarter of the sixth century BC and are the work of Ionian goldsmiths; there can be no doubt about this in the light of the choice of subjects, the prominence of the wild goat and deer and numerous stylistic details which recur in Ionian sculpture and vase-painting. One particularly characteristic detail is the way the back mane of the lion is shown running to the tail; another, trivial in itself but important when we consider its appearance elsewhere, is the stalk with a spiral which rises from the head of the sphinxes and which appears frequently, almost always in fact, in only three other groups of objects: Cretan relief pithoi, 'Rhodian' plates, and all varieties of Chian vases (Figs. 19 *a*,*b*) with their Thasian imitations. This single factor is hardly enough to justify the

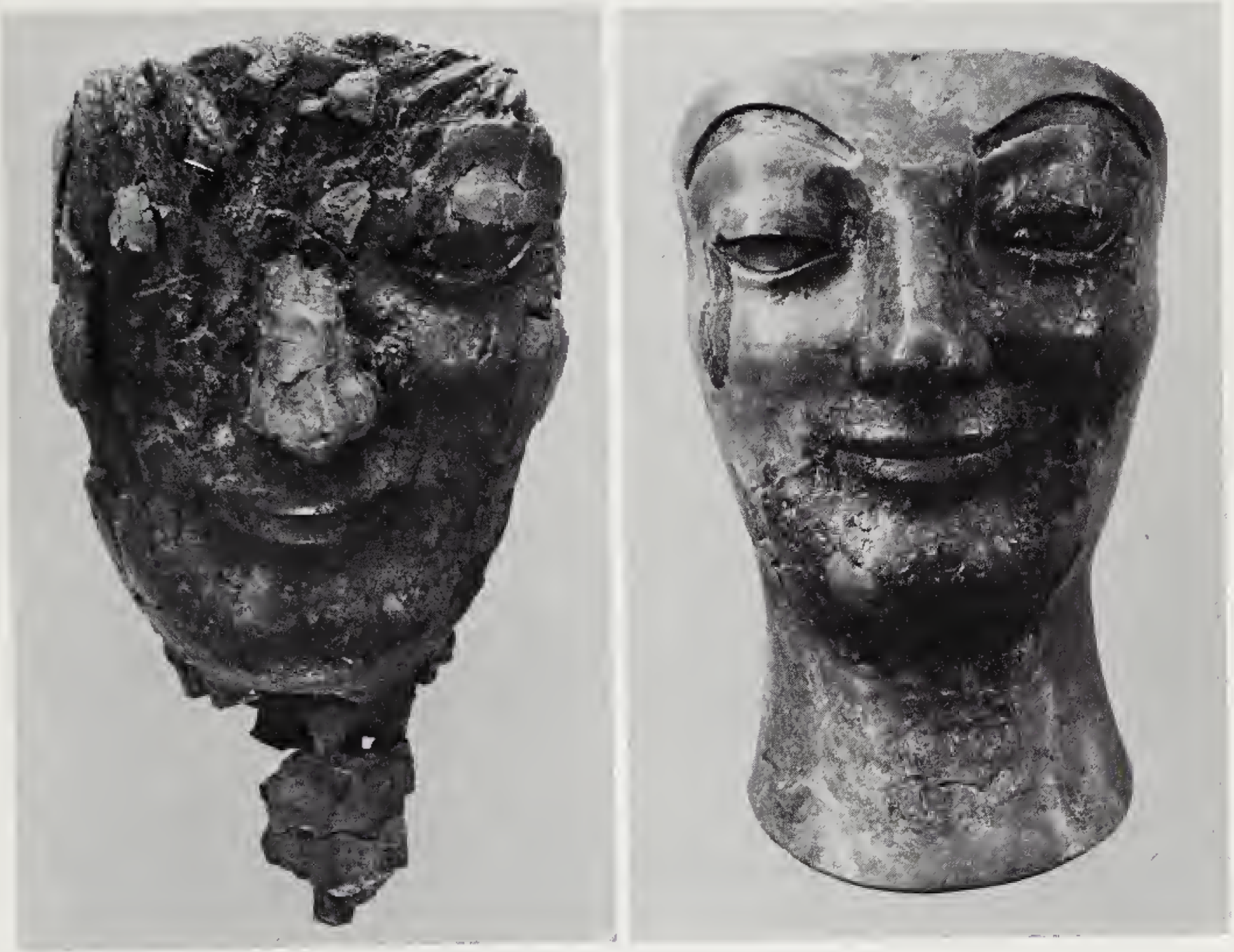

Fig. 20. Ivory head from Delphi, before and after restoration.

attribution of the two gold plaques from Delphi to Chian goldsmiths, but of all the important Ionian cities Chios is the one which might lay the most serious claim.

The remains of three life-size chryselephantine statues were found in the same pit. The wooden bodies had been burnt, as that of the bull, and the ivory parts—heads, hands, and feet—had been more or less badly carbonized. Two heads are relatively well preserved. One of these is typically Ionian with its heavy chin, 'circumflex' eyes, and raised eyebrows (Fig. 20). It is from the statue of a woman, from which we have also one delicately fingered hand and some slim toes, the only part of the body to protrude below the garment-hem, on which, perhaps, the two gold plaques had been attached by the little silver nails with their enamelled heads (in part still adhering to the plaques through the oxidation of the metal). The artist was Ionian, but can we go further than this? An Ionian of the north—of Chios, Phocaea, or Clazomenae—or of the south—of Samos, Miletus, or Ephesus?[66] We might stress the similarity between the Delphi head and that of a Cybele in Chios Museum without this association being any more convincing than others.

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[66] In the preliminary report, which was written in the months immediately following the discovery, I mentioned Samos, Miletus, and Ephesus (*BCH* 63 (1939) 119) as the best-known centres of Ionia without implying that this short list excluded all other possibilities. Croissant, op. cit. 38, 43, holds the attribution to Samos as the 'most

The bull, the gold plaques, the ivory head might, in descending order of probability, raise the possibility at least of Chian origin. Add to them the work on the Siphnian Treasury and we see that, if we are ever to determine exactly the origins of these and other disputed works, we must wait for the excavation of enough works of quality and of certain local manufacture from the various sites of northern Ionia, and especially from Chios.

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reasonable'. Langlotz proposed an attribution of the Delphi head to a Phocaean artist on the grounds of the resemblance of its profile to that of the head of Athena on Phocaean coins: *Die kulturelle und künstlerische Hellenisierung der Küsten des Mittelmeers durch die Stadt Phokaia* (Cologne/Opladen 1966) 42. But apart from its coinage the art of Phocaea is even less known than that of Chios. In his *Studien* (n. 57 above) 128–9 Langlotz is less positive.

ARCHAIC CHIAN POTTERY ON CHIOS

A. A. LEMOS

> *Ἐπαινοῦνται δὲ καὶ αἱ Χῖαι κύλικες, ὧν μνημονεύει Ἕρμιππος ἐν Στρατιώταις·*
> *Χία δὲ κύλιξ ὑψοῦ κρέμαται περὶ πασσαλόφιν.*

THUS Athenaeus in his Deipnosophists;[1] ironically we shall never know whether he meant to refer specifically to the most popular of Chian-vase shapes or simply to any old drinking-cup hanging on a peg. Be that as it may it is certainly true that the *Χιακὴ κύλιξ*, or what is still called 'chalice' by the English, represents at least two-thirds of Chian production in the Archaic period. This shape is one of the principal features of this School, the other three being the fabric with the distinctive white slip, the inner decoration, mostly floral, of open vases of the sixth century, and the finesse of line in the elaborate wares.

At Emporio a large number of significant pots and sherds were uncovered in the excavations of the British School at Athens in 1952–55; amongst others the chalice (Fig. 1)[2] on whose rim the inscription: *ΝΙΚΗΣΕΡΜΟΣΤΗΝ̣[ΔΕ]Τ̣ΗΝΚΥΛΙΚΑΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ̣* proclaims Nikesermos and his skills. It is only thanks to Nikesermos' lack of modesty that we have gained the first and as yet the only potter's name from ancient Chios.

The chalice was a shape long known, but the more complete and chronologically extensive series from Emporio enabled Boardman to trace the evolution from a local Geometric skyphos through various stages during the seventh century; the Nikesermos chalice and its like are dated to the last third. A further stage of development when the typical 'chalice' shape is eminent, in the first quarter of the sixth century, is represented in an intact vase from Marion in Cyprus (Fig. 2).[3] The chalice from Camirus on Rhodes in the Louvre (Fig. 3)[4] can be placed in the first stage of decline in the Archaic period, perhaps a little after the middle of the century. The gradual and definite decline in subsequent centuries is attested in a series of chalices from Emporio[5] and a previously unpublished one from Rizari (Fig. 4).

Rizari is the name of a district in Chios town where the late Professor Kontoleon excavated part of an Archaic cemetery in the early 1950s.[6] The excavations were

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[1] Athenaeus 480 E; and Eust. 1428. 61.

[2] *Greek Emporio* no. 251, pls. 34, 97 and fig. 74.

[3] E. Gjerstad *et al.*, *Greek Geometric and Archaic Pottery from Cyprus* (Stockholm 1977) no. 158, pl. 16. 7, 8.

[4] E. Pottier, *Vases antiques du Louvre* (Paris 1897–1922) 165, no. 330, 2.

[5] *Greek Emporio* 119–122 for the 7th-c plain chalices and the evolution of the shape; 156–161 for the 6th-c decorated chalices, and 172–3 for the later ones.

[6] Reports of the excavations in *PAE* 1952, 520–30 and *PAE* 1953, 268–74.

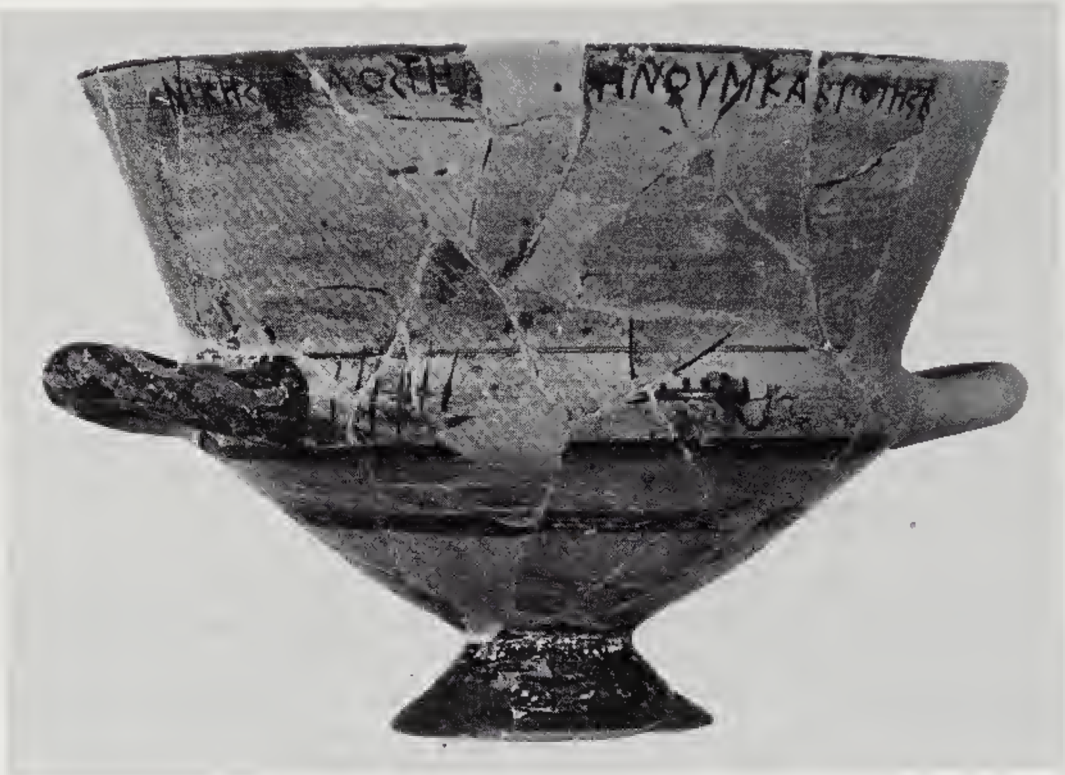

Fig. 1. Chalice signed by Nikesermos from Emporio. Chios Museum.

enforcedly limited to a restricted area because, in common with the spread of many Greek towns, this district became rapidly built up after the war. However, the excavations were fruitful and of paramount importance. This was the first sizeable Archaic cemetery to be uncovered on Chios, and more significantly in the town of Chios itself, where the main pottery workshops are to be placed (or so one might hope).

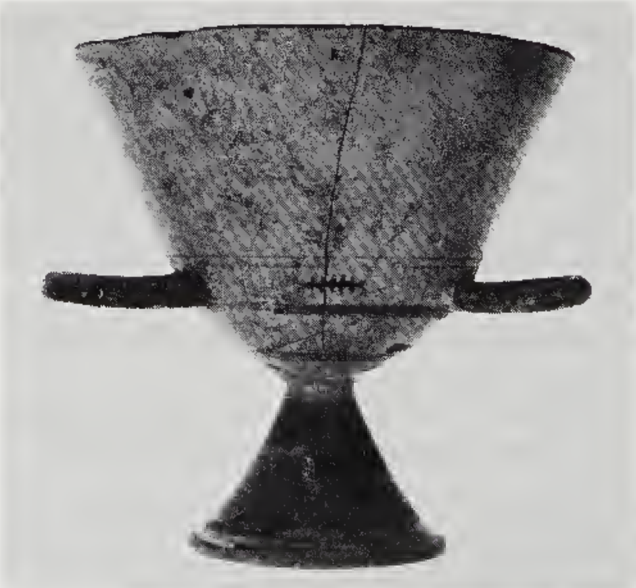

Fig. 2. Chalice from Marion in Cyprus. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum.

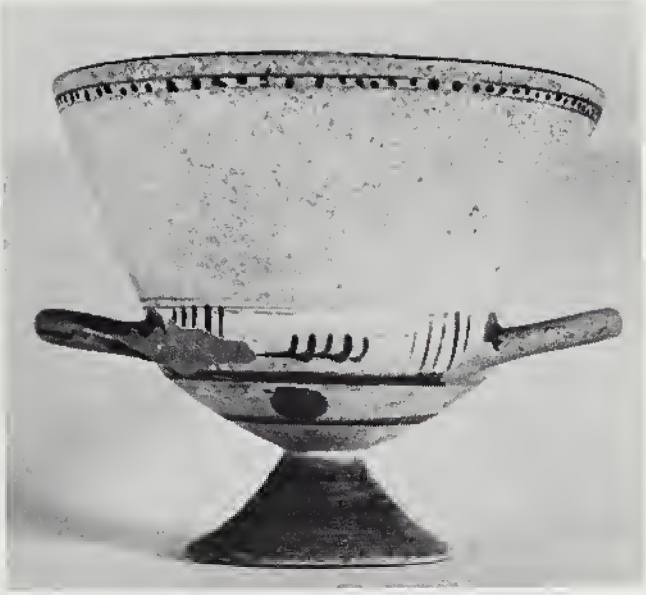

Fig. 3. Chalice from Camirus, Rhodes. Paris, Louvre Museum.

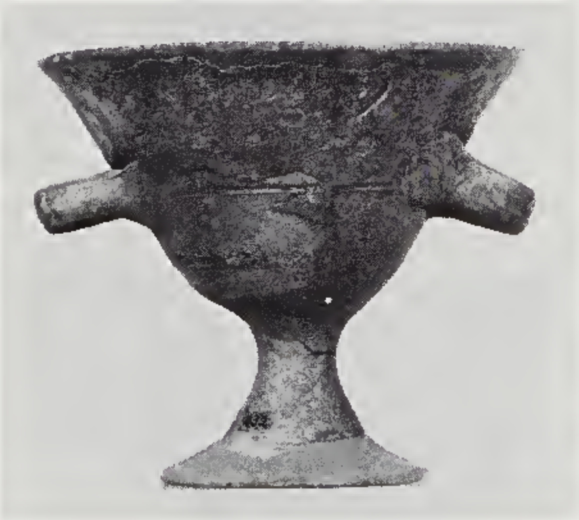

Fig. 4. Chalice from Rizari, Chios town. Chios Museum.

The burials at Rizari consisted of four large sarcophagi of local Thymiana limestone, and hydriai and pithos-amphorae which surrounded a vast pyre; they can roughly be dated to the turn of the seventh to the sixth century. Sherds, mostly decorated, of the Archaic period were scattered on top of these burials and higher up several Athenian red-figured pieces and fragments of Hellenistic.

Rizari's contribution to our knowledge of Archaic Chian pottery from the island can be focused on two points of interest: in the first place plain vases, hydriai, oinochoai (Fig. 5), jugs, and one-handled cups (Fig. 6), wholly Chian in fabric and in shape, were contained in the sarcophagi and the amphorae as offerings to the deceased. The shapes

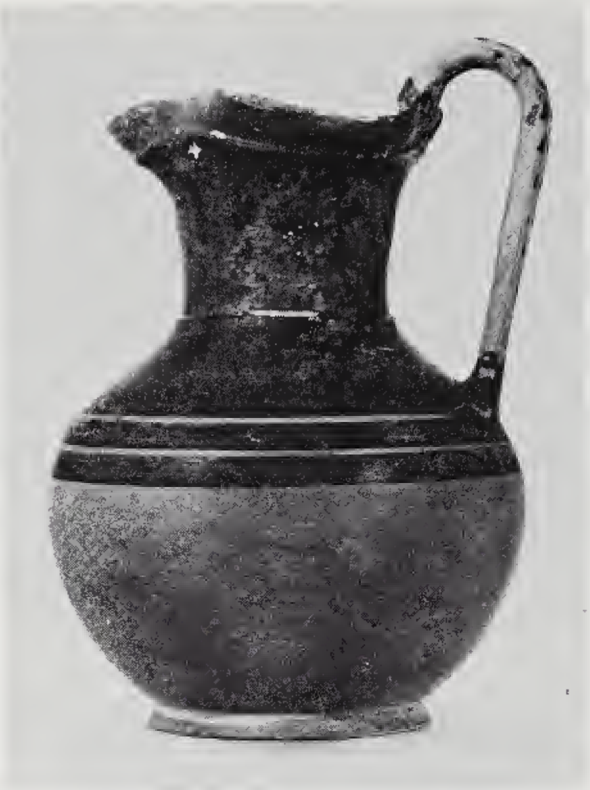

Fig. 5. Oinochoe from Rizari, Chios town. Chios Museum.

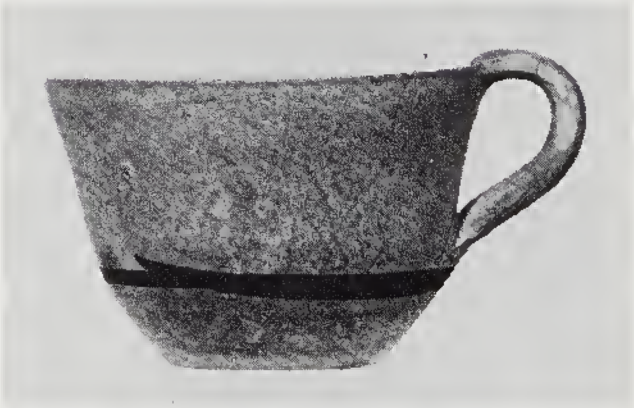

Fig. 6. Cup from Rizari, Chios town. Chios Museum.

are not unknown at Emporio, Kofina Ridge and elsewhere, but the Rizari ones are in a better, almost perfect, state of preservation.

The pointed, wide-mouthed amphorae (Fig. 7) head the series of the famous later Chian wine-jars. Specimens of this early stage which served the same purpose have been recognized outside Chios as well. The decoration of the amphorae and the hydriai (Fig. 8), of which the latter have been found all over the island, is similar, consisting of concentric circles and horizontal lines drawn free hand, with 'moustaches'. Their close stylistic unity indicates the existence of a single workshop established in Chios town and

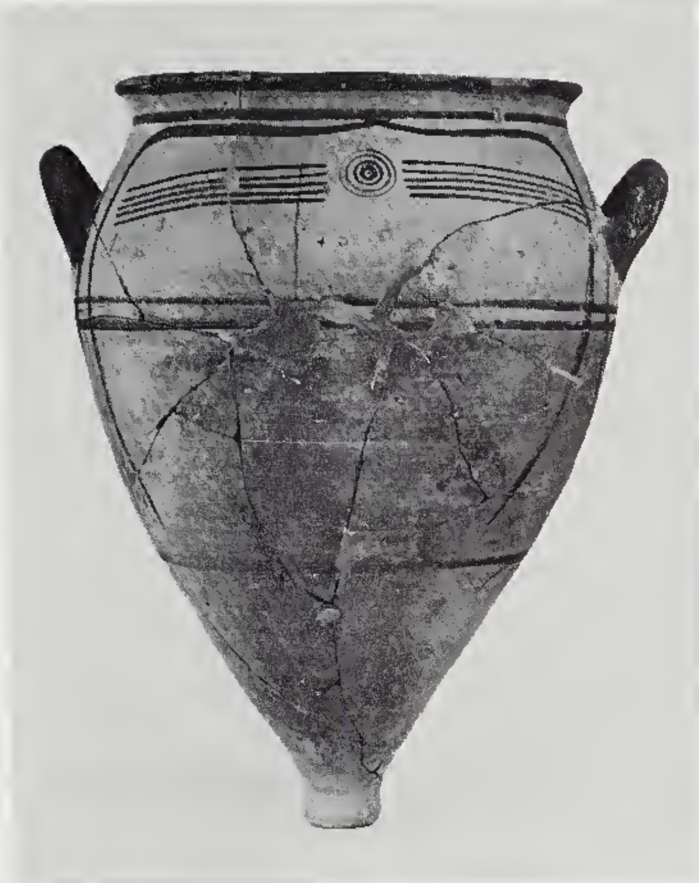

Fig. 7. Pithos-amphora from Rizari, Chios town. Chios Museum.

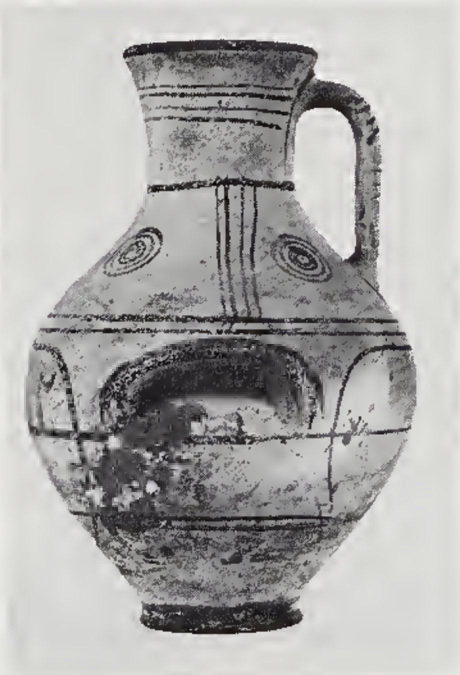

Fig. 8. Hydria from Rizari, Chios town. Chios Museum.

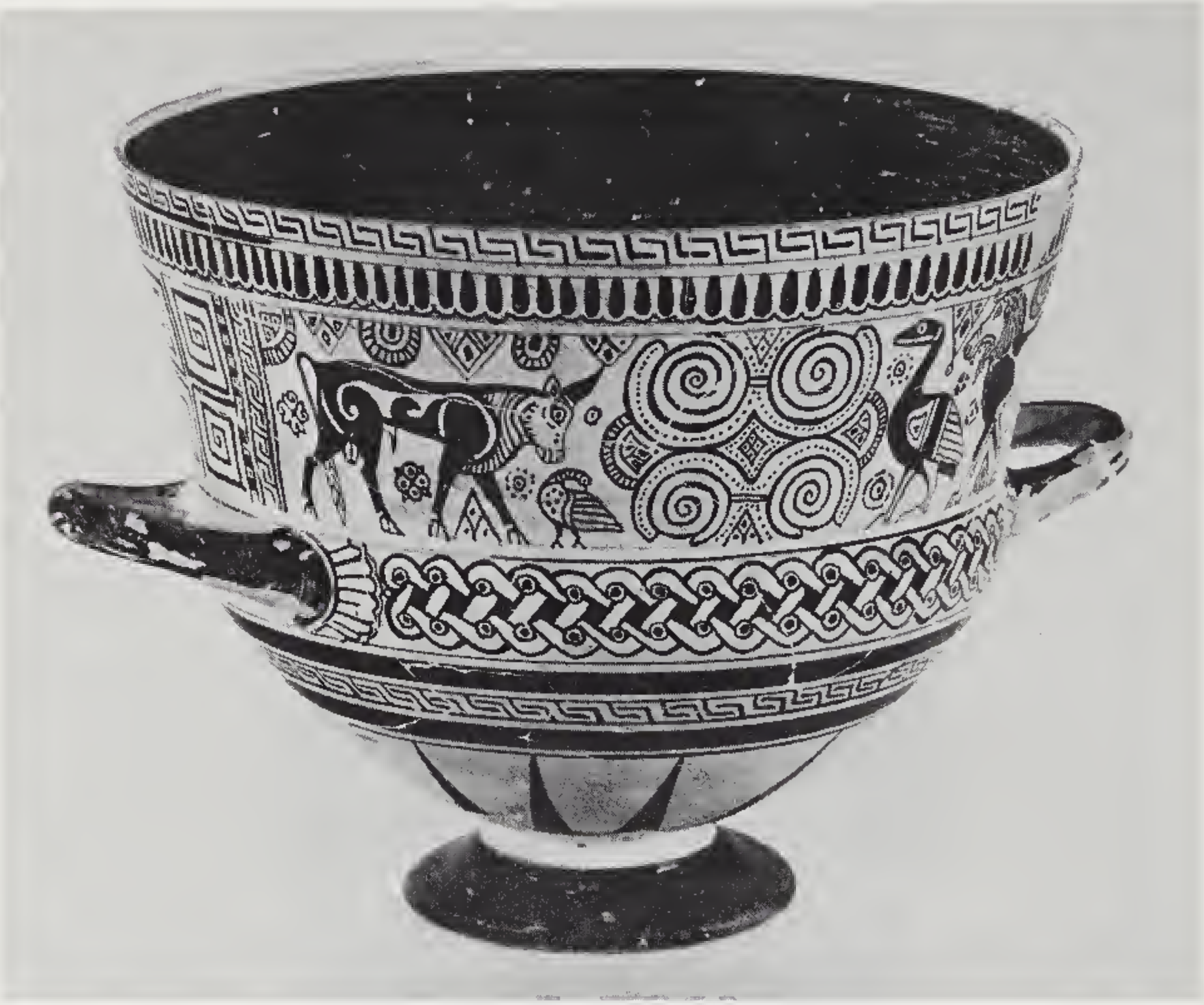

Fig. 9. Chain chalice from Vulci, Etruria. Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner Museum.

supplying the rest of the island and overseas. This is a very interesting category which displays connection with other East Greek wares, and may indeed be the fruit of a tradition stretching back to Sub-mycenaean times.[7]

Secondly, Rizari yielded a few remarkable figure-decorated pieces from all the categories represented on the island. A few fragments are undoubtedly products of the workshop from which emerged the Painter of the Würzburg Chalices, whose works demonstrate the Chian Wild Goat style in its prime. He uses the late seventh-century type of chalice for his now famous vases (Fig. 9).[8] He is not an imaginative, still less an inspiring, artist; he is, however, a competent draughtsman who likes some sort of variety; his drawing is precise and his filling ornaments well-judged. A fragmentary dinos from Rizari (Fig. 10) may perhaps be the Painter's own work.

From another group, very close stylistically, which marks the very climax of the Middle II Wild Goat style, we can discern a hand that is more productive. This painter's best known vase is the Aphrodite bowl from Naucratis, in the British Museum;[9] we learn

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[7] *Greek Emporio* 105 n. 2, 137; J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas* (London 1980) 27.

[8] *CVA* Würzburg I, 30–3, pls. 22–4. 1. 2 and figs. 15, 16.

[9] BM 1888. 6–1. 456; *Naukratis* II (London 1888) pl. 6. 1, 2; A. Lane, *Greek Pottery* (London 1971) pl. 17*b*.

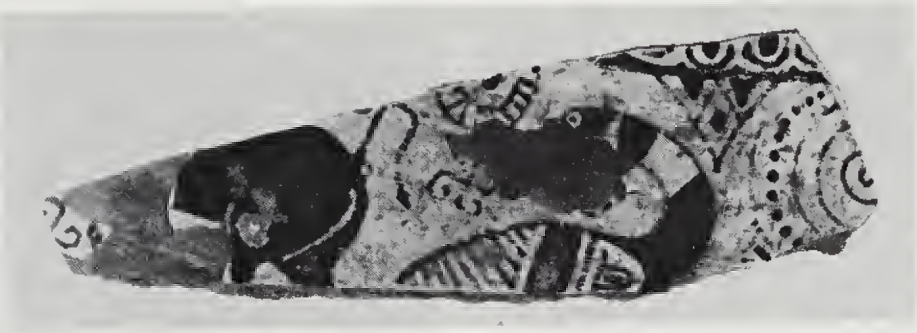

Fig. 10. Dinos fragment from Rizari, Chios town.
Chios Museum.

the names of the dedicator and deity—the incised inscription on the upper part of the inner wall reads: *ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣΜΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝΤΗΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ*—while we can also judge the coroplastic abilities of Chios at the end of the seventh century. His most elaborate work, in my opinion, is achieved in two masterpieces of Chian Middle Wild Goat style. They are both, unfortunately, fragmentary but his more complete work allows us to imagine the missing parts. Both are of the same shape as the last, that is an open bowl with straight out-turned sides. One (Fig. 11) belongs to the British Museum's vast collection of Chian sherds and vases from Naucratis, and the other (Fig. 12), from the same site, is part of the collection of University College, London.[10]

Material from Rizari once more adds new stylistic groups to the Chian Wild Goat style and suggests that shapes, such as the oinochoe,[11] which replaced the amphora and hydria in the southern East Greek area in figurative pottery, were not unknown in Chian workshops. There are even intact specimens of the shape. Apart from the Emporio vase ending in a bull's head, a Middle Wild Goat oinochoe from Old Smyrna could be added.[12]

The variety of shapes extends to dinoi, plates, dishes, bowls, and lekanai of various types, apart from the predominant chalice and oddities such as the phallus-cup.[13] On all these vases and fragments we can see both the qualities and the limitations of the Wild Goat style, the principal virtues of which are the finesse and elegance of line, the relative sparsity of filling ornaments, the meticulous drawing, and the painters' intermittently successful attempts at naturalism. The limitations are self-evident: this is a merely decorative style; it is rarely if ever concerned with the human figure and as it has been pithily put: 'It is a style without ambitions.'[14]

Leaving the Chian Wild Goat style it would be well to refer to one of the principal problems connected with it; the absence of a clear link between Late Geometric figurative vase-painting and the canonical Wild Goat style, particularly evident on Chios. There are of course a few pieces that testify to some connection. A fragmentary

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[10] BM 1888. 6–1. 460*k* = 1924. 12–1. 84; R. M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery* (London 1972) pl. 31*c*; *Samos* V, 127, pl. 125. 615. The unpublished sherd in University College is inv. no. 754. I am grateful to Dr A. Johnston, who kindly allowed me to visit the collection and publish the sherd.

[11] *PAE* 1952, 527, fig. 9; *Samos* VI. 1 (1973) 137 no. 685.

[12] For the Emporio bull-vase see *Greek Emporio* no. 634, pls. 53–4, figs. 99–101 and p. 148 (however, in *Samos* VI. 1, 2 it is classified as Samian). For the Old Smyrna oinochoe (İzmir Museum no. 3333) see E. Akurgal, *Alt-Smyrna* I (Ankara 1983) 48, pls. 38–9 and Text-plates B and C. Also, *Catalogue Istanbul 1983* 29, B 65.

[13] BM 1888. 6–1. 496 b and c; *BSA* 44 (1949) 158 n. 12. 1–3 and pl. 41*b*.

[14] Cook, op. cit. (n. 10) 117.

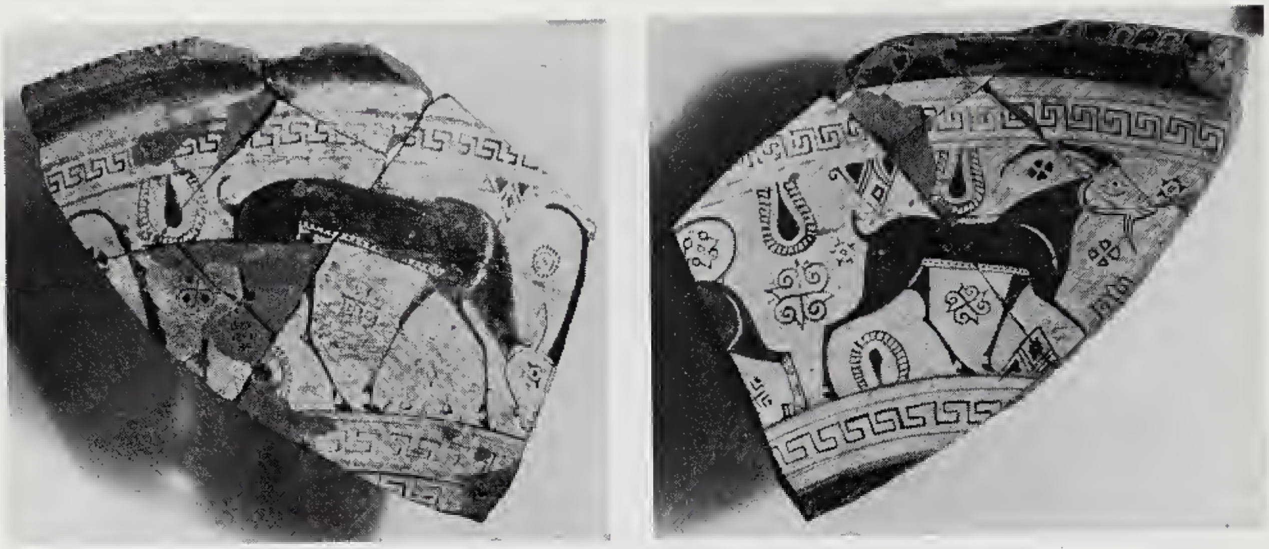

Fig. 11. Exterior and interior of an open bowl fragment from Naucratis. London, British Museum.

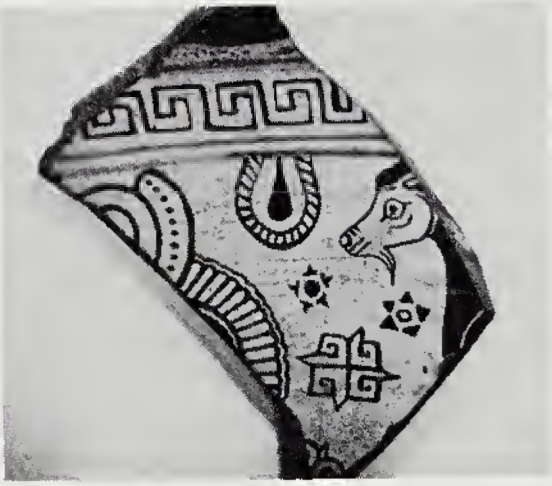

Fig. 12. Open bowl fragment from Naucratis. London, University College.

dish from Aegina[15] has been claimed as Chian and of an early Orientalizing phase.[16] Its Chian identity has been questioned[17] and its dating has recently, in its fuller publication, been lowered to the beginning of the sixth century; however, it seems to me wholly Chian and of an early date on grounds of both fabric and decoration. The shape too is not unknown in Chian decorated and plain wares; specifically, its rim profile looks similar to some seventh-century plain dishes from the island.[18] I think that its former dating, that is not long after the middle of the seventh century, should not be disturbed, for the following reasons. The drawing of the animals is elementary, indicating that the first steps are being taken in the new manner. The filling ornaments, especially the form of the swastikas, are rough and simple. Furthermore, the floral tree and pendants compare well with Middle Protoattic. All these permit us to consider the dish from Aegina as heading the Chian Wild Goat series. Beside the Aegina dish, which is an isolated example of the early phase, there exists a group of oinochoai and dinoi from Emporio[19] whose dating may on stratigraphic grounds be earlier than the Würzburg and Aphrodite groups, but which stylistically is already advanced. The fragmentary dinos from Emporio, however, bears a fox not dissimilar to the one on the dish.

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[15] *Alt-Ägina* II. 1. 15, no. 74, pl. 5 and fig. 2.

[16] *BSA* 44 (1949) 154 f., pl. 41*a* (not all the fragments then).

[17] *Greek Emporio* 149.

[18] ibid. 130, nos. 403–10, especially no. 403.

Chian Wild Goat Style, judged from the more complete series of the Middle II phase, does not seem to be merely a direct loan from the southern region; it can be considered as a local refinement which is the contribution of the Chian workshop to the wider *koine* of the East Greek world. One should emphasize that it is only the absence of sufficient evidence that makes the origins of the Chian Wild Goat style somewhat obscure to us, and that future discoveries on Chios, which has not been properly explored apart from Emporio, might even prove that the island, which was a leading artistic centre in Ionia, had a fruitful output in the earlier phases of the new style.

The reserving technique continues in the sixth century; it is in vogue for the first half and still practised a little beyond the middle of the century. Wild Goat lingers on for another decade or so from the beginning of the century, in a few groups which clearly testify to the gradual degeneration of a style by now obsolete, down to its final extinction. But whereas other East Greek Schools succumb to Corinthian influence and finally compromise with a Corinthianizing incised manner,[20] Chian vase-painters rejuvenate their animal style by developing the older tradition in a new way. Slight, though decisive, innovations demonstrate this.

First, there is a change of cast. Goats, deer, geese, dogs, and foxes are out. Lions, bulls, sphinxes, boars, and sirens are in; there is even the occasional griffin.

Secondly, the new shape of chalice with the higher walls provides a wider field for decoration and the old restricting 'metopes' are abandoned.

Thirdly, the well-balanced compositions are drawn almost impeccably.

And lastly, the inner decoration with floral motives appears for the first time on open vases.

All these point to a remarkable robust style, second to no other in Chios, at least in the execution of drawing. Vases of this category were unearthed on the island, but either they are in a dispiritingly fragmentary state or their decoration has in parts worn off; it would be better therefore to concentrate on their counterparts from overseas. The chalice from Delos (Fig. 13)[21] depicts a favourite Archaic theme, the fight or encounter of a lion with a bull, and that from Pitane,[22] on the reverse, two lions. The Animal Chalice style, as one can label it, takes root in the tradition of the Painter of the Aphrodite Bowl and his entourage, which is evident not only in the conscientious execution of the figure drawing but also in ornamental details.

Another category of chalice, chronologically and stylistically later, comprises those that dispense with filling ornament. They usually depict a solitary creature: a lion or a

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[19] ibid. 148–53, nos. 634–52, pls. 53–56 and figs. 99–102.

[20] Especially the North-Ionian centres, see *Samos* VI. 1. 77–87, pls. 105–25 passim and mainly J. Boardman and J. Hayes, *Tocra* II (London 1973) 28–34.

[21] Delos B. 6230 in *Expl. Arch. Délos* X, pls. 19. 61–2 and *Samos* VI. 1, pl. 94, 745.

[22] Exhibited at the Museum at Bergama. *TürkArkDerg.* 10 (1960) pl. 2. 4. For a photograph of the obverse, see *Samos* VI. 1, pl. 95. 753.

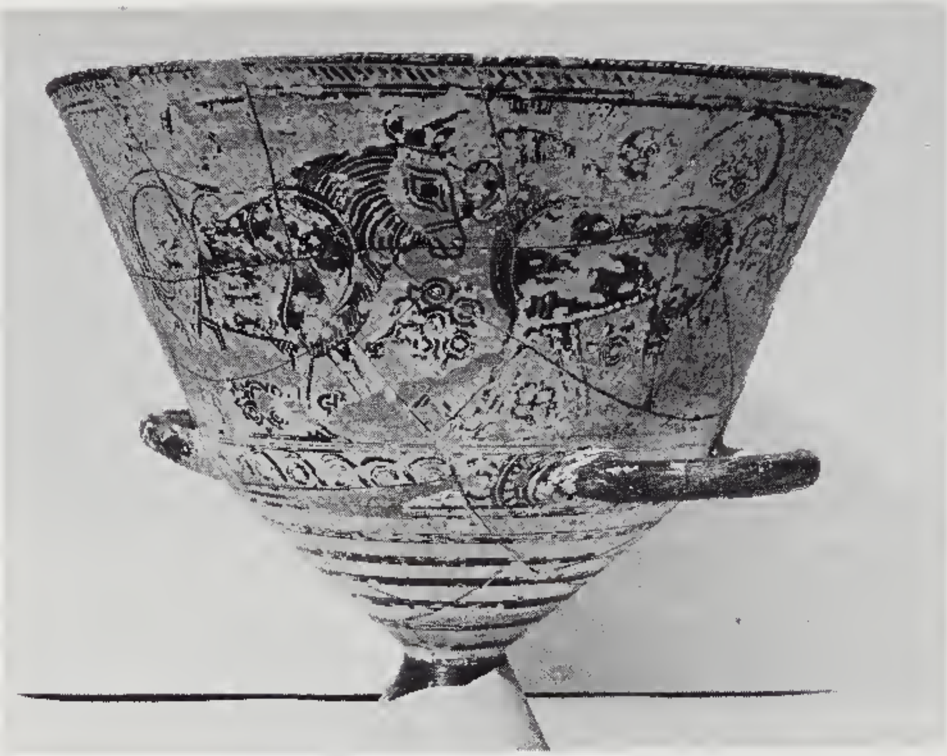

Fig. 13. Chalice from Delos. Delos Museum.

sphinx. The famous chalice from Camirus on Rhodes now in the Louvre (Fig. 14) and another from Pitane (inv. no. 5050), until recently in the Fuar Museum in İzmir,[23] look like replicas, but it is doubtful whether they are from the same hand.

Another example from the peak of the Chalice Style, so called for its dominant though not exclusive use of the shape, is the Phana chalice (Fig. 15),[24] unearthed in Kourouniotis' important but unfinished excavations at the beginning of this century, which were resumed by Miss Lamb for one season in the thirties.[25] A group recovered at Tocra and at Pitane depicts two antithetic sphinxes and dates early in the series; another, worshippers (Fig. 16), mostly but perhaps not always female, usually rendered in a mixed technique, using outline for facial and costume details.[26]

The manner of the figure drawing in these groups is a direct offspring of the Animal Chalice style. At the same time, however, this class is influenced by the Grand Style, not only in throwing off 'oppressive' filling ornament but in the types of man and woman that it takes over. Style is uniform, going through stages of evolution and eventual decline. At first sight they give the impression that they may have been copying major prototypes such as free painting, but on the whole the absence of filling ornament, and the statuesque posture and isolation of the figures, are frequent traits of vase-painting of the time. The manner of drawing rises from meticulous to elaborate, and gradually sinks

[23] Louvre A 330 from Camirus on Rhodes, see *Samos* VI. 1, pl. 94. 756.

[24] *ADelt* 2 (1916) pl. 2. 7

[25] *BSA* 35 (1934–5) 138 ff.

[26] Ex-13235, now Hermitage no. B55 on exhibit. *Bull. comm. imp. arch.* 40 (1911) 142–8, figs. 1–4; *SovArch* 1957. 4, 135.

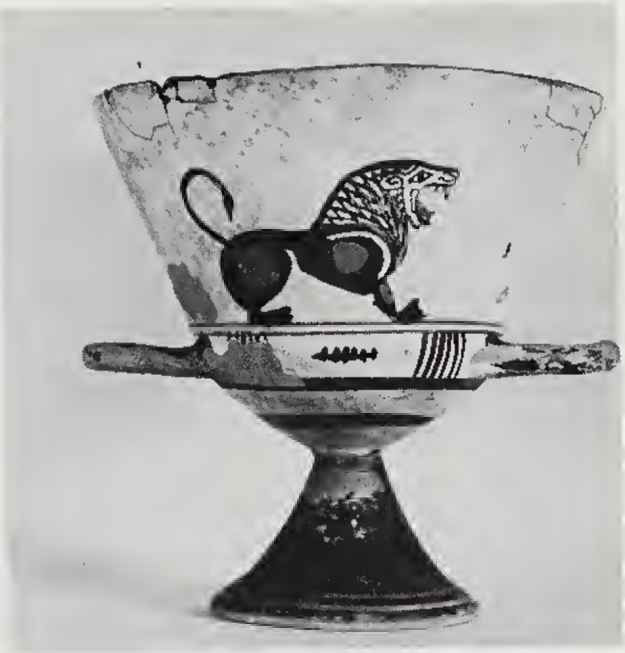

Fig. 14. Chalice from Camirus, Rhodes. Paris, Louvre Museum.

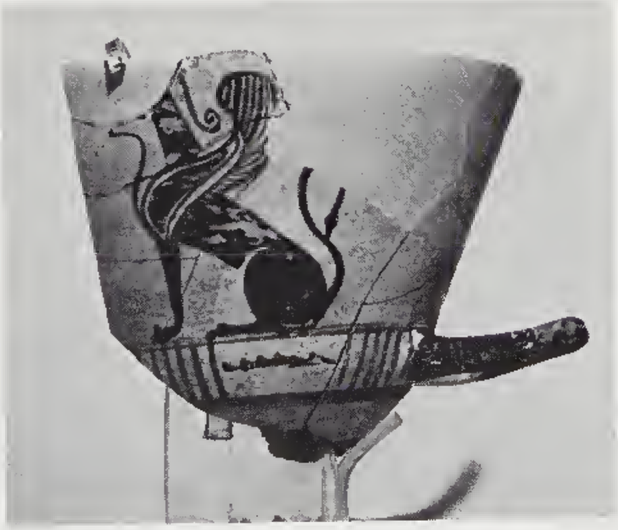

Fig. 15. Chalice from Phana. Chios Museum.

to hasty and hackneyed work. The last, if not the very last in the series, is the Florence chalice from Rhodes[27] decorated with a wholly debased sphinx, and scribbles that are reminiscent of a saw-pattern on the handle zone and faintly recall the typical trade mark of the sixth-century chalice. This vase demonstrates perfectly the sad end of a style and of a technique which once knew palmier days.

Grand Style vases have not yet been unearthed on Chios; however, there are grounds to believe that they were manufactured on the island. Another major technique, that of

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[27] Florence 79244 from Camirus (unpublished); but see *BSA* 47 (1952) 159 note 5 and *Greek Emporio* 157 n. 5 on p. 158.

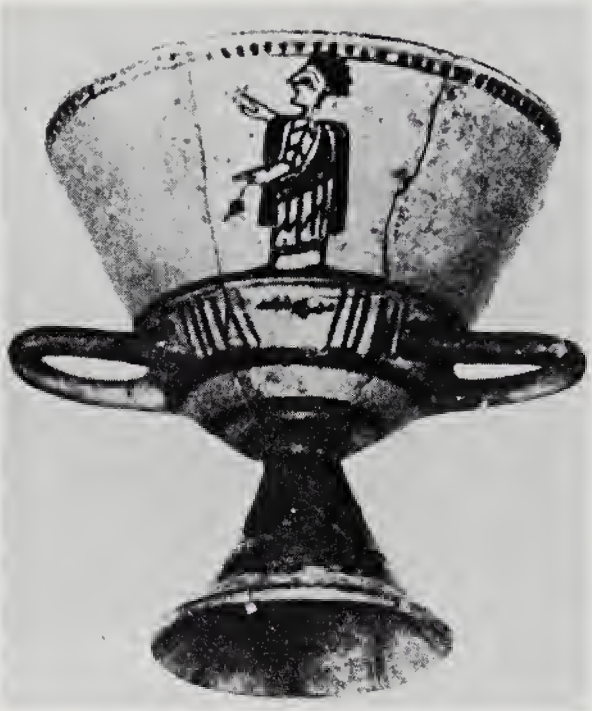

Fig. 16. Chalice from Berezan', south Russia.

black-figure, was practised during almost the whole sixth century. Chiotes obviously derived from Corinth the technique which was by now a favourite of the studios of Mainland Greece. It came to Chios just before the end of the seventh century. A stratified fragment from the siege-mound at Old Smyrna[28] suggests that it was in its first youth slightly before the beginning of the sixth century. Categories within Chian black-figure are evidently unequal and attest the various influences exercised on the school. Some show their makers blindly following a technique they had not digested or even understood. The so-called Sphinx and Lion Style is the basic style;[29] it is thought to have been short-lived. In fact the homogeneous and unaltering style of repetitive rows of lions and sphinxes (Fig. 17) cannot have occupied its painters for more than forty years. A rather misleading piece is a lid from Rizari (Fig. 18), where the poverty of the style is mitigated by its fragmentary state, and the interest of a subject rare outside the Grand Style: a horseman. Nevertheless, the overall impression of an untidy and blotchy design on an intact vase gives some idea of the result of inadequate assimilation of an alien technique.

So much for the decoration; but credit must be given to the potters who, apart from producing the usual shapes (bowls with lids, oinochoai, dinoi, kernoi) launched out into innovating rarities of remarkable inspiration and originality. Here are a few: the stemmed skyphos-crater from Pitane, which is reminiscent of the Athenian Nessos Painter's pots; the incense-vase, again from the excavations at Pitane which were prolific

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[28] In the collection of the British School at Athens. See *Greek Emporio* 166 n. 4. Strangely enough, this sherd has not appeared in any of the publications of material deriving from Old Smyrna.

[29] *Greek Emporio* 166–8, nos. 824–37, pls. 62–3 and figs. 114–15. Vases of the Sphinx and Lion style have appeared in many publications of East Greek pottery; a few are cited in the following note.

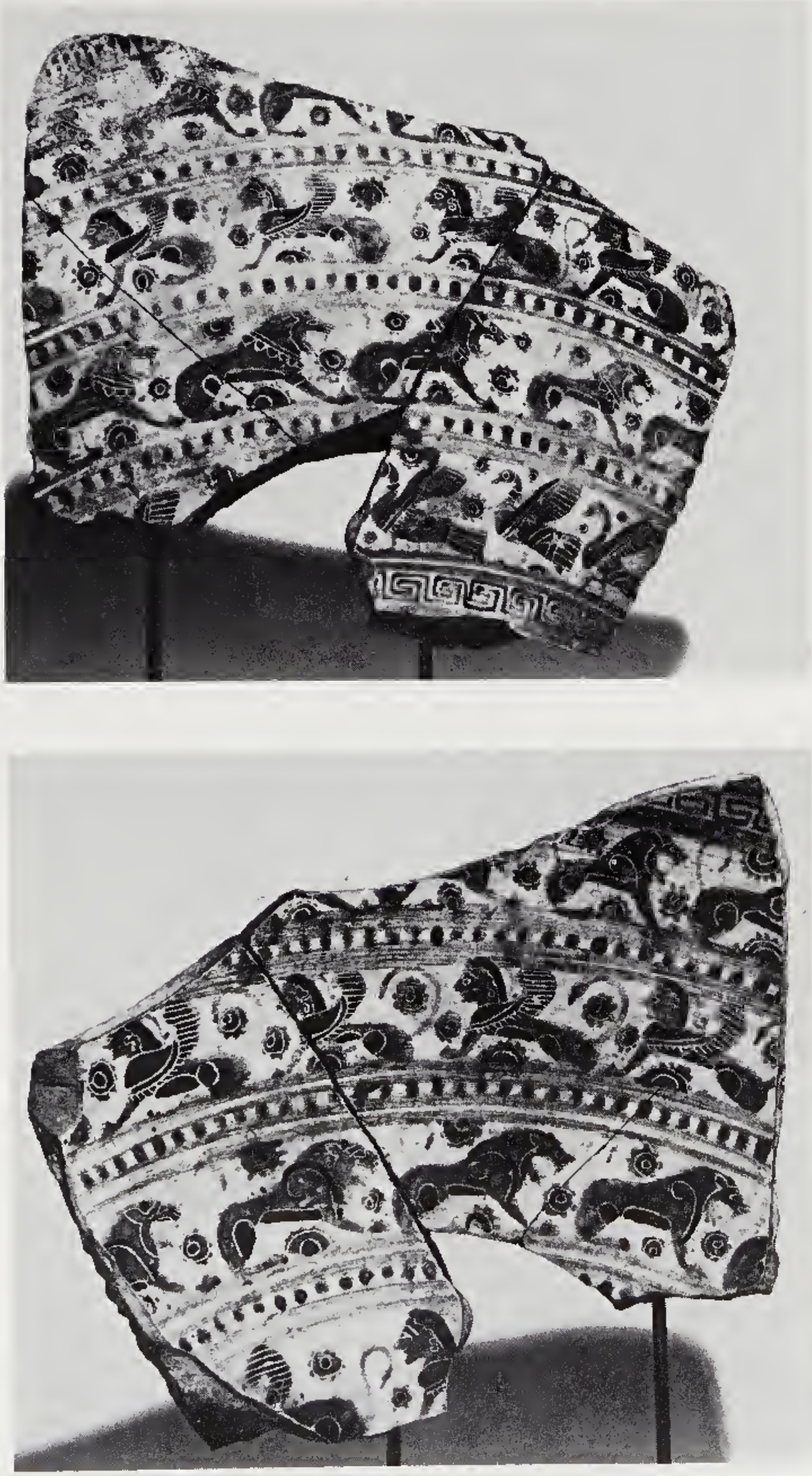

Fig. 17. Exterior and interior of a lekane fragment from Chios town. Chios Museum.

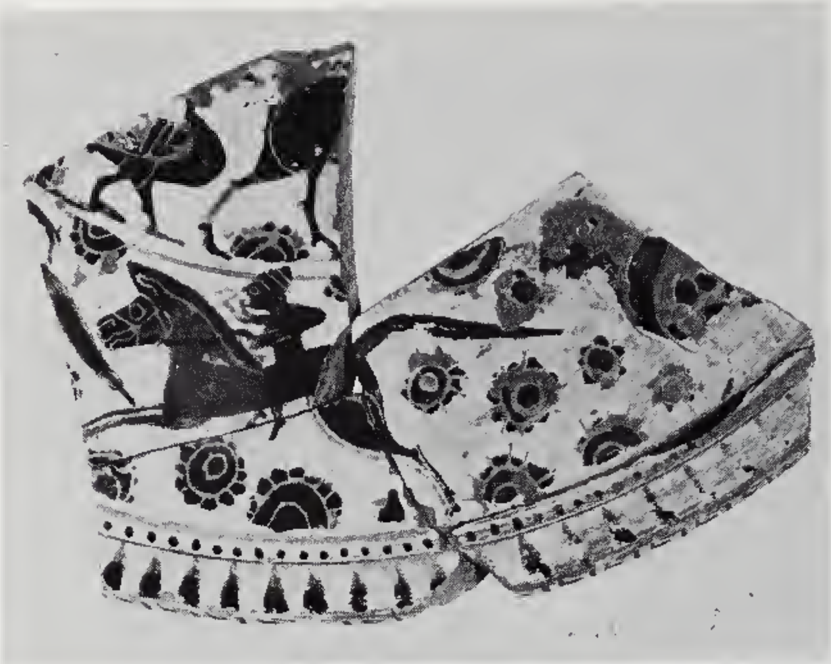

Fig. 18. Fragment of lid from Rizari, Chios town. Chios Museum.

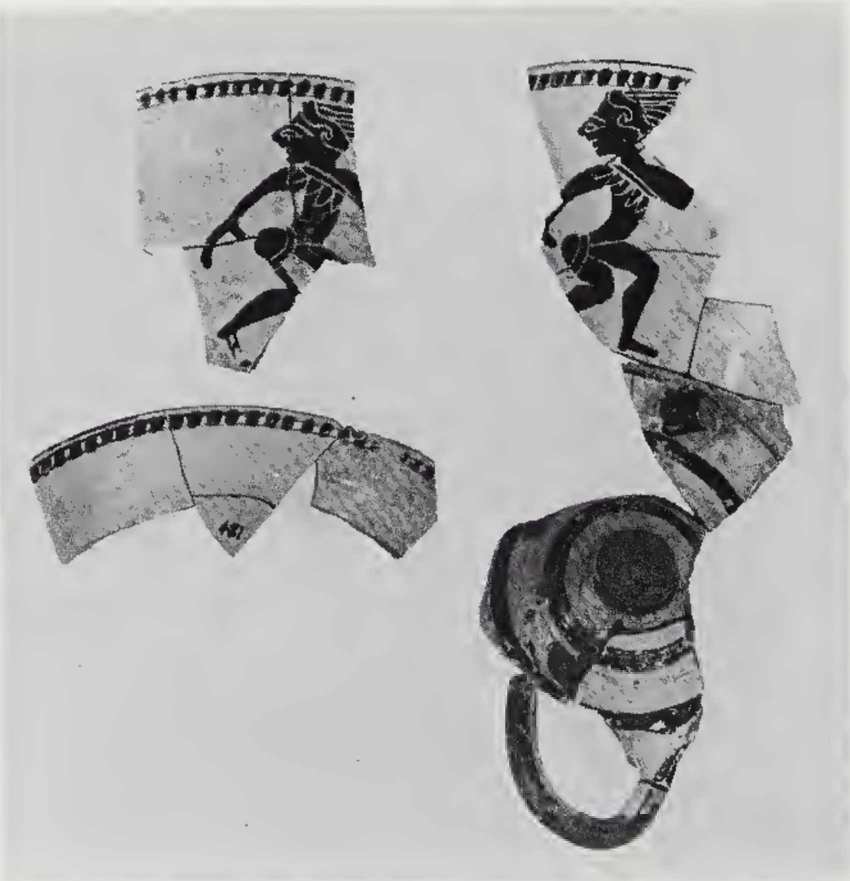

Fig. 19. Chalice fragments from Rizari, Chios town. Chios Museum.

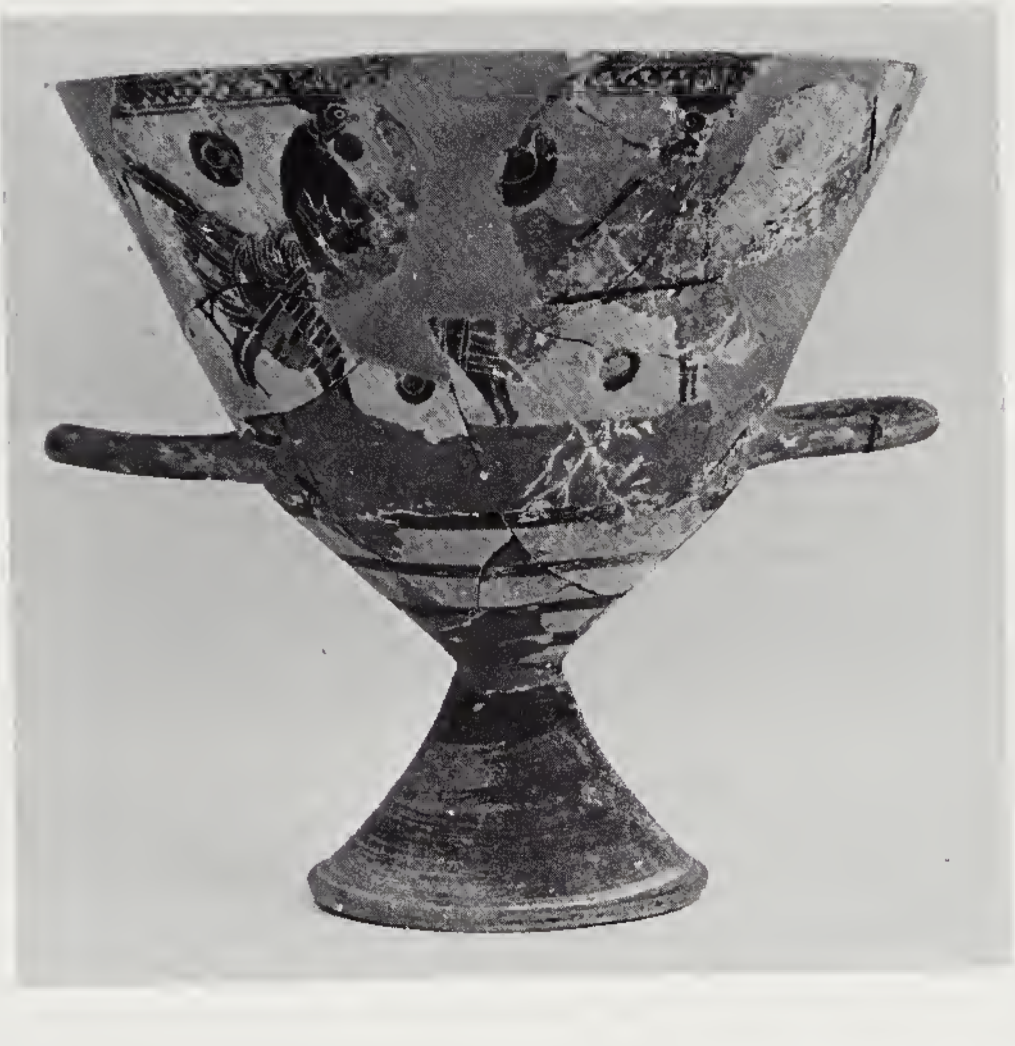

Fig. 20. Chalice from Rhitsona, Boeotia. Thebes Museum.

in Chian vases; the basket-handled cylindrical vessel with female moulded heads from Phana; and the peculiarly thick lekane fragment from the island (Fig. 17), the last two of which permit only tentative reconstructions.[30]

Following the wider Panhellenic practice of the first quarter of the sixth century, komast scenes appear here only on chalices of smaller dimensions. Chian komasts (Fig. 19) are as dull and tiresome as they are repetitive in pose and attitude; they become slightly less uninspired in the company of women, who are always drawn in outline.[31] Their interest lies in the interpretation of their iconography, and a recently-proposed theory suggests that they might reflect certain elements of contemporary cult practices on Chios.[32]

Other black-figure chalices with animals and specifically the Poultry Group, named after its subject-matter, have claims to competent if not exceptional draughtsmanship. One rich tomb at Rhitsona in Boeotia furnished an excellent chalice (Fig. 20)[33] also important from the point of view of its date. It is from the early years of the group; the slightly unbalanced composition, the disc-rosettes compared with other Chian black-figure categories, and above all the better-dated Athenian vases found in the same tomb, place it as an early specimen of this group, of about 565 BC. A further stage—with vases which are possibly the work of one painter—is marked by the Tocra chalice;[34] this does without the rosettes and is, in the words of the excavators, 'a delicate cup of great charm and originality'.[35]

Chian painted pottery dragged on to the end of the sixth century, turning for inspiration in its dying years to the more popular and active workshops of Athens and Clazomenae. The material is sometimes so derivative that it might have been confused with the original.[36]

Thus, after about a hundred and fifty years, we witness the demise of a noteworthy yet not widely known school of Archaic Greece, which had had a brilliant career, rather undeserving of the slander 'provincial', especially when we recall the exceptionally good work of its heyday. Henceforth plain pottery continued to provide for everyday needs, and the undecorated chalice (Fig. 4) was useful to the Chians, but to nobody else, for a few more centuries. 'By 500 BC East Greek vase-painting'—and Chian inevitably with it—'was deservedly dead.'[37]

In concluding it must be mentioned that all is not certain in the dating of Chian pottery, since so much of it depends on stylistic criteria which are subjective and sometimes hazardous. Stratigraphic evidence exists, but the distinctions which it permits are not fine enough for our purposes. As regards tomb-contexts, which are rare in Chios, few are of help since most are either still unpublished or have passed unrecorded. Very little has been described from the excavations at Pitane, which produced abundant

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[30] *Stemmed skyphos crater*: exhibited in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul, see *AJA* 66 (1962) 378, pl. 103. 31; *Greek Emporio* 166 n. 6 and p. 194; *CGED* pl. 5. 3; cf. *Antike Kunst* Beiheft 7 (1970) 7, considered as Aeolian. *Incense-vase*: Istanbul no. 8580, see *CGED* pl. 5. 4 and *Catalogue Instanbul 1983* 33, B83. *Basket-handled cylindrical vessel*: *ADelt* 2 (1916) 202 ff., pl. 3. 20–2 and *Greek Emporio* 166 n. 6. *Lekane*: *ADelt* 1 (1915) figs. 33–4, where wrongly stated 'outside' for 'inside' and vice versa, and *Greek Emporio* 166 n. 6.

[31] There are unpublished fragments from both Rizari and Naucratis.

[32] D. Williams, 'Aigina, Aphaia—Tempel, V. The Pottery from Chios', *AA* 1983, 162–3.

[33] *JHS* 29 (1909) 332 ff., fig. 15, pl. 25 and *Greek Emporio* 158 n. 4.

[34] *Tocra* I, (1966) 59, 63, no. 785, pls. 42–3 and *Samos* VI. 1 pls. 95 and 100, no. 815.

[35] J. Boardman, *Greek Art* (London 1973) 87, fig. 80.

[36] *Greek Emporio* 168–70 and *CGED* 85 (Boardman).

[37] Cook, op. cit. (n. 10) 116.

Chian material deriving from tombs containing better-dated Corinthian and Athenian vases, but that little seems to reinforce traditional views.[38]

An overall picture has been sketched out of the main Chian categories represented by finds on the island. However, further systematic excavations, preferably on Chios, may clarify many aspects of classification and dating. New material may also bring fresh problems, but will add decisively to our present state of knowledge.

My greatest debt is to Professor John Boardman, who suggested this paper to me, read the typescript and saved me from many errors; however the remaining ones are due only to me. It has been a privilege to study in Oxford with the benefit of his invaluable assistance and advice. I am also grateful to the Committee of the Greek Archaeological Society and to Professor V. Lambrinoudakis, in particular, for permission to publish the material from the late Professor Kontoleon's excavations at Rizari, from which certain vases appear here. Finally, my thanks go to G. J. D. Lemos, who pruned my English and made helpful comments on various points.

The following abbreviations are used here:

Catalogue Istanbul 1983	Catalogue of the XVIIIth European Art Exhibition, *The Anatolian Civilisations* II, Greek/Roman/Byzantine (St. Irene, Istanbul, May 22–October 30, 1983).
CGED	*Les Céramiques de la Grèce de l'Est et leur diffusion en Occident* (Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique N. 569. Centre J. Bérard. Naples, 6–9 Juillet 1976 (1978)).

[38] *CGED* 29 ff. (Bayburtluoğlu).

ARCHAIC CHIAN POTTERY AT NAUCRATIS

J. BOARDMAN

In the history of Archaic Greek ceramics the pottery of the island of Chios stands out for its distinctive appearance, shapes, and technical quality. It would be wrong to pretend that its decoration is executed with a skill comparable with that of an Exekias, but it can on occasion be very good. It is rather its overall character which makes it so easy to distinguish from contemporary wares, even in the East Greek world.

We observe an unusual shape, the chalice; an unusual quality of slip, a brilliant creamy white; an unusual finesse of potting, with exceptionally thin walls; a taste for colour, most unusual at this date in Greek ceramics. The techniques of decoration are those of the rest of the Greek world—some black-figure with incised detail; some drawn in outline.

Despite this distinction the pottery of Chios was not at first easily attributed to its true home. The island itself has yielded comparatively little. British School excavations in Chios, in the town and at Emporio, yielded very little of the sixth century.[1] But the British School excavations in North Africa, at Tocra in Libya, yielded a lot,[2] and Chian pottery became well known first from what was exported and not what was found at home.

The first notable finds were also in North Africa, made a hundred years ago at the site of Naucratis in the Nile Delta, an important trading town for Greeks in the Archaic period, and especially for the Ionians of East Greece. The excavations of Petrie, and those of the British School at Athens under Hogarth, yielded large quantities of this distinctive pottery, some of it inscribed with dedications to Greek gods worshipped in Naucratis.[3] Since the pottery had not been identified elsewhere it was regarded as the product of local manufacture by Greeks, and called Naucratite. Very soon afterwards, Kourouniotis' excavations at Kato Phana in Chios, followed by British School work at the site in the 1930s by Winifred Lamb, began to indicate the true source of the pottery, but it was still being called Naucratite in the 1920s.[4]

By now we all know that it is in fact Chian, but the finds in Naucratis must still be regarded as highly unusual, and although they match closely the finds in Chios itself they have characteristics very unlike those of the many other Archaic Greek wares well represented there. This led me, in 1956, to speculate again whether some of the Naucratite pottery at Naucratis could not have been made there, by immigrant potters and painters.[5] Discoveries within the last thirty years have made clear that some of the arguments were wrong, but other arguments have also been brought to bear upon the problem which are far less conclusive, and this paper reviews the problem, to discover, if possible, whether there is any reason still to hold to a belief that Chian potters were at work in Egypt.

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[1] J. K. Anderson, *BSA* 49 (1954) 123–82; J. Boardman, *Greek Emporio* (London 1967).

[2] J. Boardman and J. Hayes, *Excavations at Tocra* I (London 1966), II (1973).

[3] W. M. F. Petrie, *Naukratis* I (London 1886); E. A. Gardner *et al.*, *Naukratis* II (London 1888); D. G. Hogarth, *BSA* 5 (1898–9) 26–97, and *JHS* 25 (1905) 105–36. For more recent work see W. D. E. Coulson and A. Leonard, *AJA* 86 (1982) 361–80, and *Cities of the Delta* I, *Naucratis* (Malibu 1981), where pl. 6. 4 is Archaic Chian.

[4] K. Kourouniotis, *ADelt* 1 (1915) 64 ff.; 2 (1916) 190 ff.; W. Lamb, *BSA* 35 (1934–5) 138–64; R. M. Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery* (London 1972) 313.

One of the observations I made in 1956 can certainly no longer stand in the form in which it was proposed. It was not a positive argument, but a remark that the fine polychrome decoration of some Chian chalices at Naucratis was so reminiscent of Egyptian painting that it might have been the example of Egypt that led the Greek potters there to imitate this effect. And the polychrome style was not represented in Chios itself. The best polychrome style is, in fact, still not represented in Chios, and only a little better elsewhere, notably on mainland sites like Pitane in Aeolis, and since Chian pottery apparently travels well this remains strange. But the argument from Egyptian painting cannot stand. Alluding to it, Elena Walter-Karydi[6] points to the polychrome style of wooden plaques found near Corinth, but we do not need to look so far from home. Since I wrote we have been made aware of the polychrome wall-painting styles of Asia Minor and the East Greek world in the finds at Gordion and in Lycia. Moreover, and I am not sure in which direction this evidence points, we have the find of a polychrome painted wooden plaque in Egypt clearly decorated, in Egypt, by an East Greek artist trained in the same studio as those artists who emigrated in the later sixth century to Etruria and produced the fine so-called Caeretan hydriai.[7] This establishes the existence of polychrome figure decoration in the East Greek world, but the last find also demonstrates that it was a style which, later than the Chian polychrome, was practised by East Greek emigrants, on pottery in Etruria, on wood in Egypt. So perhaps this does little more than suggest that Chian polychrome need owe nothing directly to Egypt, but to styles already current in East Greece, though these may themselves, of course, have been originally inspired by Egyptian practices with which the East Greeks had become familiar from the mid seventh century.

Next, I observed that there were perhaps differences in clay between some (not all) of the pottery at Naucratis and that in the island, the former being dirtier, grey or brown, the latter a paler pink. Clay analyses undertaken for me at Oxford, and including samples of clay and pottery from Chios itself, show that the same or very similar clay beds were used for all vases.[8] This is not altogether decisive evidence, however, since if a Greek had wished to make fine pottery in the Nile delta he would have been almost obliged to import the clay, because Egyptian potters' clay is of extremely poor quality, as is shown by the later ceramic products of Naucratis. Clay would have made good ballast in the merchant ships, and a little would have gone a long way in the making of small, fine-walled vases. The movement of clay around the Greek world for pottery production is well attested in later periods and has been suspected in antiquity. There is nothing very unusual about it. Think of the tons of marble that were moved around Greece in antiquity, even as early as the seventh century BC, and the logistics of moving clay for potters becomes a trivial matter. So even this is not decisive.

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[5] *BSA* 51 (1956) 55–62.

[6] In *Alt-Ägina* II. 1 (Mainz 1982) 14 f.

[7] R. V. Nicholls in G. T. Martin, *The Tomb of Ḥetepka* (London 1979) 74–8; *Cambridge Ancient History*, pls. to vol. III (ed. J. Boardman, 1984) 224–5; J. M. Hemelrijk, *Caeretan Hydriae* (Mainz 1984) 201–2.

[8] J. Boardman in *Les céramiques de la Grèce de l'Est et leur diffusion en Occident* (Paris/Naples 1978) 288; R. Jones, *Greek and Cypriot Pottery: a Review* (Athens forthcoming); P. Dupont, *Dacia* 27 (1983) 24, 30–1, 41.

My attention in 1956 was drawn principally, however, to a different class of pottery, the most numerous among the Naucratite. It is of small, thin-walled cups, mainly of the kantharos shape, and nearly all undecorated, except for the fine white slip. But on these, before firing, there had been painted dedications naming the donor and often the god, deliberately for dedication at Naucratis. It seemed not unreasonable to ask whether they were not also made at Naucratis, since votives for a sanctuary are usually made and marketed on the spot, and not a thousand kilometres away, especially when they were so individualized as to bear the donor's name on them. They were cheap, plain, but fragile vases, not altogether ideal cargo. To order the vases and have them made in Chios, then bring them to Naucratis to dedicate, must have seemed rather a roundabout business, even in antiquity, and could easily have persuaded a potter that it would be worth setting up shop in Naucratis itself.

This cannot be proved, but at least it might be disproved. Has it been?

Robert Cook and Geoffrey Woodhead made a detailed study of the inscriptions on the votive cups at Naucratis and identified the hands of the scribes, which were commonly linked with the names of donors, although some donors gave separate batches from different scribes.[9] Comparable votive inscriptions on Chian pottery have been found in Chios itself, but so far none of the scribes or donors represented at Naucratis has been identified:[10] and if one were we should need to be satisfied that it was in circumstances that required local manufacture.

Other inscriptions on Chian pottery have been found on the island of Aigina, and thanks to the thorough publication of the material recently by Dyfri Williams we are able to make further progress in this area. The votive cups are exactly like those at Naucratis (Fig. 1).[11] The dedicators are one Aristophantos (Fig. 2), who is also met at Naucratis and on a vase by, it seems, the same scribe; and a partner Damonidas. Damonidas has a Doric name and it seems probable that he and Aristophantos dictated the dedications for their vases, and that Damonidas himself was probably Aeginetan, as was possibly, also, Aristophantos. The finds make clear that these inscribed cups could travel in the Aegean, though you could say that this was a special case. The question that has to be asked is whether the cups were ordered in Chios or in Naucratis, where one of the names is already known. There is other ordinary Chian pottery in Aegina, but Chian pottery could get anywhere (the Chian wine amphorae on Aegina are all, it seems, of later date). In most respects Chios and Aegina, as major trading states, were rivals. The movement of pottery in the Aegean reflects the tastes of the customers; the ordering of pottery is a different matter and I am inclined to think that Aeginetan merchants were more likely to order their gifts for Aegina in Naucratis, where we know Aegina played a major role, than in Chios. In the life of the merchant Naucratis is the one common factor between Aegina and Chios. It is in Naucratis that the name and scribe of Aristophantos have been found. The evidence of Aegina, then, is equivocal, and if you attach more

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[9] *BSA* 47 (1952) 159–70. Also *BSA* 51 (1956) 56–9.

[10] From Phanai, see Cook/Woodhead; and *Greek Emporio* 243–5.

[11] In *AA* 1983, 155–86. I am indebted to Dr Williams for the photographs in Figs. 1, 2.

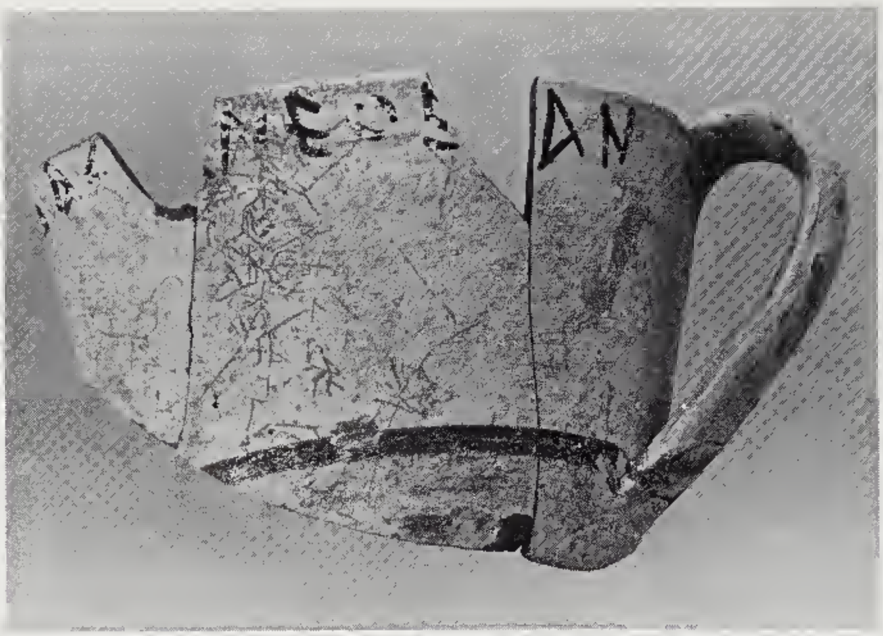

Fig. 1. Votive cup from Aegina.

importance to the probable behaviour of merchants in ordering inscribed vases than to the ways in which non-inscribed Chian pottery may have reached Aegina, it seems if anything to favour the Naucratite source for the dedications.

Finally, there are three further separate and suggestive points:

First, some of the Chian pottery at Naucratis shows clear signs of Spartan influence (Figs. 3, 4).[12] There is no Spartan pottery on Chios, but there is plenty at Naucratis. I should hesitate now to suggest that these vases too were made in Naucratis, but this is the most likely source for Chian potters to have become aware of Laconian styles.

Secondly, there are literally hundreds of fragments of decorated Chian pottery from Naucratis, much of it very finely painted, and there are also at Naucratis more than 200 fragments of inscribed Chian pottery, with dedications of the type under discussion. If all this pottery was made in Chios I find it very difficult to understand why no donor ever ordered a fine vase to be inscribed with his name and carried it to dedicate in Naucratis, and why all donors only ordered their names on small plain vases, or on vases with figure decoration of the very simplest, poorest style. Just one fine vase at Naucratis, with a painted dedication of the type so prolific on the small cups, would go a long way to convince me that the cups were made in Chios too. And it is not as though the volume of Chian pottery at Naucratis had denied us the opportunity for such a find to be identified.

Thirdly, among the names of donors of the inscribed vases at Naucratis appears Mikis. This name is not necessarily feminine, but it is likely to be. However, thanks to an observation by Dyfri Williams and a felicitious join of fragments in London we have another name which is certainly of a woman, Aigyptis (Fig. 5)—either a Greek who had taken a name which reflects her new home, Egypt, or a Hellenized Egyptian.[13] Williams

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[12] *BSA* 51 (1956) 60–1 with n. 1. I am indebted to Anna Lemos for the observation that the Cambridge fragment (*CVA* II pl. 17 (496). 67) is from a chalice with painted lotus within, not a cup.

[13] *AA* 1983, 185 with n. 59. I am indebted to Dr Williams for the photograph.

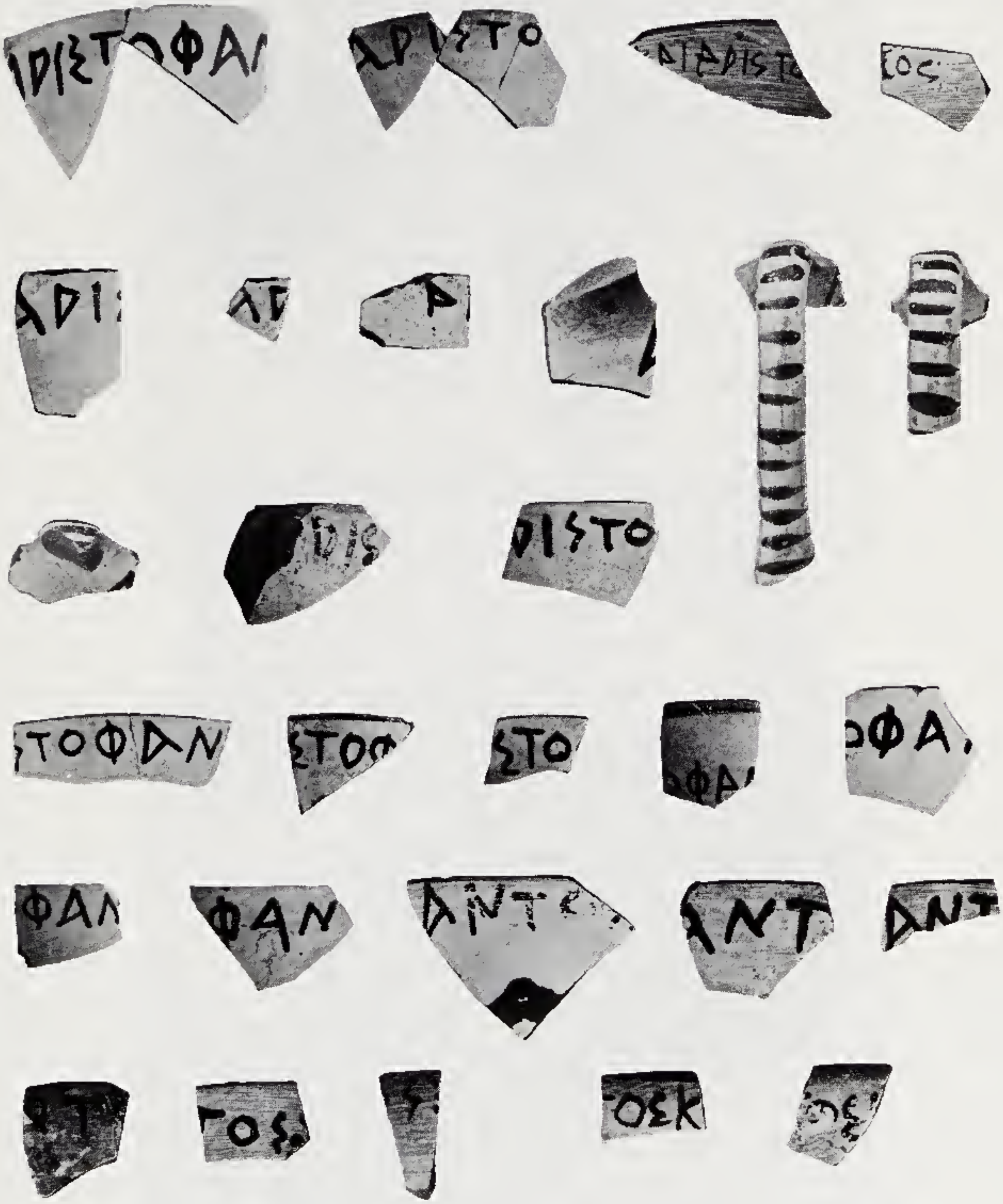

Fig. 2. Fragments of cups dedicated by Aristophantos on Aegina.

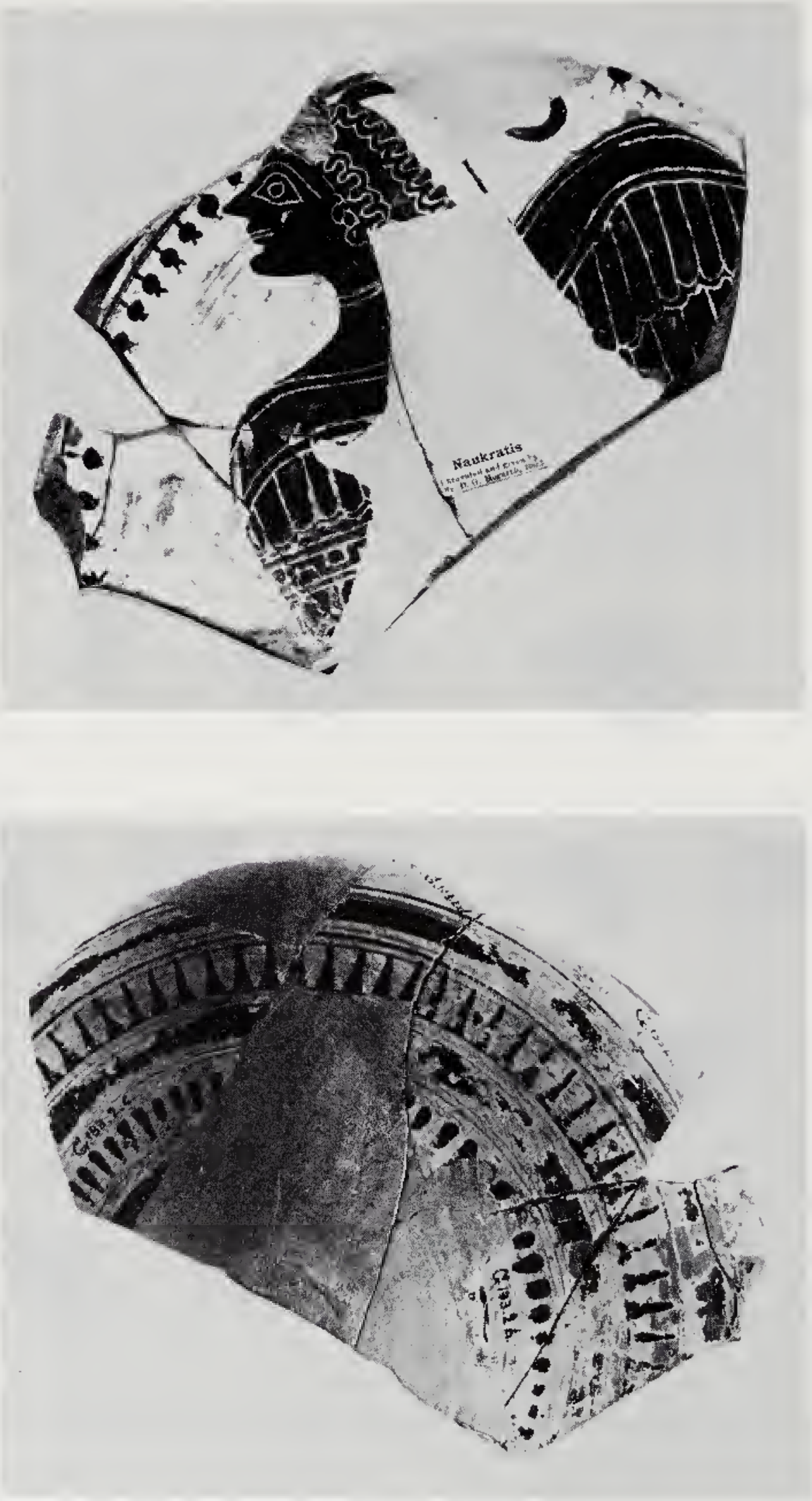

Fig. 3. Fragment of cup from Naucratis. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum G. 133. 2 + 6.

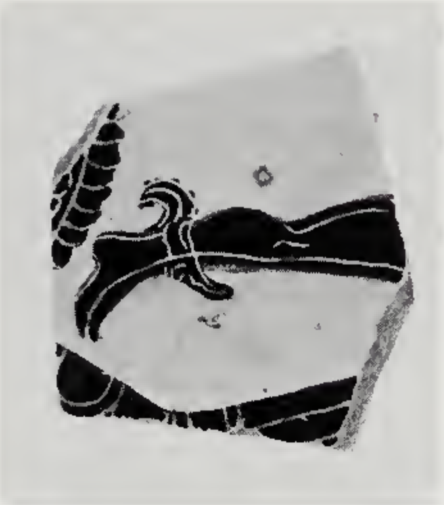

Fig. 4. Fragment of chalice from Naucratis.
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum G. 39.

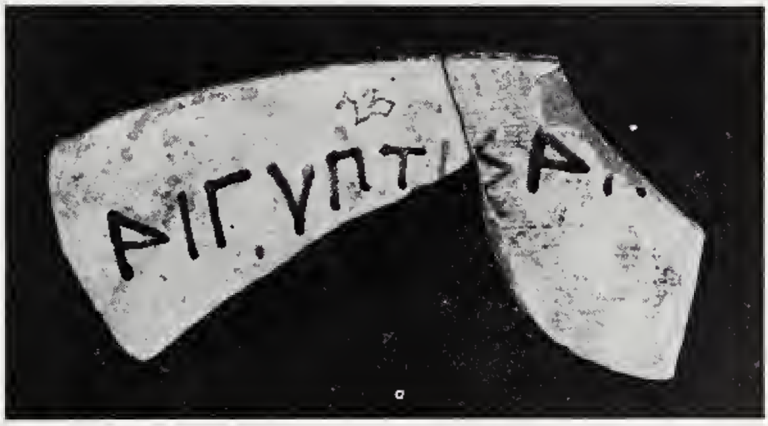

Fig. 5. Fragment of cup from Naucratis. London, British Museum 1924. 12–1. 808 + 755.

suggests that both Mikis and Aigyptis were local hetaerae of Naucratis, a class well documented in the town and known to be wealthy. I would ask, then, whether a hetaera, resident and operational in Naucratis, would have been more likely to order a cheap votive cup from Chios, a thousand kilometres away, to be brought to Naucratis so that she could dedicate it there; or to have ordered one in a local Naucratite-Chian votive factory which was making exactly similar votives for the local market and local sanctuaries. And if not a hetaera, since such 'ethnic' names are generally adopted away from the country or city they name, the circumstances in which a woman in Chios would have commissioned such a dedication for Naucratis are no easier to fathom.

There are, I think, altogether too many unanswered questions still, too many unusual circumstances surrounding this presence at Naucratis of cheap, bespoke individualized dedications, for us to regard the matter as solved by a declaration of one hundred per cent production in Chios itself. The phenomenon of Greek potters emigrating and setting up shop elsewhere in the Mediterranean in the sixth century is well familiar by now,[14] in Etruria, in South Italy—why not in Naucratis, especially when there was a specialized local demand to meet? Perhaps we could regard the whole problem of Naucratite-Chian as still *sub judice*, and not be too anxious to close the file on what might be a most interesting example of Chian enterprise overseas.

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[14] Dupont, op. cit. (n. 8) 24–5 for Chian pottery on Thasos (which seems, by style, made by Chians not in Chios) and at Erythrae (which is said to look a poor imitation of Chian). Dupont (p. 38) misjudges the ease with which clay could be carried, and especially the need for it where there is *none* of quality to satisfy a special local demand, and makes a meaningless distinction in this context between *ateliers itinérants* and *émigration des potiers*. His deductions about Chian, even if eventually proved correct, go beyond the evidence he offers and cannot decide the issue in the light of the arguments outlined here.

THE 'NIKE OF ARCHERMOS' AND HER ATTIRE

B. S. RIDGWAY

In Aristophanes' *Birds* the two Athenians, Pisthetairos and Euelpides, who are trying to convince the birds to set themselves up as deities, point out that wings have become appropriate as divine attributes, since Eros and Nike have them. To this comment, made in 414 BC, a (late Hellenistic?) scholiast added the information that Archermos, the father of Boupalos and Athenis, was said to have been the first to give wings to Nike, while the followers of Karystios the Pergamene attributed priority to the painter Aglaophon of Thasos.[1] Further information is found in Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 36. 11–13), who knows Archermos not only as the father of Boupalos and Athenis, but also as the son of Mikkiades and grandson of Melas, one in a line of famous Chian sculptors. These two ancient sources have therefore been combined to argue that the Chian sculptor Archermos was the first to make a winged Nike—a claim that seemed dramatically confirmed by the discovery in Delos of an Archaic winged statue and a fragmentary inscription mentioning both Mikkiades and his son.

It seems worth while to consider in some detail the issue of this important Chian contribution to ancient iconography, especially since no recent publication, to my knowledge, had treated in depth the Delian Nike and its inscribed base,[2] till there appeared the 1983 issue of *ÖJh* with a lengthy article by Peter Scherrer on this very subject. Scherrer's treatment is thorough; none the less I can still add some comments, specifically from the point of view of costume and style, since the statue, although quite famous, has some unusual features not generally known.

The Nike was found in 1877, near the Artemision on Delos, in an area that proved rich in sculptures dedicated to the goddess. Homolle, therefore, published it promptly as an image of Artemis, albeit winged.[3] Then in 1880 one fragment, and in 1882 a second fragment, of an inscribed base were found in the same general area, near the north foundation of the Artemision, although in a mixed context. In publishing the first, Homolle connected the inscribed names with the scholiast to Aristophanes and relabelled the winged statue Nike; in publishing the second fragment, he reverted to Artemis.[4] He thus opened the way to a lively debate which continued for several decades. Was the cutting on the inscribed base appropriate for the statue, or did it go with a different offering, perhaps a sphinx or a griffin? How was the inscription to be restored and understood? In particular, was Archermos related to Mikkiades or was he simply the sculptor and Mikkiades the dedicator? When the dust settled, no firm conclusions had been reached, but the statue had become entrenched in all major handbooks on Greek sculpture as Archermos' Nike. New spurts of scholarly activity began in 1948 with a major study by O. Rubensohn; in 1950 J. Marcadé recognized and joined the two arms of the figure and Fig. 1 shows it in its present form. L. H. Jeffery devoted brief comments to the script of the inscribed base, which she considered Parian.[5] A more thorough treatment of the statue appeared in the 1969 book by C. Isler-Kerényi within the context of an iconographic study of Nikai.[6] Ten years later I. Scheibler included the Delian evidence in her research on dedications by sculptors, and there is now Scherrer's article based on autopsy of the inscription. I shall review each relevant position under separate headings, while trying to find answers to some of the questions.

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[1] Aristophanes, *Birds* 573: Hermes is mentioned, and other gods, then *αὐτίκα Νίκη πέτεται πτερύγοιν χρυσαῖν καὶ νὴ Δί' Ἔρως γε*. The scholiast adds: *Νεωτερικὸν τὸ τὴν Νίκην καὶ τὸν Ἔρωτα ἐπτερῶσθαι. Ἄρχερμον γάρ φασί τινες τὸν Βουπάλου καὶ Ἀθήνιδος πατέρα, οἱ δὲ Ἀγλαοφῶντα τὸν Θάσιον ζωγράφον, πτηνὴν ἐργάσασθαι τὴν Νίκην, ὡς οἱ περὶ Καρύστιον τὸν Περγαμηνόν φασι*. The *Birds* was performed in 414 BC. The scholiast should be at least late Hellenistic because of the mention of Karystios the Pergamene, a literary historian of the 2nd c. BC. Yet note that the idea of a winged Nike is given as 'recent'. Aglaophon of Thasos is probably the father and teacher of the more famous Polygnotus, himself a painter as well as a sculptor, who was active around the middle of the 5th c. BC. That winged figures should be connected with painting and with Thasos may be of some importance; see further below.

[2] For purposes of clarity and concision, I shall here follow traditional nomenclature and refer to the statue Athens, Nat. Mus. 21, as a Nike, regardless of its true identity. 'The Delian Nike,' or 'Archermos' Nike' will be used as alternative appellations. For recent photographs of the statue, and brief discussion, see *Mer Égée. Grèce des Îles* (Paris 1979) 191–3, no. 135 and colour pl. on p. 38.

[3] Th. Homolle, *BCH* 3 (1879) 393–99; see his pl. 7 for a rare photograph of the Nike's back; another is published in *BCH* 74 (1950) pl. 31, which includes the newly joined

(1) DOES THE STATUE GO WITH THE BASE? HOW IS THE INSCRIPTION TO BE RESTORED AND READ?

These two issues are best taken together, since the various readings of the inscription have a bearing on the shape of the base, and Archermos' name—because of the scholiast's reference—provides the primary impetus for connecting the winged figure with the pedestal.

The two joining fragments (Athens Nat. Mus. 21a; *IG*^{2} 12. 5. 147) preserve parts of two sides of a base with a shallow, roughly oval cutting on its top surface, and a funnel-shaped cavity within this sinking, at the rear edge of the break.[7] The cavity has usually been considered a pour-channel for the lead meant to fasten the inscribed block to an

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arms. The location where the statue was found is variously given; see, e.g., C. Isler-Kerényi, *Nike* (Erlenbach/Stuttgart, 1969) 143 no. 129: 'Nordseite des alten Apollontempels'. Ch. Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque. La Sculpture* I (Paris 1935) 565–6, is one of several authors who consider the Nike the central akroterion of the Porinos Naos, an identification which I previously accepted: *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton 1977) 112 and n. 36. The connection with the temple is strongly contested by H. Gallet de Santerre, *Délos primitive et archaïque* (Paris 1958) 254 and n. 8, 255, who stresses the provenience from the Artemision.

[4] First fragment: Th. Homolle, *BCH* 5 (1881) 272–78; on p. 277 it is mentioned that the context of the find could be medieval fill, but that the statue could not have been moved from far away; the scholiast to Aristophanes is cited on p. 278 n. 1. Second fragment: *BCH* 7 (1883) 254–6.

[5] J. Marcadé, *BCH* 74 (1950) 182 and n. 2. The mention is brief within the context of an article on other Delian sculpture. I am indebted to Professor Marcadé for corresponding with me in February 1984 on the subject of the Delian Nike. L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford 1961) 294–5, 305; cf. also her *Archaic Greece* (London 1976) 233, 236.

[6] See n. 3, above: her Cat. no. 129; for a stylistic and chronological discussion, pp. 77–81; a reconstruction is suggested on pp. 86–9; the structure of the Nike is discussed on pp. 109–12, Archermos of Chios on pp. 114–15, with concluding remarks on pp. 116–19.

[7] For a photograph of the top surface see J. Marcadé, *Recueil des signatures de sculpteurs grecs* 2 (Paris 1957) 21; the front of the base is shown on his pl. 29. 1. The underside of the base is described by B. Sauer, *AM* 16 (1891) 182–90, as carefully smoothed, the sides marked by engraved lines 0.056 m. from the edges. An early sketch of the base is given by F. Winter, *AA* 1891, 184–6.

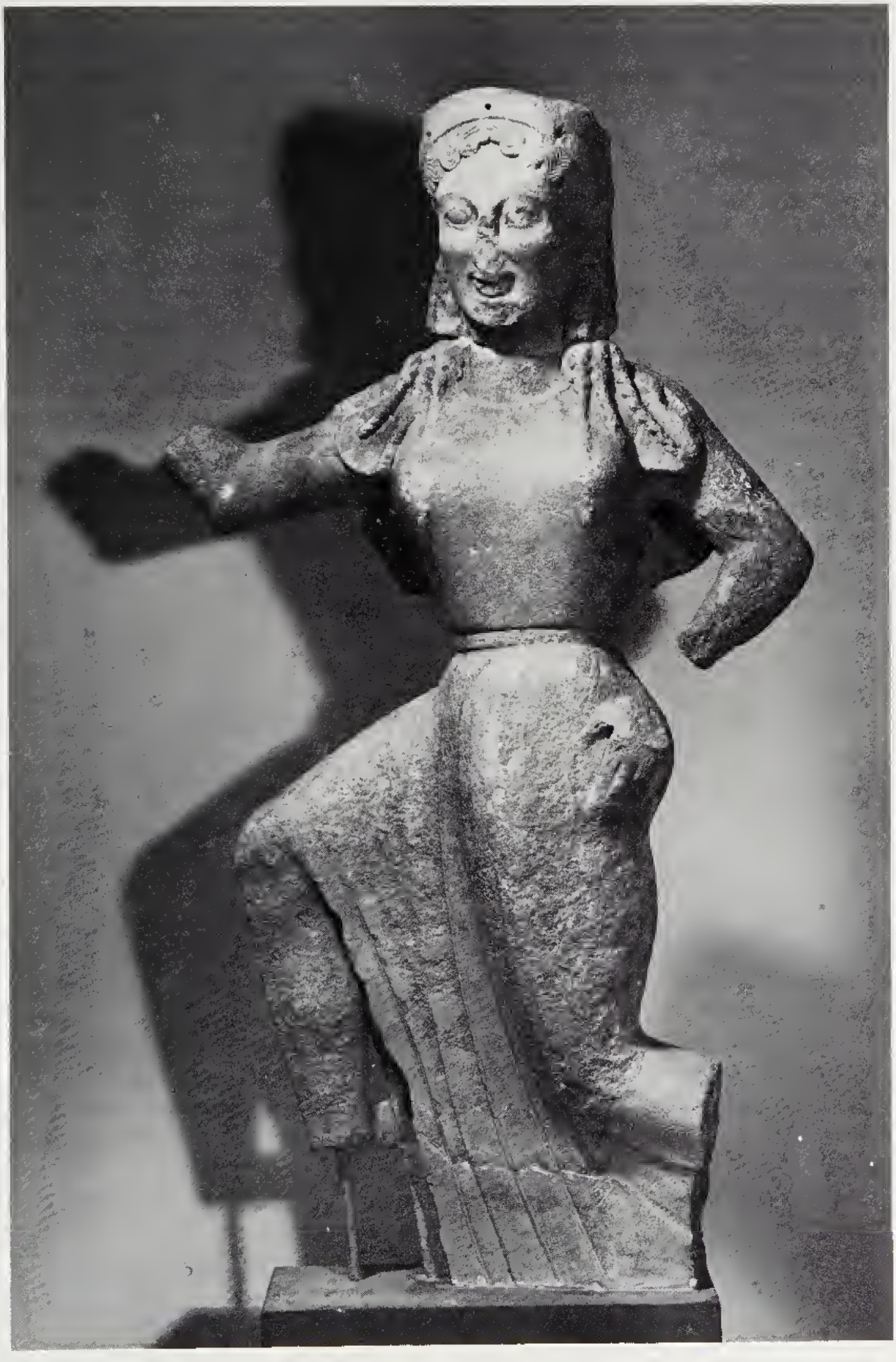

Fig. 1. Athens, National Museum 21; from Delos. Photograph, Hirmer Verlag.

underlying pedestal, and M. Jacob-Felsch, in her study on statue bases, attributed the earliest example of the pillar-base Type A to the Parian (*sic*) Archermos, as an Ionian idea, in the second quarter of the sixth century BC.[8] Yet as early as 1891 it had been pointed out that, although the bottom of the so-called funnel-channel was not fully preserved, enough remained to suggest that the block was not pierced through; and it is occasionally stated that the inscribed base is erroneously called a capital or a crowning block.[9]

More difficult to explain has been the oblong shape of the plinth cutting, which some authors found irreconcilable with the Nike and more appropriate for a griffin or sphinx.[10] Isler-Kerényi is not directly concerned with the connection between the Nike and the base, since she attributes to Archermos of Chios the creation of the first winged figure on the evidence of style and of the ancient sources.[11] Her primary interest is to determine how the statue rested on its plinth, since the skirt dipping in between the legs seems to her too narrow a support for the heavy marble. She therefore restores both feet, as well as the skirt, touching the ground, a position strengthened by her analysis of the legs and the course of the folds. Her sketch (Fig. 2), however, while plausible on artistic and static grounds, would be difficult to reconcile with the inscribed base as preserved.

Scheibler agreed that the dipping skirt would not plausibly fit the shallow cutting on the base, yet found that many points spoke in favour of connecting the Delian statue with the inscribed fragments. She therefore postulated an intervening member, amorphous in character, which could connect with the skirt at one end, and expand to fit the base at the other. She provided a sketch of such a support, and a reconstructed drawing of the base top (Fig. 3). As for the inscription, she tentatively accepted that the statue could be a combined offering by Mikkiades and his son Archermos, perhaps to signify victory in an artistic competition, but she also believed that both should definitely be separate from Melas, assuming—as other scholars had—that he was a Chian hero mistakenly taken by Pliny as the progenitor of Archermos' family. In addition, within the context of sculptors' dedications, Scheibler discussed a votive inscription to Phoibos on Paros mentioning a Mikkiades, probably the same man who made the Delian offering.[12]

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[8] M. Jacob-Felsch, *Die Entwicklung griechischer Statuenbasen und die Aufstellung der Statuen* (Waldsassen/Bayern 1969) 39. On p. 40 she lists the Phrasikleia by Aristion of Paros as standing on the oldest example (*c.* 540–530 BC) of a pillar-base Type A, on Attic soil. She believes, however, that the connection between the inscribed base and the Delian Nike is unlikely because the latter is later than the former and was probably a corner akroterion: p. 160, Appendix no. 2. 1–2.

[9] For the description of the bottom see Winter (above, n. 7) quoting a check by Wolters. For the statement on the erroneous definition as capital see P. Bruneau and J. Ducat, *Guide de Délos* (Paris 1966) 45 n. 5. Even Marcadé, *Signatures* (above, n. 7) considers the base a 'couronnement.'

[10] For a list of authors advocating the different solutions see P. Scherrer, 'Das Weihgeschenk von Mikkiades und Archermos aus Delos', *ÖJh* 54 (1983) 19 n. 4.

[11] Isler-Kerényi, op. cit. (n. 3) 115: 'Wir dürfen also die Erfindung des Kanons und die Ausführung der ältesten Statuen der Flügelfrau dem Archermos von Chios zuschreiben, ohne auf den Beweis der Zugehörigkeit von Inschriftbasis und Nike von Delos 129 angewiesen zu sein.' See also her p. 77; on pp. 86–92 she discusses not only the position of the Delian Nike but also of related statues, only one among which she would accept as truly supported only by its skirt.

[12] I. Scheibler, *Münchener Jb.* 30 (1979) 21 fig. 11a–b for a reconstruction of base and support; for Mikkiades' dedication on Paros, 14–15 fig. 5; other authors, including Marcadé (above, n. 7) and O. Rubensohn (*Mitt. d. Inst.* 1 (1948) 21–43) discuss this evidence. The position that Melas does not belong with Mikkiades' family is also supported, e.g., by Jeffery (above, n. 5, both 1961 and 1976), and by J. G. Pedley, *AJA* 86 (1982) 188 and n. 37. Note, however, that for Pliny to have created this genealogy, either he or his sources must have known this very Delian stone where the three names—Melas, Mikkiades, and Archermos—appear together. Alternatively, reference to Melas may have been made in other dedications signed by either father or son, but those that are extant so far do not seem to mention him. Could the Delian Nike

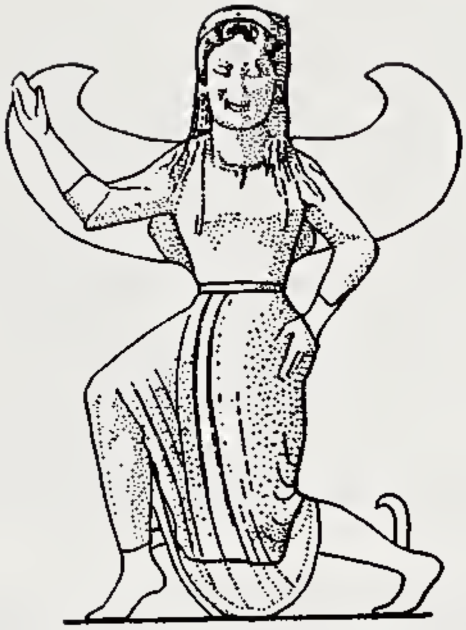

Fig. 2. Reconstruction after C. Isler-Kerenyi, *Nike* 87.

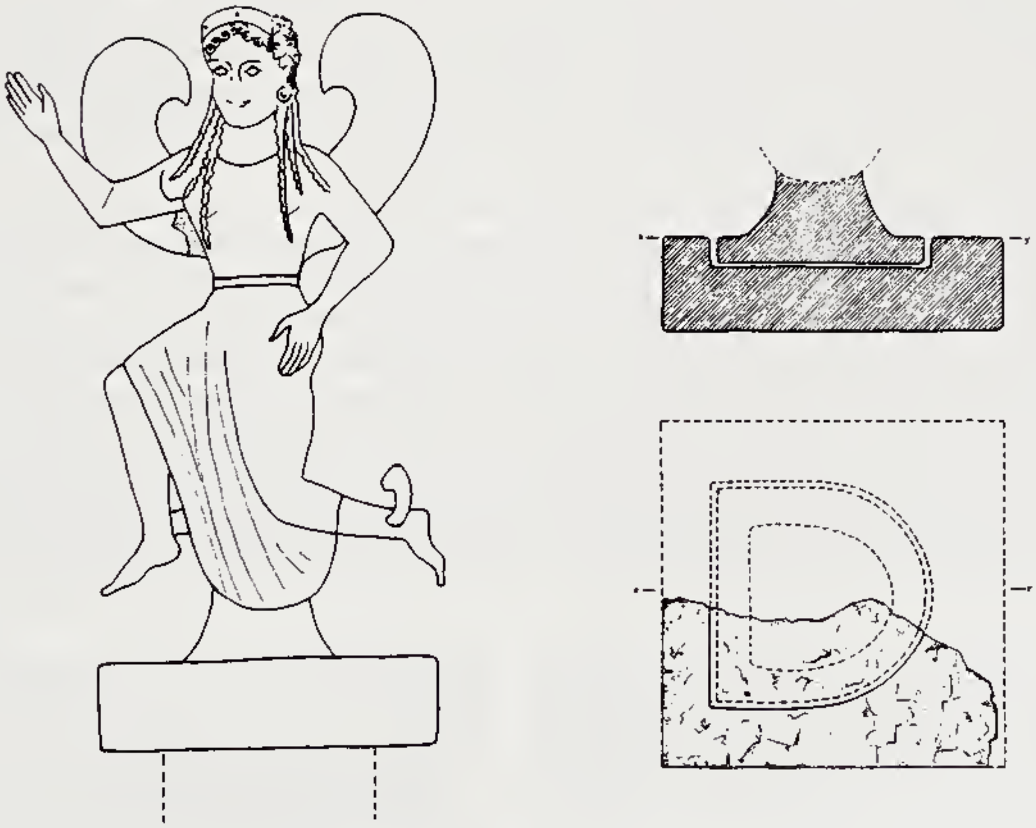

Fig. 3. Reconstruction of figure and base after I. Scheibler, *Münchener Jb.* 21 fig. 11*a*, *b*.

Scherrer's discussion is the most extensive and stems from a new epigraphical analysis. He lists 15 previous restorations of the inscription, ranging from 1883 to 1957, and agrees with none except in the assumption of hexameters as the metre of the dedication.[13] While earlier versions had supplied the words Nike and Apollo, the latter as the recipient of the offering in agreement with the preserved epithet *ἐκηβόλος*, Scherrer's version eliminates them. He makes the important point that *Ἄρχερμος* in the inscription must be in the nominative case, since the letter which follows should be theta. The final sigma in *Ἄρχερμος* could therefore not be joined to it because very few words begin with *σθ*. The words *οἱ Χῖοι* preserved in the third line of the inscription can then be read as plural nominative, thus suggesting that both *Ἄρχερμος* and the partly preserved *Μικκιάδης* are in the same case and linked by a missing *καί*. His restoration reads:

> *Μ̣ικκ̣ι̣ά̣[δης τόδ' ἄγ]α̣λμα καλόν μ' [ἀνέθηκεν καὶ υἱὸς*
> *Ἄ̣ρχερμος θ[υσ]ί̣ησιν Η(ε)κηβό[λον αὖθ' ἱλάσασθαι*
> *οἱ Χῖοι Μέλ̣α̣ν̣ος πατρώιον ἄσ[τυ λιπόντες.*

Scherrer's comments then focus on the base. He cannot accept a square format, because it would require that the inscription turn the corner and be engraved over two adjacent sides. His hexameters, on the other hand, would fit a rectangular base which he can postulate on other grounds (Fig. 4). Noting that Scheibler's drawing of the base top with its oval cutting disagrees with the evidence in several details, and stressing that the supposed pour-channel does not pierce the bottom, Scherrer reconstructs a different oval bedding, in which the funnel-shaped cavity serves simply for leading the statuary plinth to the base. Through mathematical calculations, he argues that the centre-point of the elliptical cutting marks one-third of the total base, which he then restores as 0.81 m in length. The Nike would have stood not in the centre, but toward the left-hand edge of the block—an asymmetrical position which Scherrer takes as confirmation for a possible architectural function, since the oblong shape of the base, in his opinion, contradicts the assumption that the dedication stood free on a pillar.[14]

Scherrer's study makes many valid points. We have gained the assurance that Mikkiades and Archermos, being both cited in the nominative, are united in the making of the offering and likely to be father and son. The connection of both men with Paros is attested not only by Mikkiades' signature in his tithe offering to Phoibos/Apollo,[15] but also by Archermos' use of the Parian script for the Delian base. Therefore, restoring the inscription to state that both sculptors had left their homeland would seem preferable to other readings. The elimination of Nike and Apollo from the restored inscription opens the way to understanding the winged figure on her own grounds, and a dedication to Artemis becomes as plausible as one to her twin, since *ἐκηβόλος* is applicable to either.[16] I find it harder to accept the integration *τόδ' ἄγαλμα καλόν μ' ἀνέθηκεν*, despite Scherrer's

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have stood until Pliny's time? Since both the amount of weathering and the abundant traces of colour on the statue at the time of discovery (on which see below) seem to militate against a long outdoor exposure, we may have to postulate an indoor setting for the statue, or a purely literary mention of the inscription, in turn erroneously transcribed or interpreted by Pliny.

[13] He does not include the version published by J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture. The Archaic Period* (London 1978) caption to fig. 103, which would therefore be the sixteenth.

[14] Scherrer, op. cit. (n. 10) 24 and n. 46.

[15] Ibid., 14–15; see also above, n. 12.

[16] This point had also been made by Gallet de Santerre, op. cit. (n. 3) 254 n. 8, who cites the inscription on the Nikandre as an example.

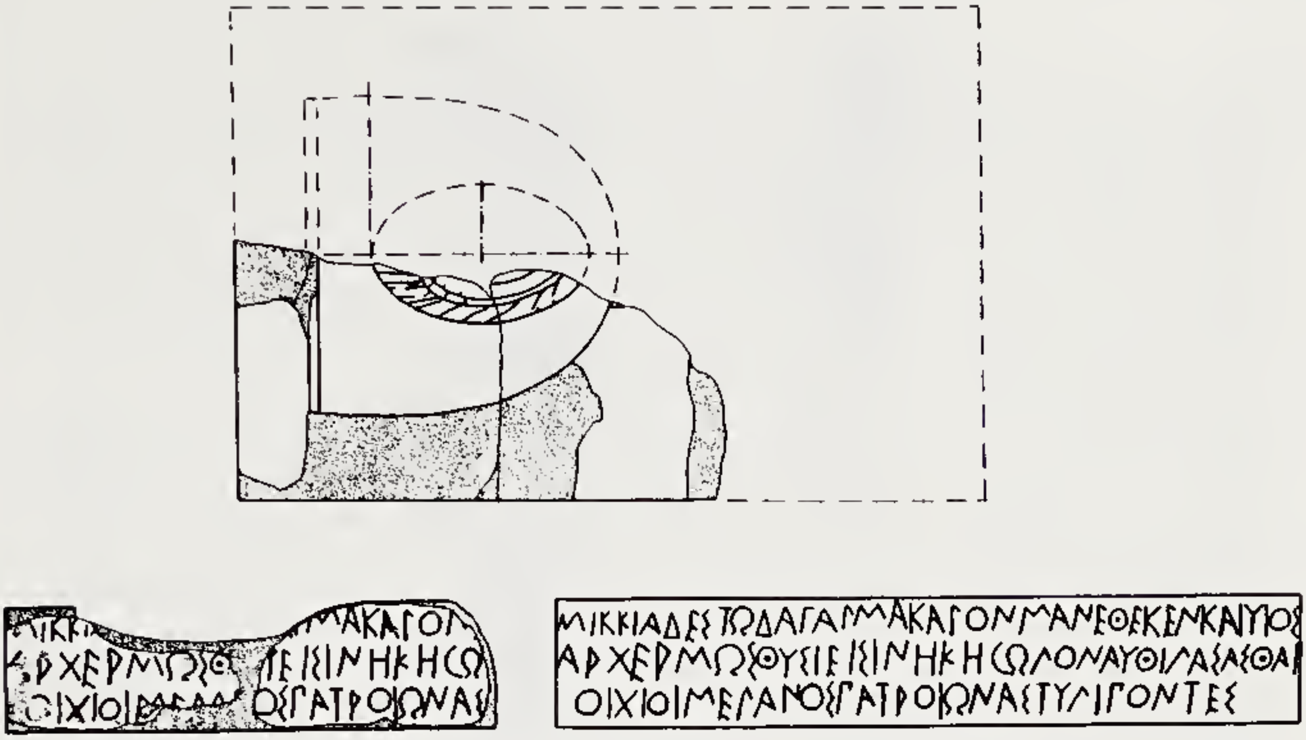

Fig. 4. The base, the preserved inscription, and the restored inscription after P. Scherrer, *ÖJh* 54 (1983) 21 fig. 1.

assertion that a double object is found in other ancient inscriptions.[17] I am also unsure that the displacement of the plinth-cutting suggests an architectural function for the block. Could the two dedicants imply two dedications? In such a case, a second plinth-cutting could be postulated on the missing portion of the base, for a subsidiary object, as happened with kore Akr. 683, which Raubitschek considers one of two votives set up by Lysias and Euarchis.[18]

It is also still unclear how the Delian Nike fits into the inscribed block, and only experimentation with casts of both elements could solve the problem.[19] As for the suggestion that the oval shape of the cutting is more appropriate for a sphinx or griffin, it can at least be stated that none of the extant stone animals in reclining, sitting or crouching positions presents an oval plinth. No akroterial base preserved and published so far corresponds to the Delian block.[20] This issue must remain open, and only the proximity of the finds suggests that inscribed base and winged figure belong together.

[17] Scherrer, op. cit., 23 n. 32, invokes H. Philipp, *Tektonon daidala* (Berlin 1968) 22–3, but the examples there cited use the second object in appositive form, which does not seem to be the case in Scherrer's restoration because of the demonstrative; by itself, ἄγαλμα καλόν would be quite acceptable.

[18] A. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis* (Cambridge, Mass. 1949) 313–14, no. 292; cf. the drawings in *BSA* 40 (1939–40, publ. 1943), fig. 16 on p. 36 and fig. 15 on p. 37, and the discussion on pp. 24–5.

[19] For the travelling exhibition, the Nike was set up together with the inscribed fragments, but to what an extent this modern restoration conformed to the plinth-cutting is impossible to tell from the published photographs: see *Mer Égée* (n. 2.) colour pl. on p. 38.

[20] My investigation of preserved animals has been made, somewhat cursorily, by looking at published illustrations. I have, however, checked with M. Y. Goldberg for akroterial evidence, and I thank her for her reply. See also her article, *AJA* 86 (1982) 193–8, where Nikai (197–8) are said to be the second most popular type of akroterion among figural representations, only less numerous than sphinxes. Goldberg provides statistics in ill. 2 on p. 196: out of the total of 31 extant examples, 28 are from the Mainland of Greece, 2 from Magna Graecia, 0 from East Greece, and 1 from Ceos; the earliest use, on the mainland, occurs by mid 6th c.

(2) WHO IS THE WINGED FIGURE?

In her review of the iconographic type, Isler-Kerényi pointed out that until the mid sixth century BC, a running *Flügelfrau* in vase-painting could depict either Eris or Iris; transformation into Nike was gradual and caused by association with Athens and Athena. Yet she accepts the Delian figure as a work of Archermos and the first sculptural Victory, because two more statues found on the Athenian citadel, Akr. 693 and 691 (her Catalogue nos. 130–31 respectively), are related to it in approach, proportions, and style; both Acropolis figures have been traditionally considered Chian or insular on independent grounds and are likely to be Nikai because of their findspot.

Isler-Kerényi stresses the peculiar construction of the Delian statue: the flat wings on her back form, as it were, a background plane on which the body is carved in virtual high relief, the overlarge head, the torso, and the leg sections each having a different direction.[21] This basically two-dimensional approach, which relies on the rear wings for unification, she considers a Chian 'canon,' forced on the sculptor by the need to find an iconographic scheme without precedents. In fact, she points out the difference from the silhouette approach of, for instance, the Corfu Gorgon, and disclaims any possible inspiration from painting, 'denn ein Typus der laufenden Flügelfrau ist in der ionischen Malerei nicht vorhanden'.[22] Isler-Kerényi believes that wings in Ionia appear on divinities purely as attribute, as a sign of power—e.g. over the world of birds, in the Mistress of Animals—and not as means of locomotion, at least until the fifth century BC; therefore the Delian statue must be Nike or a winged messenger of the gods, because shown in motion.[23] Yet any conclusion based on Ionian evidence must be tempered by caution, since relatively little is known of Ionian art and new finds can considerably alter our notions. For instance, at least the running winged Gorgon, wearing not the traditional chitoniskos or short tunic of the Greek-mainland examples but the long Ionian chiton, is now attested in monumental painting, in the Kızılbel tomb near Elmali in Lycia, dated *c.* 525 BC.[24]

That the Delian figure is a 'monster', in the strict sense of the term, can be seen not only because of her wings but through many other details. The elaborate hairstyle with curls parting in the centre of the forehead cannot be found on contemporary korai, but only on Gorgons or sphinxes. A good parallel exists in the so-called Hera from Olympia, whose proper identity is still debated;[25] its tall crown forms another point of comparison with the Delian figure. Archermos' Nike, however, wears a more distinctive head-dress: above the rounded diadem, best visible in the area of the temples, two projections emerge, forming a barrier, now mostly broken, around the front half of the head. Because this second ornament did not encircle the head but was limited to the front, it

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[21] Isler-Kerényi, op. cit. (n. 3); cf. her pl. 14 for side views of the statue.

[22] Ibid. 111, and cf. 52–3.

[23] Ibid. 116–17.

[24] M. J. Mellink, 'The Painted Tomb near Elmalı,' *AJA* 74 (1970) 251–3, pls. 60–1, figs. 27, 29. Note the folds branching off from the buttons at the sleeve, and the dip of the skirt in between the feet with winged shoes. Although more static in their appearance, the Gorgons carved in relief on the architrave of the Didymaion are also in the *Knielauf* position; cf. e.g. Boardman, op. cit. (n. 13) fig. 218. 1–2 dated c. 540–520 BC.

[25] 'Hera' from Olympia: see e.g. Boardman, op. cit. (n. 13), fig. 73. For a discussion of the identity, cf. Ridgway, op. cit. (n. 3) 123–4 and n. 2 where, however, I make the erroneous statement (due to my misreading of Mallwitz) that the stone channel was built over the sand. On the contrary, the alluvial sand had covered over the channel to a depth of 0.25 m. For the theory that the 'Hera' is a sphinx cf. also my p. 90 and bibl. on pp. 115 and 144; and now U. Sinn, *AM* 99 (1984) 77–87.

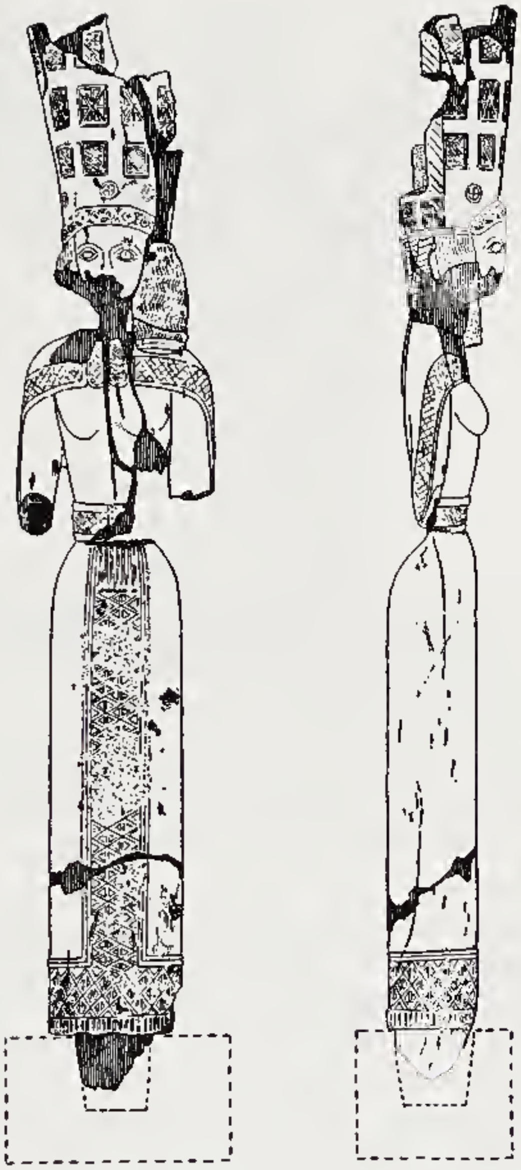

Fig. 5. Two views of the wooden statuette from Samos, after *AM* 82 (1967) 92 fig. 1.

was probably a tiara similar to that worn by the wooden statuette from Samos usually considered a reproduction of the early cult image in the Heraeum (Fig. 5). The head-dress is therefore likely to be a divine attribute.[26]

Another possible clue for identification is represented by the two 'roundels' on the shoulders of the Delian Nike, overlapping on to the arms and undercut at the level of the armpits; each also presents an angular set-back on its outer upper quadrant, cut into the thickness of the disc. These circles had occasionally been explained as remnants of smaller, supplementary wings growing from the Nike's chest (Fig. 6). Rubensohn drew

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[26] For views of the top of the Nike's head cf. F. Studniczka, *JdI* 43 (1928) 213 fig. 61, 216 fig. 63. The Nike's head-dress had already been described as a tiara by Homolle in the original publication (above, n. 3). For the wooden statuette from Samos see D. Ohly, *AM* 82 (1967) 89–99; cf. also 100–48 (G. Kopke).

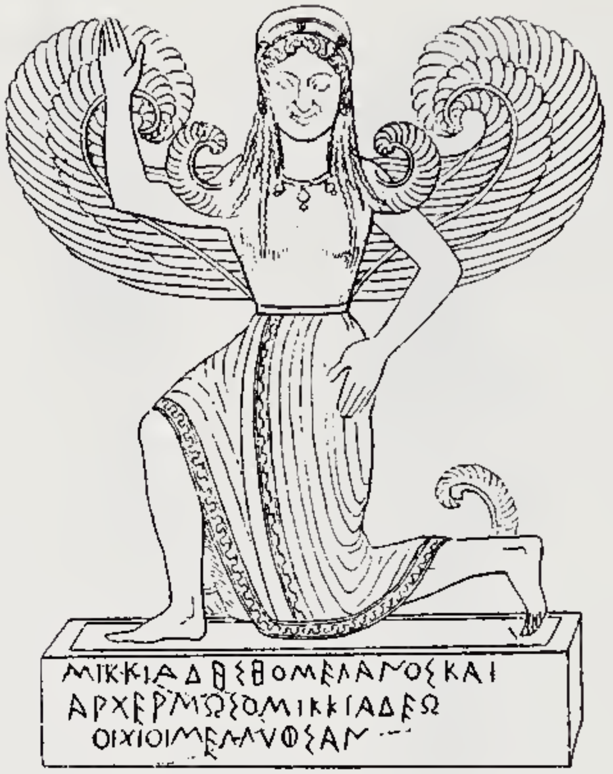

Fig. 6. Reconstruction after A. Furtwängler, *Archäologische Zeitung* 40 (1882) 324.

emphatic attention to them and saw them as fibulae fastening the peplos at the shoulders. They would have been overlaid with metal foil, or with stucco painted to simulate gold, transforming discs into rosettes (Fig. 7); the upper cuttings would have served for the addition of light-weight decoration, perhaps reclining lions.[27]

Rubensohn's reconstruction was prompted not only by the remains on the Delian statue and by extant fibulae, but primarily by a fragmentary, large terracotta statuette found on Paros in a favissa under the temple of Artemis.[28] Both context and architecture suggest that the votive deposit was closed at the latest during the first or second decade after the mid sixth century, thus making the terracotta more or less contemporary with, or only slightly later than, the Delian Nike. Because of the roundels, the presence of long tresses fanning out on to the arms to suggest rapid motion, and traces of what he considered wings, Rubensohn argued that the terracotta reproduced the same iconographic type as Archermos' statue, both, because of context, to be identified as a winged Artemis. Mikkiades' signature on Paros, the Parian script of both Mikkiades'

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[27] For detailed views of the roundels see *Mer Égée* (above, n. 2), fig. on p. 193; Rubensohn, op. cit. (n. 12), pl. 3. 1, and his drawing, 32 fig. 1, for the transformation into rosette (here fig. 7). For the roundels understood as remnants of wings see e.g. A. Furtwängler, *Archäologische Zeitung* 40 (1882) fig. on col. 324 (here fig. 6). Professor Marcadé kindly informs me (letter, 21 Feb., 1984) that the roundels as seen at present have been largely 'refaites' by the restorer J. Bakoulis.

[28] Op. cit., pl. 3.2; max. pres. height of statuette: 0.14 m; calculated height, when complete, *c.* 0.65–70 m, therefore approximately $\frac{3}{5}$ the size of the Delian marble. Note, however, that the roundels on the terracotta figure have a scalloped edge not paralleled on the Nike; Isler-Kerényi, op. cit. (n. 3) 117, does not believe in the wings of the Parian terracotta.

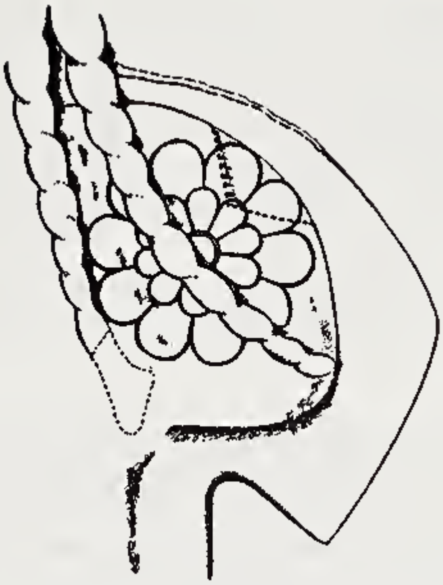

Fig. 7. Reconstruction of shoulder fibula after O. Rubensohn, *Mitt. d. Inst.* 1 (1948) 32 fig. 1.

and Archermos' dedications, convinced him of the presence of both sculptors on the Cycladic island, perhaps in exile from Chios. Father and son would have used Paros as a base for their workshop, from which they sent the 'Nike' to Delos.

Rubensohn also stressed the vivid colouring of the Delian statue which, when first found, retained traces of a scale pattern on the upper torso above the belt, perhaps enhanced by alternating colours; a vertical row of circles with central dot, under the figure's right armpit, may have marked the edge of the cloth along that side (Fig. 8). In addition, a meander was painted on the skirt, over the paryphe, and another was observed across the chest, perhaps to be visualized as a separate ornament hanging from the fibulae and supplementing the plastically rendered necklace, as well as the metal earrings and diadem studs now lost. As for the roundels, Rubensohn acknowledged them as typical decoration for terracottas from the Greek mainland and Magna Graecia, but not from Ionian territory.[29]

New evidence has, however, come to light since Rubensohn wrote. Briefly since 1964 and then, as a complete study, in 1979, a series of terracotta statuettes from a sanctuary of Artemis at Metapontum has been published. They not only provide many parallels for roundels in the same position as those of the Delian Nike, but they also display details which connect them with the Ionian sphere, in particular a pointed hat typical of Phocaea and neo-Hittite territory.[30] The figurines occur in a variety of poses and attires:

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[29] Rubensohn, op. cit. 29–30 with pertinent notes, and esp. 30 n. 3. The original description, by B. Graef: 'Die Bemalung der Nike des Archermos', *AM* 14 (1889) 319–20, sketch on p. 320 (here fig. 7). The meander across the chest is mentioned only by W. Lermann, *Altgriechische Plastik* (Munich 1907) 55; cf. also his discussion of the statue on pp. 48–9. For scales on the bodice of female figures (not necessarily only mythical, as implied by Rubensohn) see e.g. the bronze relief (mirror handle?) from Corinth, Louvre MN C10911, G. M. A. Richter, *Korai* (London 1968) no. 29 fig. 108. Rubensohn makes many other points, including mention of the existence, in the Parian deposit, of other fragmentary winged figures: cf. his pl. 3. For reference to roundels on terracottas from various sites, see his n. 1 on p. 27.

[30] Metapontum terracottas: G. Olbrich, *Archaische Statuetten eines Metapontiner Heiligtums* (Studia archaeologica 23, Rome 1979), esp. 70–84. For colour photographs see D. Adamesteanu, *La Basilicata antica* (Cava dei Tirreni 1974) 59. For East Greek parallels see E. Langlotz, *Studien zur nordostgriechischen Kunst* (Mainz 1975) pls. 24–8, esp. 25. 4–6.

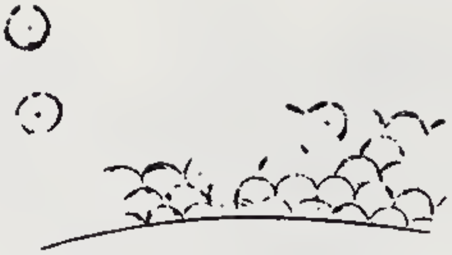

Fig. 8. Painted patterns on dress after B. Graef, *AM* 14 (1889) 320.

standing, seated, with polos, with kalathos, as well as with pointed cap. They carry small horses, birds, or other animals. In particular, they often have wings, which may provide a clue to the interpretation of the roundels of the Delian statue. These wings originate not only from the back, but also from the chest of the terracottas, and sometimes they appear pinned to the breasts, as it were, by means of discs. Yet no technical requirement, no fear of breakage, could be responsible for this rendering.

This last point can be demonstrated conclusively by examples in other media, which clearly show the same frontal attachment of the wings, e.g. a stone metope with a 'Harpy', presumably from Sicily, in Copenhagen, or Clazomenian sarcophagi with painted decoration, which bring us closer to the Ionian sphere.[31] These parallels belong to the sixth century—the sarcophagus figures even to the end of it—but the origin of the motif may be found in the seventh, when chest attachment for wings is common. A seventh-century Rhodian plaque with an impressed Mistress of Animals is known in many replicas; it is quite explicit in showing concentric circles over the breasts at the termination of chest wings.[32] The explanation should perhaps be sought in the Greek desire to present even invented features rationally and clearly. The combination of a human, clothed body and animal wings seems to have troubled the literal-minded Greek artist, who tried to make it plausible and logical by rendering the wings as if fastened separately to the torso. The Icarus myth and the representations of some Cretan Orientalizing helmets may lie at the origin of the iconography.[33]

If this speculation is in the right direction, then the roundels on the Delian statue could be 'fossils' of the fibulae once used for the attachment of chest wings which the sculptor, however, omitted because of his technical need to use wings as a background plane. In later sculptures of flying figures, in fact, the wings are attached separately or at right angles to the torso, which is modelled independently as a fully three-dimensional feature.[34] In addition, since the winged statuettes from Metapontum—I repeat, with clear Ionian associations—come from a sanctuary of Artemis, the probability increases that the Delian statue, coming from a comparable context, may also represent the goddess.[35]

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[31] Stone metope in Copenhagen: L. Giuliani, *Die archaischen Metopen von Selinunt* (Mainz 1979) pl. 3. 3. Clazomenian sarcophagi: R. M. Cook, *Clazomenian Sarcophagi* (Mainz 1981) E 8, Berlin Inv. 3353, pl. 23, also F 17; cf. 121–23 for discussion of the winged female on these monuments.

[32] Rhodian plaque, as entire diadem: see e.g. Richter, op. cit. (n. 29), fig. 113.

[33] On the Icarus myth and representations, see J. D. Beazley, 'Icarus', *JHS* 47 (1927) 222–33 and esp. 223, fig. 2 discussed on 224, for a black-figure fragment from the Athenian Acropolis, dated *c.*560 BC and inscribed Ἴκαρος. Unfortunately only the lower half of the human body is preserved, with winged boots. See also N. Yalouris, '*Πτερόεντα πέδιλα*', *BCH* 77 (1953) 293–321, and 303 fig. 8 for the same Acropolis fragment. For the Cretan representations, on a helmet from Afrati, see H. Hoffmann, *Early Cretan Armorers* (Mainz 1972) no. H. 1, 2–4 pls. 1–5, and discussion, 34–35 with n. 11. A different solution to attach wings to the human body seems to occur on a belly amphora by the Princeton Painter, J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases* (London 1974) fig. 138. The two figures flanking a seated Zeus seem to wear a short-sleeved vest of which the large wings are part, as shown by the coloured band which borders both the 'vest' across the chest and the wing; my colleague Gloria F. Pinney suggests, however, that this rendering may depict theatrical costume. For the difficulty experienced by Greek, especially Attic, sculptors in giving wings to the lion-body of a sphinx see the comments by J. C. Wright, *Hesperia* 46 (1977) 248, with nn. 10–11.

A final point: the roundels on Archermos' statue are too low to be the fastenings for a conventional peplos. To be sure, when Rubensohn wrote, the arms of the figure had not yet been recovered; they have now been joined and provide new evidence for the costume.

(3) WHAT IS THE DELIAN NIKE WEARING?

Her attire has been variously described as a sleeveless tunic (before the arms were found), a peplos, a chiton, or even a chiton below a peplos. None of these definitions seems correct. The upper arms retain clear traces of fitted sleeves extending to the elbow and opening in an inverted-V shape over the biceps, toward the crook of the arm. No traces of buttons or folds exist, and it is unlikely that they would have been indicated solely in paint. I believe that the Nike wears a single garment, to which neither the name peplos nor chiton can be applied. It is rather a sleeved and fitted costume for which our terminology has not yet provided, but which undoubtedly existed in antiquity, because it is shown on vases and other representations. See, for instance, the ivory statuette of the so-called hawk-priestess from Ephesus, or the rendering on Clazomenian vases which again bring us close to the Ionian sphere; the fashion might easily have been adopted there from the Near East where short- and long-sleeved tunics are frequent.[36]

Since the Delian Nike is wearing a sleeved dress, another argument is added to the interpretation of the roundels, because fibulae would not be needed to pin together what is obviously a fitted costume. The rendering of this basically foldless garment raises however the issue of the iconographic and stylistic affiliation of the Delian statue, since drapery provides a major clue for geographical classification during the Archaic period.

(4) WHAT IS THE ARTISTIC MILIEU OF ARCHERMOS' STATUE?

Although it has been variously called Attic, Peloponnesian, or under Parian and

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[34] This is at least the inference to be made from the cuttings on the torso of the so-called 'Callimachus Nike', Akr. 690, on which see, most recently, A. Gulaki, *Klassische und klassizistische Nikedarstellungen* (Bonn 1981) 18–27, figs. 1–4, who suggests that two figures, not one, should be reconstructed from the fragments. For later Nikai see my comments in *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton 1981) 110–11. To be sure, wings continue to parallel the torso in bronze Nikai, which are, however, often conceived as flat appliqués or silhouettes, and whose arms are usually cast in one piece against the background of the wings.

[35] Olbrich, op. cit. (n. 30), 81, mentions that Metapontine coins dated shortly before 300 BC carry the epithets Soteira and Nike for Artemis, but this date is too late for the argument to be applicable to the Delian statue and may reflect purely local circumstances.

[36] Hawk-priestess from Ephesus: e.g. Boardman, op. cit. (n. 13), fig. 88. Clazomenian vases: e.g. Langlotz, op. cit. (n. 30) pl. 62. 1–6; cf. also the elaborate figured hydria from Samos, A. Furtwängler, *AM* 95 (1980) 188–97, pls. 54–5 and Beil. 1 in colour. For comments on the sleeved Ionic chiton see also W. Darsow, *Mitt. d. Inst.* 4 (1951) 85–102. Near Eastern renderings: see e.g., E. Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites* (New York 1962) pl. 150, an orthostat from Karatepe, *c.* 700 BC. A much more extensive treatment of Greek costume appears in my 'The Fashion of the Elgin Kore' *GettyMusJ*, 12 (1984) 29–58.

Thasian influence, if its connection with the Chian sculptor is accepted, the Nike should fit within the Chian stylistic tradition. This is best represented, for the Archaic period, by two female torsos on the island, of larger-than-life dimensions.[37] Yet the distinctive feature of these massive korai is the parallel engraving of the wavy chiton folds, which bear no similarity to true gathers and seem to have purely decorative function. They clearly contrast with the Delian figure, whose folds are either omitted (over the torso) or rendered as plastic ridges over the thighs and massed in between the legs.

Other works have been attributed to the Chian school, among which the most plausible is the kore Akr. 675 because of its distinctive marble. Of the inscribed bases from the Acropolis, moreover, one preserves Archermos' signature on a votive offering by a certain Iphidike; another retains only the ethnic 'Chian'. Both are, however, sufficient evidence to postulate the presence of Chian statuary on the Athenian citadel.[38] Generally accepted are the two Nikai, Akr. 693 (perhaps Iphidike's dedication) and Akr. 691, accurately analysed by Isler-Kerényi. Other attributions to Chian masters have been made by Langlotz and Frel, and include the Siphnian Caryatid, a small head of a kore in Bonn, another in Malibu, and other pieces, mostly selected on the basis of the so-called Ionian eye, which renders the eyeball in one with the eyelids as a raised, faceted plane within the orbital cavity.[39] Yet this feature is too widespread among Archaic sculptors to be ascribed solely to one school or geographical area. Kore Akr. 675, and in particular her ornate hairstyle, can be further compared not only with the Delian Nike, but with other Cycladic and Thasian sculptures, for instance, the Boulgaridis head now in Basle, and, most intriguing, the so-called ex-Cnidian head in Delphi.[40] Yet such stylistic parallels concentrate largely on facial features; none of the pieces named closely resembles the two korai on Chios in the treatment of the chiton folds.[41] All of them, moreover, belong within the second half of the sixth century, when chiton-and-himation combinations prevailed among female fashions.

That chronological distance is responsible for this lack of similarity has been argued by J. Pedley, who has firmly assigned the Delian Nike to the Chian school, around 550–525 BC. He has also gathered around the two female torsos on Chios eight additional korai, either whole or fragmentary, from different findspots, which he considers Chian on the basis of their smooth, columnar costume and globular hairstyle. One distinctive feature in common is the rectangular pattern formed by the chiton in drooping over the waist belt, as preserved on Chios kore no. 226. Since Pedley dates his group within 580–550 BC, he can then acknowledge that points of comparison between the Delian Nike and his korai 'are not plentiful', but he attributes the difference 'to the 25-year gap which separates them'.[42]

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[37] Chios Museum 225–6; J. Boardman, *Antike Plastik* I (1962) 43–5; J. G. Pedley, *AJA* 86 (1982) 184–5 nos. 3–4, pl. 23. 5–8. Here, p. 198–9, figs. 10, 11.

[38] For a general discussion on Archermos and on Chian work on the Athenian Akropolis see Raubitschek, op. cit. (n. 18) 484–7; the two dedications are his 7–8 no. 3 (for Iphidike, by Archermos of Chios), and 14–15 no. 9. See also Marcadé, op. cit. (n. 7) 21.

[39] Isler-Kerényi, op. cit. (n. 3), 89–92, 103–5; Langlotz, op. cit. (n. 30), 168–9; Langlotz and J. Frel, 'Kore in Malibu', *GettyMusJ* 6–7 (1978–9) 193–95.

[40] Kore Akr. 675: e.g. Boardman, op. cit. (n. 13), fig. 177. The ex-Cnidian and Boulgaridis heads are conveniently juxtaposed by W. Darsow, *Mitt. d. Inst.* 3 (1950) pls. 2–3, who also compares them with the Delian Nike and kore Akr. 682.

[41] See, however, the comments by J. Boardman, on other sculptural fragments from the island: *Greek Emporio* 181–6, esp. comments on no. 7, a fragmentary kore with parallel lines to her chiton: here, p. 201, Fig. 13.

[42] Pedley, op. cit. (n. 37) no. 4, pl. 23. 7–8 for Chios kore 226. For the listing of traits common to the whole group see his p. 186; the dating is given on p. 187; the dating of the Nike and the two quotations occur on p. 189.

I find this chronological explanation inadequate, since the dating of individual pieces is debatable, and Pedley makes no clear distinction among the types of garments represented, nor does he distinguish between style and iconography. I had once attempted a similar iconographic grouping, but I had included korai which Pedley excludes, and I had not relied so heavily on the rectangular kolpos as a criterion for inclusion. Indeed, comparable renderings occur in sculptures with demonstrably different affiliations—for instance, the running maidens of a metope from the so-called Treasury at Foce del Sele, who none the less are under obvious East Greek influence, perhaps mediated via Etruria. As for regional affiliations, I had more tentatively suggested Paros, on the basis of distribution, since some examples are on Paros itself, some—on Delos and at Cyrene—have a likely Parian provenience, and the Phrasikleia kore, in Athens, is by the Parian Aristion.[43]

No new evidence has come to light to strengthen my case, but perhaps one iconographic detail can be adduced to link the Delian Nike with these heavily dressed korai whose garment often has a meander-decorated paryphe. Archermos' winged figure has one strand of hair which belongs neither to the front nor to the back hair-mass, but rather lies in between the two and follows the contour of the shoulder down the upper arm.[44] This is a peculiar mannerism not often found in other female statues, so that the parallels may be significant. This shoulder-tress occurs on a kore in Delos, A 4067, probably of Parian origin, and on the Cnidian (?) Caryatid in Delphi. More important, however, is that it appears on Phrasikleia, an undoubted work by a Parian sculptor.[45] Despite its Attic flavour, in fact, this kore retains some obvious island traits and her virtually foldless costume with sleeves sewn along the arms can basically be compared with that of the Delian Nike, regardless of chronological differences.

To sum up, I may outline my present views on the monument. The winged figure in Delos was indeed made by Archermos and Mikkiades as joint dedication, perhaps accompanied by another figure on the oblong, inscribed base. The two sculptors had left Chios and, at the time of their offering, resided in Paros. They therefore conceived their statue in the Ionian tradition, but with a costume strongly influenced by the stylistic and iconographic practices of their new, Cycladic homeland, including the mannerism of the shoulder curl. In Parian script they inscribed their dedication to Artemis, whom they depicted as a winged goddess in her fearful aspect, perhaps related to the Gorgon both in her qualities and her appearance. At the same time both, or at least the father, Mikkiades, set up other offerings on Paros. Eventually they moved to Athens, a city always receptive to foreign sculptors, perhaps in the wake of Aristion, and worked for Ionian patrons of the Acropolis. They produced similar winged figures but there, under the influence of local practices and beliefs, they gave them the costume of the koine, chiton and himation, and identified them as Nikai, thus starting a long-lived tradition for the representation of Victory which, by the time of Aristophanes' scholiast, had become the accepted identification.[46] Despite this circuitous route, the invention of the first winged statue can therefore be revindicated for Chios.

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[43] For my grouping see *Archaic Style* (above n. 3) 99; for Pedley's disagreement with my criteria see his 183–4 n. 12; cf. also 187 n. 28. Metope from Foce del Sele: *Archaic Style* fig. 60.

[44] See e.g. the side view in Isler-Kerényi, op. cit. (n. 3), pl. 14, and the sketch by Rubensohn, here fig. 7.

[45] Delos A 4067: Richter, *Korai*, no. 149 figs. 476–9 esp. 478; Cnidian torso: Langlotz, op. cit. (n. 30), pl. 16. 6. Phrasikleia: E. Mastrokostas, *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 5 (1972) 298–324, detail photograph 313 fig. 15.

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[46] On the connection of Victory with Athens see especially L. W. Daly, 'Nike and Athena Nike', in *Studies in Honor of D. G. Robinson* II (St. Louis 1951) 1124–8. For the parallel Artemis–Gorgon see most recently Scherrer, op. cit. (n. 10), 25, who quotes Homolle (*BCH* 3 (1879) 396–7) and H. Kenner (see his n. 62; the ref. is to *ÖJh* 31 (1939) 81 ff.). When I delivered this paper in Chios it was noted that a running Artemis would be iconographically quite uncommon. I owe to the kindness of Dr Lilly Kahil the following references to a running Artemis in vase-painting, which are illustrated in her article on the goddess in *LIMC* II (1984) pl. 495 no. 617: Athens Nat. Mus. 556—a black-figure oinochoe showing a winged Artemis holding up her skirt and moving to right, head turned to left. London, BM B 215 (*ABV* 286, 1; *LIMC* II, pl. 458 no. 169*a*) also shows a running Artemis with polos, to left. Dr Kahil pointed out, however, that Artemis seems never to be shown with wings at her feet or with winged shoes, as is the case with the Delian statue. This detail could none the less be a carry-over from the Gorgon iconography, which includes winged shoes both in Greece and in Asia Minor (e.g., the painted tomb, above, n. 24). N. Yalouris, op. cit. (n. 33) 315, lists the following as likely to wear winged shoes: Perseus, Gorgons, Hermes, Boreas and the Boreads, Nike, unnamed genii, Dionysos, the Nymphs, the Keres, the Harpies, Eris, Apollo, Aristaeus, Dolon, Paris, Atalante, Icarus. It is therefore clear that such wings are purely an indication of speed (see his 296–9 for the Ionian form). F. W. Hamdorf, *Griechische Kultpersonifikationen der vorhellenistischen Zeit* (Mainz 1964) 60, objected that no Mistress of Animals is ever shown in the *Knielauf* pose. The Delian statue, however, even if identified with Artemis, need not represent the goddess in this specific aspect.

THE CHIAN ELEMENT IN CHIAN ART

W. FUCHS

CHIAN potters and painters of the seventh and sixth centuries BC developed a style in Archaic pottery which, for its technique and decoration, is outstanding among all the East Greek wares. The thin-walled vases are prepared with a white slip and decorated in part with fine filling ornament and with precise and exceptionally delicate figures of animals. The black-painted interiors of the vases, usually chalices, carry florals in red and white, and there are figure scenes—fighting, feasting, dancing, chains of women, and scenes of myth. The figures are miniaturist masterpieces yet they carry intimations of the major arts which lie behind them. We see clearly here a contrast between a highly sensitive system of linear decoration and a wholly fresh attitude to and apprehension of nature, as well as a taste for the surprising, exemplified by the use of colour.[1] This characteristic feeling for the unexpected and extravagant is perceptible also in Chian architecture, for instance in the use of lion-paw anta bases.[2] There is a related and highly decorative linear style observable also in Chian architectural ornament where, in the early fifth century, Archaic forms are developed in a virtually archaizing manner.

Ancient writers on the history of art showed an interest in the Archaic schools of sculpture on Chios, and the Archaic poet Hipponax alludes to more than one Chian sculptor whose name has been found in inscriptions.[3] The founder of Chios, Melas, is made into an ancestor of the sculptors by Pliny probably through a misunderstanding, and said to be a father of Mikkiades, who was not certainly an artist at all. His son Archermos and grandsons Boupalos and Athenis were sculptors. The latter were said to have offended Hipponax in Clazomenae by their caricatures, but the poet paid them out with his bitter verses. Archermos was said to have made the first winged Nike (Scholiast to Aristophanes, *Birds* 574) in about 560 BC. The Nike has been found on Delos and demonstrates the Archaic artist's unusual conception in combining the traditional type of the winged Artemis, as Mistress of Animals, with the demonic figure of the Gorgon Medusa to create a figure of the goddess of Victory. This seems a particularly characteristic creation for a Chian artist and had a remarkable succession, through Roman Victoria to the figures of angels in Christian art.[4] (On the Delos Nike see also B. S. Ridgway's article in this volume, and p. 261, Fig. 1.)

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[1] A. Rumpf, *Malerei und Zeichnung* (Munich 1953) 37, 46, pl. 11. 10–11; E. Walter-Karydi, *Samos* VI. 1 (1973) 67–73; E. Simon and M./A. Hirmer, *Die griechischen Vasen* (Munich 1976) pl. 33; D. Williams, *AA* 1983, 155–86. See also the articles in this volume by A. Lemos and J. Boardman.

[2] J. Boardman, *AntJ* 39 (1959) 193–6, pl. 33.

[3] G. Lippold, *Griechische Plastik* (Munich 1950) 62–4; a new account in the revised edition being prepared by the writer and J. Floren.

[4] Cf. W. Fuchs and C. Bertelli, *Enciclopedia dell'Arte antica* V (1963) 461–75 s.v. 'Nike'.

Chian sculptors preferred to use Parian marble but there was a similar local marble also available. In metalwork too Chios could claim a master: in about 580 BC Glaukos of Chios made for the Lydian king Alyattes a silver crater set on a richly figure-decorated stand of iron, the welding technique of which he was said to have discovered. There were close relations in the Archaic period between the marble-working of Chios and Paros. Archermos and his sons also worked in Athens and in later years the works of these Chian sculptors were much sought after. Both Attalus of Pergamum and Augustus in Rome decorated buildings with their sculptures.[5] Two kore torsos in Chios, made in Archermos' workshop about 570 BC,[6] wear sleeved chitons lying flat on their bodies, decorated with a somewhat irrational pattern of incised wavy lines (cf. p. 189–9, Figs. 10, 11). We recognize the formal structure of Chian art in many other works, such as the Nikai and korai in Athens. An important work of collaboration with Parian artists was on the friezes of the Treasury of the Siphnians at Delphi. The Caryatid korai of this Treasury, the related 'ex-Cnidian' Caryatid head at Delphi, a kore head in Thasos, other Caryatids in Delphi, and the kore Acropolis no. 682 can be associated with Chios; and especially the Acropolis kore no. 675 whose rather irrational pattern of folds in the dress and saucy look express the Chian artist's view of the world.

There are unusual elements too in the clay relief pottery made in Chios. In fragments published by Kontoleon[7] we see a chain-dance of women, the incised folds of whose dresses recall the Nike of Delos in a typically Chian manner (Fig. 2). And another fragment offers a wholly unusual theme of a swimmer with an octopus (Fig. 1). There can be no question that these pieces do not belong with the Boeotian–Tenian group of relief pithoi, but are local, Chian products. The abstract linear scheme of decoration is apparent in the dresses of the women and in the flying mass of hair of the swimmer, the latter being an exceptionally daring expression of natural form. Both works are of the early sixth century BC.

The greatest of the island's artists, and the most important of all Greek gem-engravers, worked in the island in the mid fifth century: Dexamenos of Chios. He is the only gem-cutter who tells us his home, from which we might well deduce that he had a studio not only in Chios but also in Athens. His Chian view of the world is expressed in the bold portrait-head, now in Boston, which cannot be much later than the portrait of Themistocles and belongs roughly to the years of the famous bronzes from Riace.[8] Dexamenos' sharp observation of nature is apparent too in his gems showing waterbirds, where the decorative linear patterning of the wings displays the characteristic Chian approach, which appears also in the dress on the gem he cut for Mika, where we can also observe his early handling of perspective. John Boardman has decisively characterized his style:[9]

> The finest of the signed stones is the one with the man's head, in Boston [Fig. 3]: a middle-aged

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[5] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 36, 13. Remains of a restored signature at Pergamum: *Altertümer von Pergamon* VIII. 1 (1890) no. 46.

[6] Inv. 225–6; J. Boardman, *Antike Plastik* I (1962) pls. 38–44. Further bibliography in this volume, p. 227, n. 59.

[7] N. Kontoleon, *AE* 1969, 217 n. 6 pl. 58.

[8] On Themistocles, H. Drerup, *Marburger Winckelmanns-programm* 1961, 21–8; G. M. A. Richter, *Portraits of the Greeks*^{1} (London 1965) 97–9 figs. 405–8 and^2 (Oxford 1984) 210–12; D. Metzler, *Porträt und Geschichte* (Münster 1971) 182 ff. On Riace, A. Busignani, *Gli eroi di Riace. Techne e daimon* (Florence 1981); W. Fuchs, *Boreas* 4 (1981) 25–8; id. in *Praestant Interna* (Festschrift U. Hausmann; Tübingen 1982) 34–40.

[9] J. Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (London 1970) 195–7. Quoted here by kind permission of the publisher, Thames and Hudson.

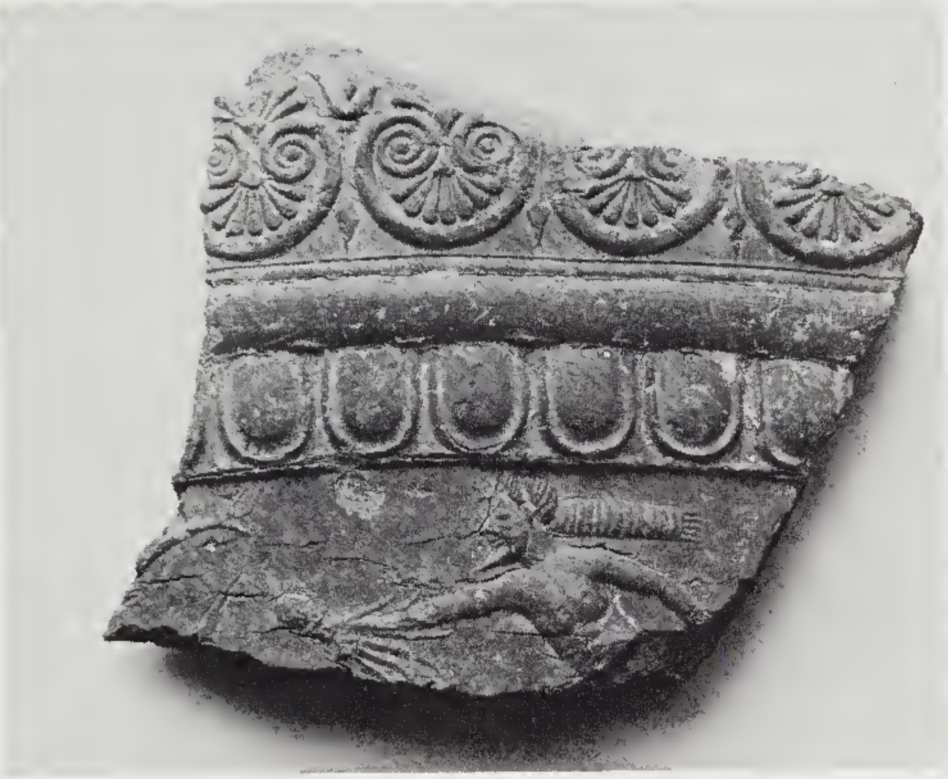


Fig. 1. Fragment of clay relief, from Chios. Chios Museum. Photograph: J. Boardman.

man, balding, intelligent. The delicacy of detail, especially the treatment of eyes, lashes and beard take nothing from the broad and individual effect. There had been character studies of aging men in Greek art before but scholars have generally agreed that this is perhaps the earliest of which it might be said that a particular person was intended. If true, this means that he must have 'sat', at least for a drawing on which the intaglio is based. This in itself would be novel, since hitherto advances in naturalism in Greek art had been won by observation and copying of

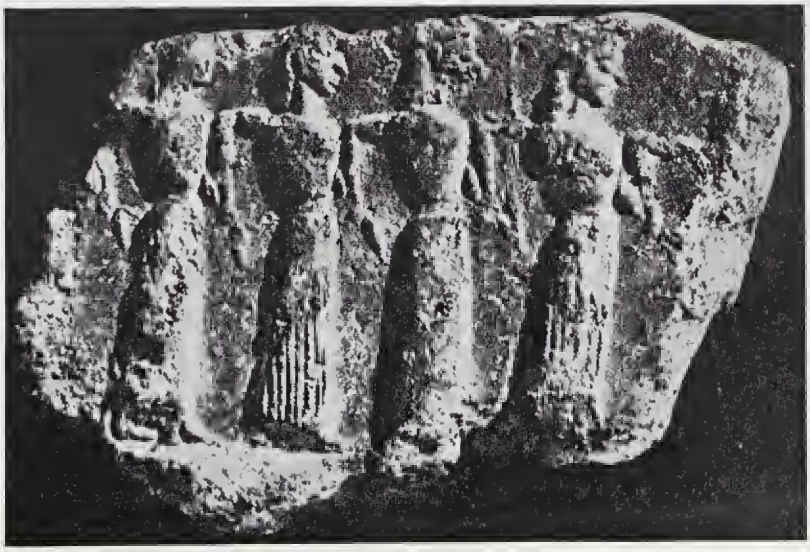


Fig. 2. Fragment of clay relief, from Chios. After *AE* 1969 pl. 58b.

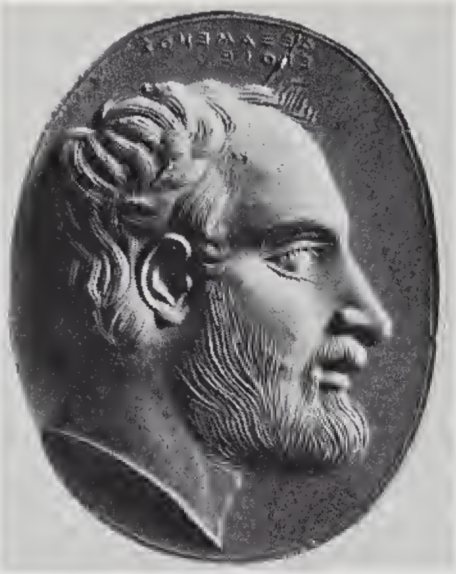
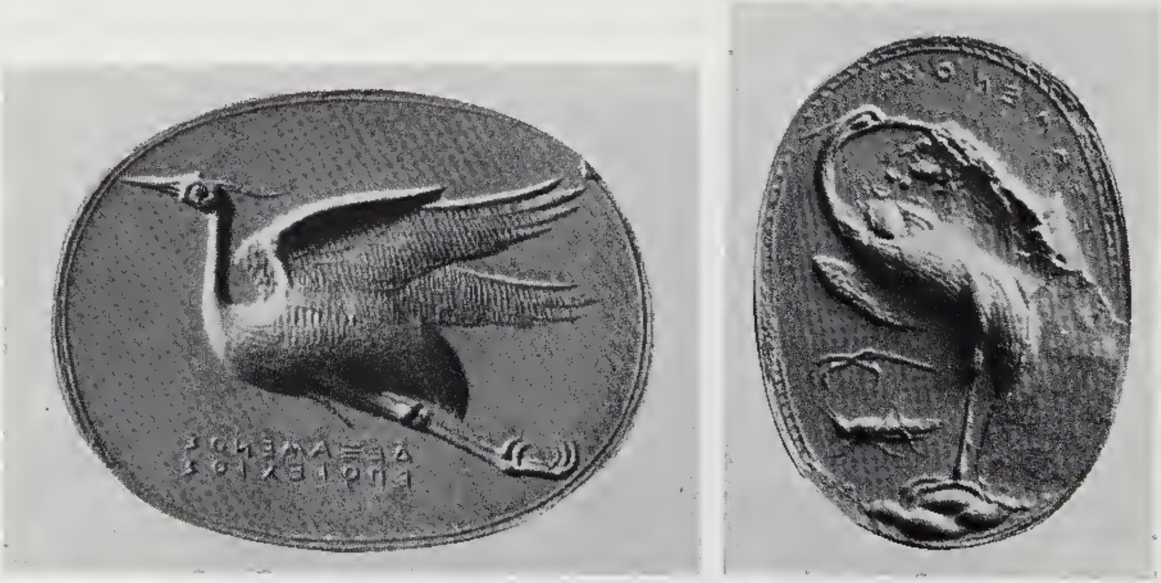


Fig. 3. Impression of jasper scaraboid from Attica, signed by Dexamenos. Original, Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Photograph: R. L. Wilkins. Three times actual size.

postures and details, composed on generalised or idealised figures. The new approach would have led to closer observation of forms, artificial and natural—such as the animal and still-life studies we have yet to discuss. But we must return in a moment to the question of whether this is a real portrait. Two other signed gems, these from South Russia, show herons, one flying [Fig. 4], the other preening [Fig. 5], with a locust beside it. Their downy bodies are rendered with the same nervous, meticulous incision as the hair of the 'portrait' head. These are accurate studies, and the water bird motif—with opposed curves of wings and body, the sinuous neck and angular legs—is

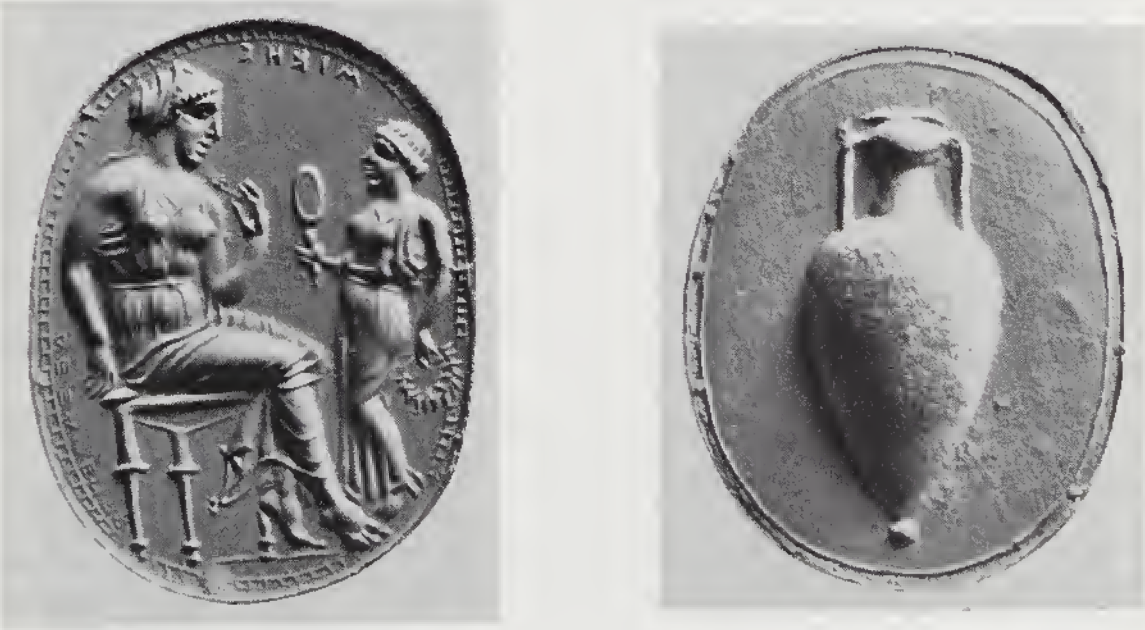


Figs. 4, 5. Impressions of a chalcedony and a jasper scaraboid from Kerch (S. Russia), signed by Dexamenos. Originals, Leningrad, Hermitage. Museum. Photographs: R. L. Wilkins. Three times actual size.

to be a favourite with engravers. The creatures had appeared before in Greek art, but, to judge from Athenian vases, at about this time they were being kept as household pets.

The fourth signed gem also carries the name of its owner, the lady Mika, in Ionic form (*Mikes*). It shows a mistress seated with her maid standing before her, holding a mirror and a wreath [Fig. 6]. The composition calls to mind immediately grave reliefs of the type beginning to be made for Athenian cemeteries after the middle of the fifth century. This is less detailed than the other three stones, and although there may seem something still of the Early Classical about it, this is illusory. The women's bodies are carefully modelled while the folds of their dress accentuate the contours and a transparent effect is achieved. This is, in a way, easier in glyptic since it involves no more than incising the fold lines deeper on the intaglio of a naked body, rather like painting the clothes over a nude outline on white ground vases. If there is something stiff in the composition it is because such a two-figure group is bound to compare unfavourably with the other single subjects on his gems, and perhaps he was not at his best with these stock draped figures. He also turns his hand to linear perspective here, by showing the underside of the stool as a triangle. Simple attempts at perspective and foreshortening with bodies had been tried before, and it is in this group of gems that we shall find examples of animals' heads turned slightly towards the viewer in three-quarters view.

Several other gems are related in various ways to Dexamenos' signed work, and some may be by him, but there is one which claims a special connection for a rather unusual reason. Dexamenos has told us in one signature that he is from the Ionian island of Chios, and the way he writes his *x* suggests that he learned his letters there. That he mentions his birthplace at all does not necessarily mean that he was working away from home, since an Athenian sculptor could sign his work for his own city acropolis as an 'Athenian', but the case is not quite the same and this is the only gem signature we know with an ethnic. Furtwängler had attributed to Dexamenos' studio a gem in Leningrad showing an amphora [Fig. 7], because it was cut in the distinctive mottled jasper used by him for two of his signed works. But we can now recognise from this careful study of the vase that it is a characteristic Chian type, which can, moreover, be closely dated to



Figs. 6, 7. Impression of a chalcedony scaraboid signed by Dexamenos, and of a jasper scaraboid from Kerch. Originals, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum and Leningrad, Hermitage Museum. Photographs: R. L. Wilkins. Three times actual size.

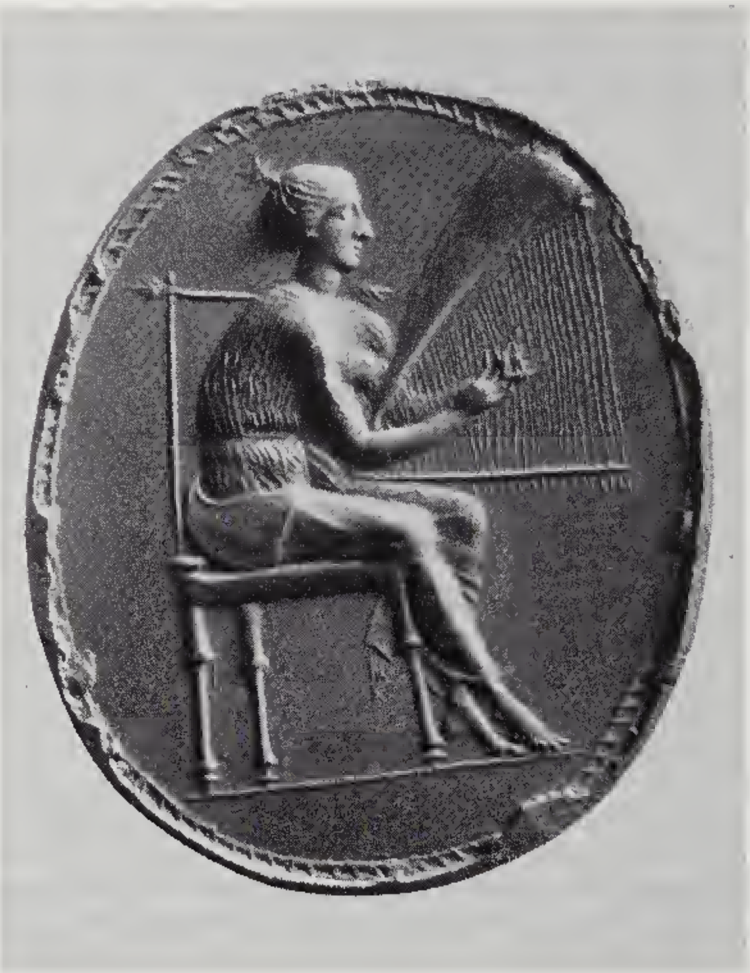


Fig. 8. Impression of a rock crystal scaraboid. Original, London, British Museum 529. Photograph: R. L. Wilkins. Three times actual size.

the middle years of the fifth century. This is the form which appears in clear excavated contexts and is repeated on the latest of the Chian silver didrachms. I have little doubt that it is Dexamenos' work. . . .

The ladies on Mika's gem are matched by no others on stones of the same date, but there are some slightly later studies, usually of naked or partly draped girls, of a quality and originality which remind one of Dexamenos. . . .

One other study of a woman must be included because it has so often been associated with Dexamenos. She is seated, playing a harp [Fig. 8]. The delicate cutting on the drapery very closely resembles the engraving on the herons' bodies on the signed stones, and details of the head on the Boston gem, but what a world of difference there is between this figure and the seated lady on Mika's gem [Fig. 6]! If this is really the same artist his career must have been a very long one indeed, and far from conservative if styles of rendering bodies and drapery could be so profoundly revised.

The graphic finesse of Dexamenos' gems appears also in a series of gravestones from Chios, the most famous of which, for Metrodoros, son of Theogeiton, is in Berlin (Figs. 9–

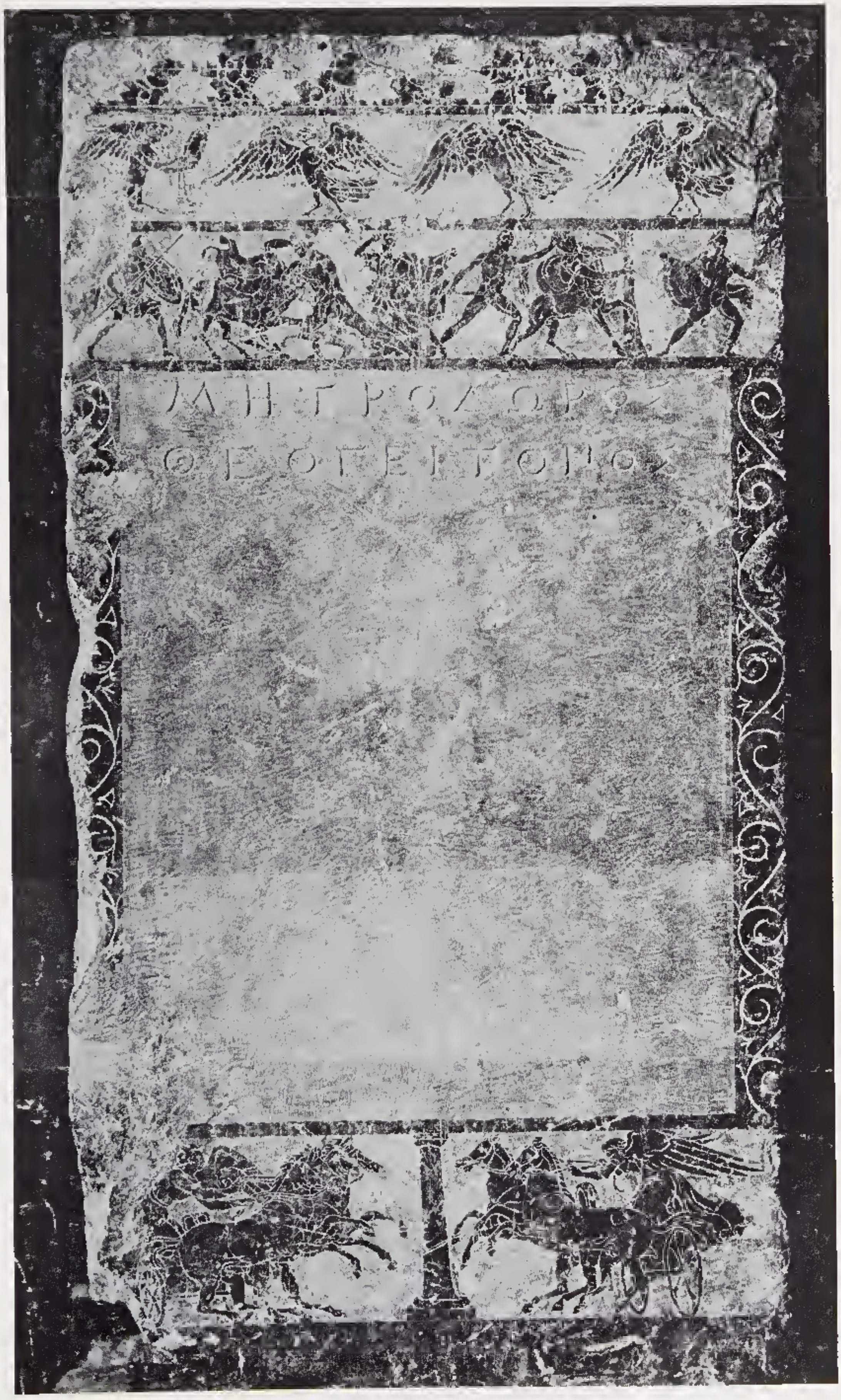

ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ
ΘΕΟΓΕΙΤΟΝΟΣ

Fig. 9. Gravestone of Metrodoros. Berlin (DDR), Pergamon Museum 766*a*. Photographs: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

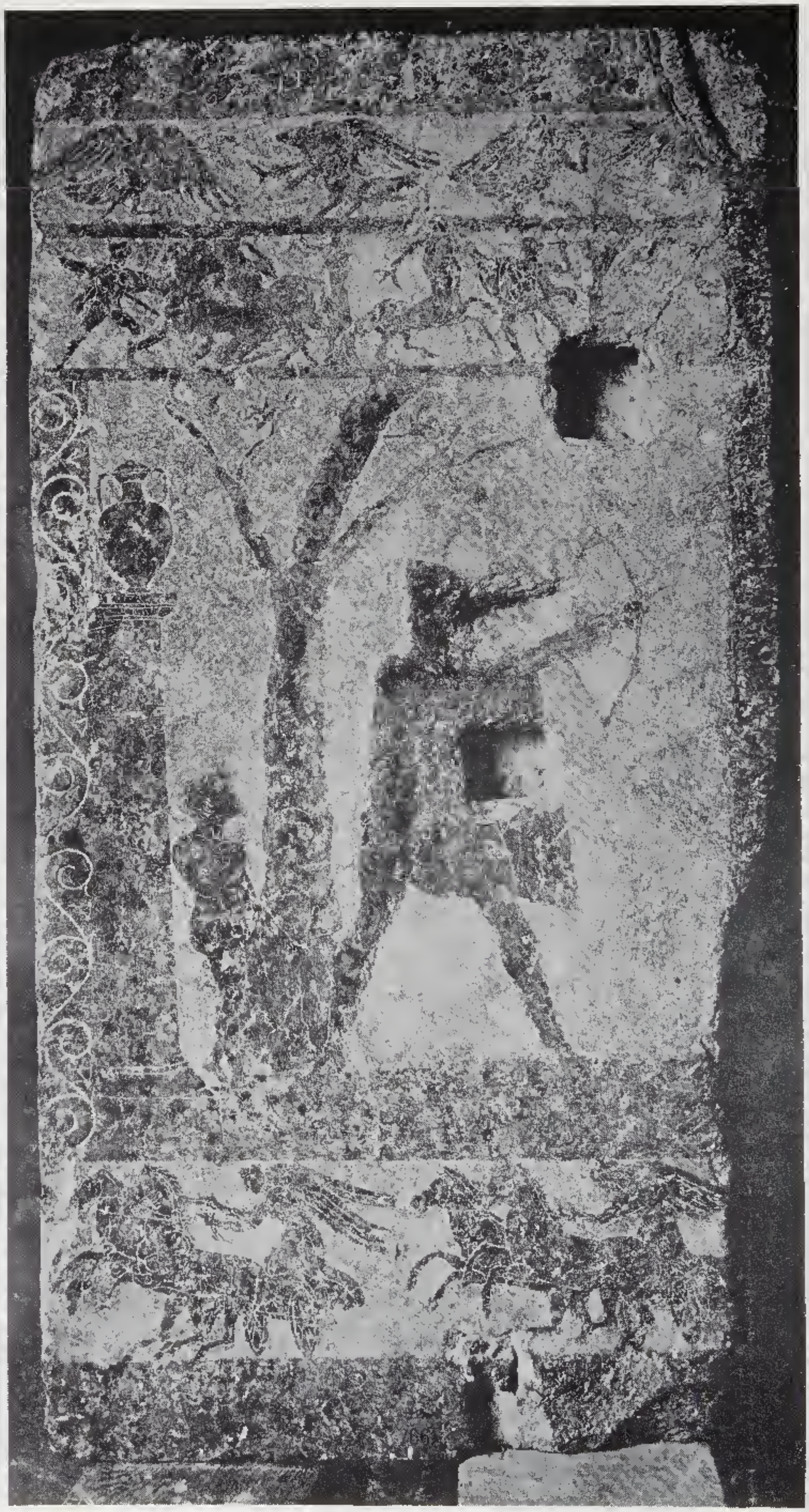


Fig. 10. Side view of Fig. 9.

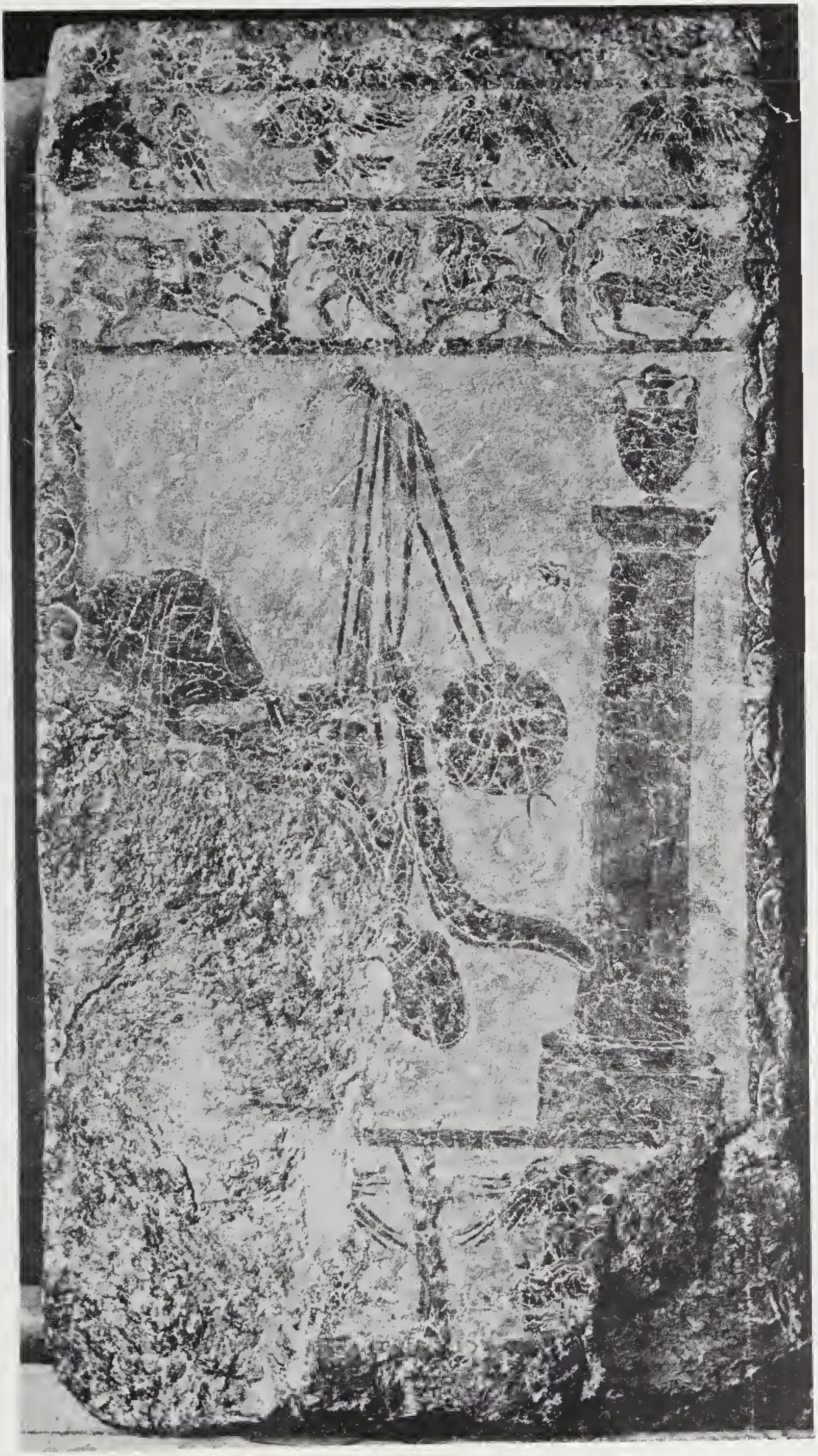


Fig. 11. Back view of Fig. 9.

11).[10] The stele was made about 300 BC. The main picture shows the dead man as a hunter, framed by friezes with sirens, a centauromachy, and Nikai racing in chariots. The back shows a still-life of athletic equipment and an amphora set on a high pillar, which, like the calligraphy of the friezes, demonstrates again Chian taste for the unexpected. These engraved stelai from Chios with their incised outlines on the polished ground and rough-cut background go with Boeotian stelai of the late fifth century BC.[11] The artistic intermediary must be Athens and the artists may well have been Attic or at least closely associated with art in Attica.[12] The oldest of the stelai in Chios is a fragmentary piece with 'kalathiskos-dancers' wearing short chitons and, at the left side, another dancer wearing an agrenon (net-like robe)(Fig. 12).[13] The stele is probably the gravestone of a priestess of Artemis. The frieze with the four kalathiskos-dancers follows an Attic tradition which we can recover from several neo-Attic works and can attribute to a round basis or altar made by the artist Callimachus (Fig. 13).[14] This frieze could not have been made without direct knowledge of Callimachus' work. Its composition goes beyond the Callimachean scheme of pairs of dancers in that it shows two moving in the same direction, and this rearrangement of the prototype could only have been sanctioned through some immediate creation of Callimachus' studio. The stele dates to the years around 400 BC or a little later.

Callimachus' home is not known. He worked in Athens and made there the golden lamp which Pausanias (1. 26) saw in the Erechtheum, with the bronze palmtree chimney over it.[15] The lamp held oil enough to burn for exactly one year. This technical inventiveness is also attested for his work in marble. According to Vitruvius (4. 1. 9–10) Callimachus also invented the Corinthian capital, which in bronze might have served for some comparable decorative device.[16] The mannered linear tendencies and the taste for the unexpected which are expressed in the invention of the Corinthian capital, with its naturalistic acanthus leaves bound together by abstract linear elements, leads me to suggest that Chios may have been Callimachus' home. The Chian gravestone with the kalathiskos-dancers shows that the suggestion may have some good foundation in fact.

From 477 to 413 BC Chios was closely associated with Athens, so the typically Chian talents which we observe in Callimachus (as previously in Archermos and Dexamenos) might easily have reached Athens in the person of Callimachus around 420. He might have worked there and in Corinth, and returned home at the end of the Peloponnesian War. In Chios Museum (no. 313) there is an unpublished piece of architectural ornament which in every respect seems to breathe the spirit of Callimachus. He was not only the leading master of the transitional 'Rich Style' in Athens, comparable with the Attic red-figure vase-painter, the Meidias Painter,[17] not only the inventor of the Corinthian capital, but also the first to express the 'Archaistic' style as a new artistic creation. This is

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[10] E. Pfuhl and H. Möbius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs* I–II (Mainz 1977–9) 566–7 no. XXI pl. 331.

[11] Rumpf, op. cit. (n. 1) 117–18 pl. 37. 4, 6.

[12] Cf. E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* (Munich 1923) 665 figs. 633–4.

[13] N. Kontoleon, *BCH* 71/2 (1947/8) 273 ff. pls. 47–8; Pfuhl/Möbius, op. cit. (n. 10), 566 no. XX pl. 330.

[14] W. Fuchs, 'Die Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs', *Jahrbuch des deutsch. arch. Inst.* Ergänzungsheft 20 (1959) 91–6 fig. 2.

[15] G. Lippold in *RE* X. B 2 (1919) 1645–7 s.v. 'Kallimachos'; W. Fuchs in *Neue Beiträge zur klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Festschrift B. Schweitzer; Stuttgart 1954) 206 ff. O. Palagia, 'A Niche for Kallimachos' Lamp', *AJA* 88 (1984) 515–21 pls. 66–7.

[16] H. Bauer, 'Korinthische Kapitelle des 4. und 3. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.', *AM* 3. Beiheft (1973) 11–13; suggestion of a bronze capital, Lippold, op. cit. 1646.

[17] G. Becatti, *Meidias, un manierista antico* (1947).

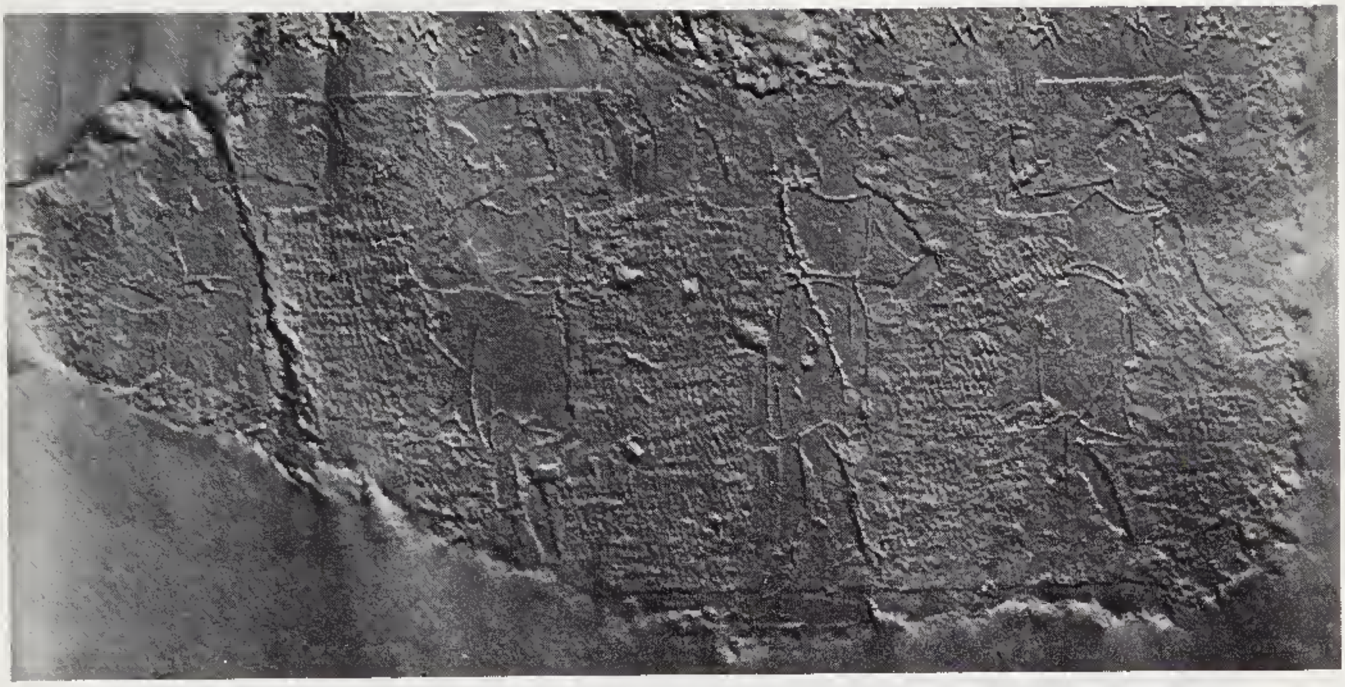

Fig. 12. Impression of an incised marble slab with kalathiskos-dancers. Chios Museum. Photograph: R. L. Wilkins.

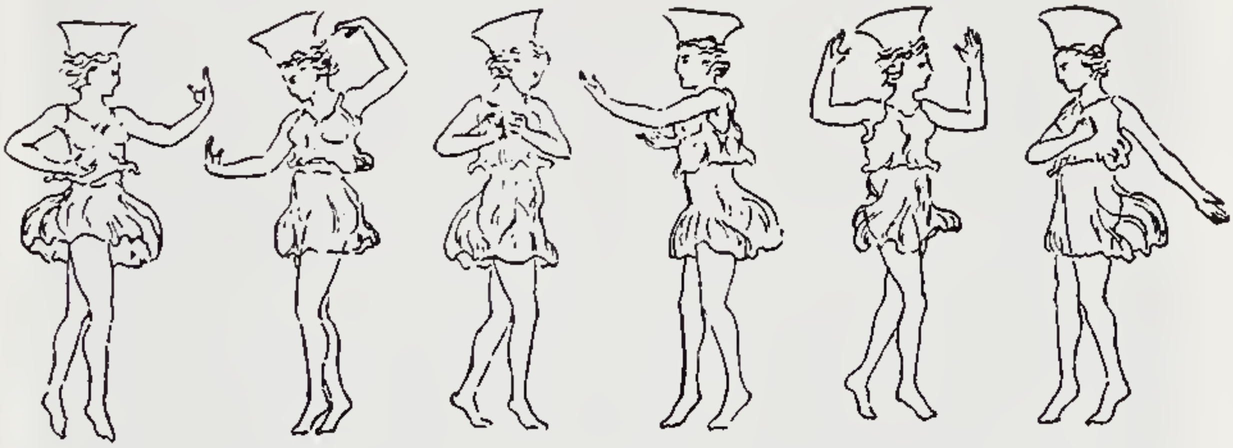

Fig. 13. Reconstruction drawings of the *saltantes Lacaenae*. After W. Fuchs, *Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs* 91 fig. 2.

suggested by fragments of a round altar found in the excavations at the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron[18] and reconstructed for display in the museum there (Figs. 14, 15). It shows a procession of gods including Dionysus followed by the earliest representation of the goddess Eirene. The procession approaches a figure seated on a rock, probably Ariadne. Stylistic comparisons with the heads and the grooved folds of the chiton associate the fragments of the round altar with Callimachus' maenad-reliefs (Figs. 16,

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[18] *BCH* 73 (1949) 527 pl. 31. 2; *Ergon* 1962, 32–3 fig. 43; *BCH* 87 (1963) 706 ff. fig. 15; W. Fuchs, *Boreas* 7 (1984) 79–81. In *Boreas* 8 (1985) E. Vikelas and W. Fuchs publish this piece, with kind permission of V. Petrakos and G. Despinis. See now *Boreas* 8 (1985) 41–48.

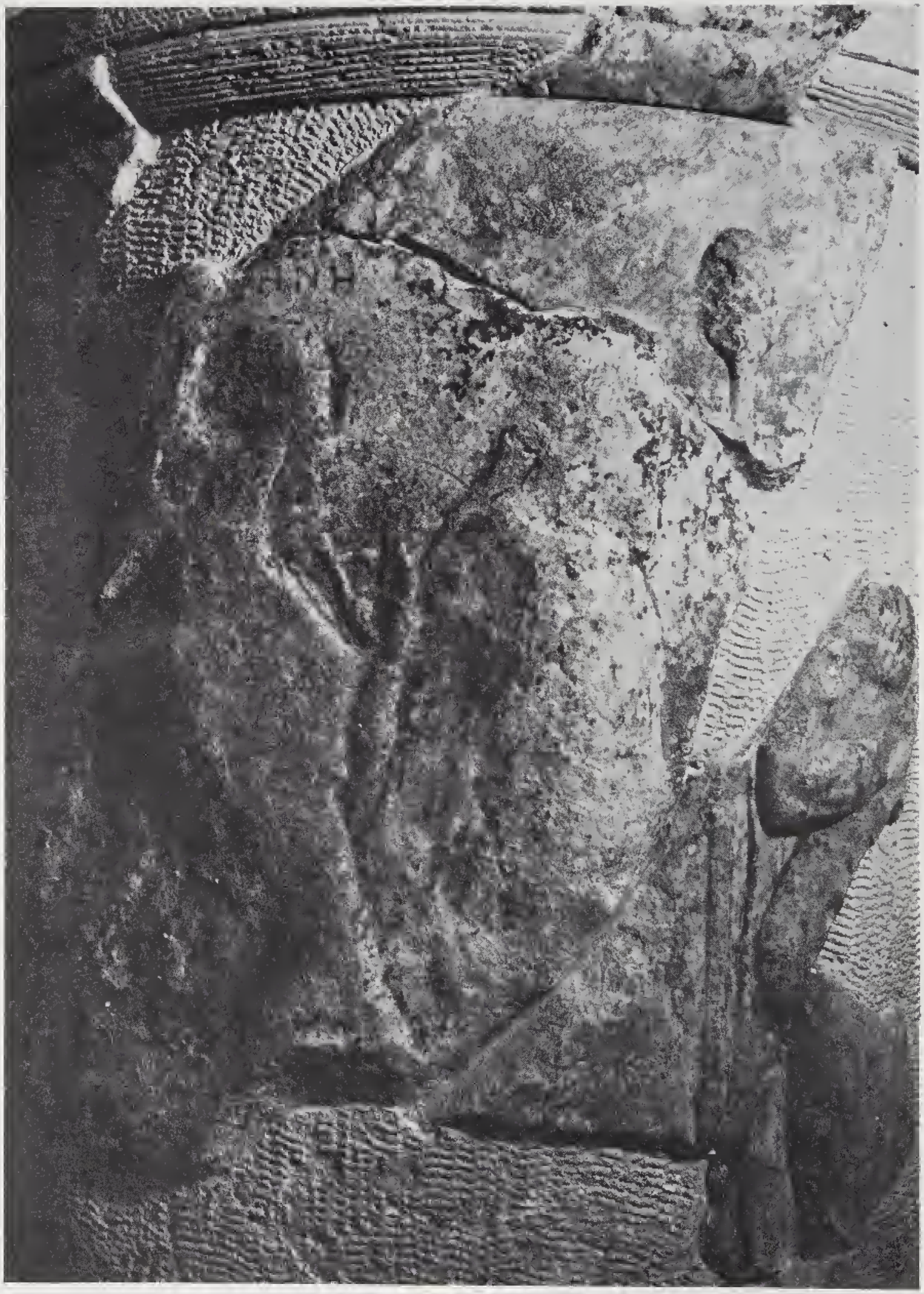


Fig. 14. Fragment of a marble round altar from Brauron.

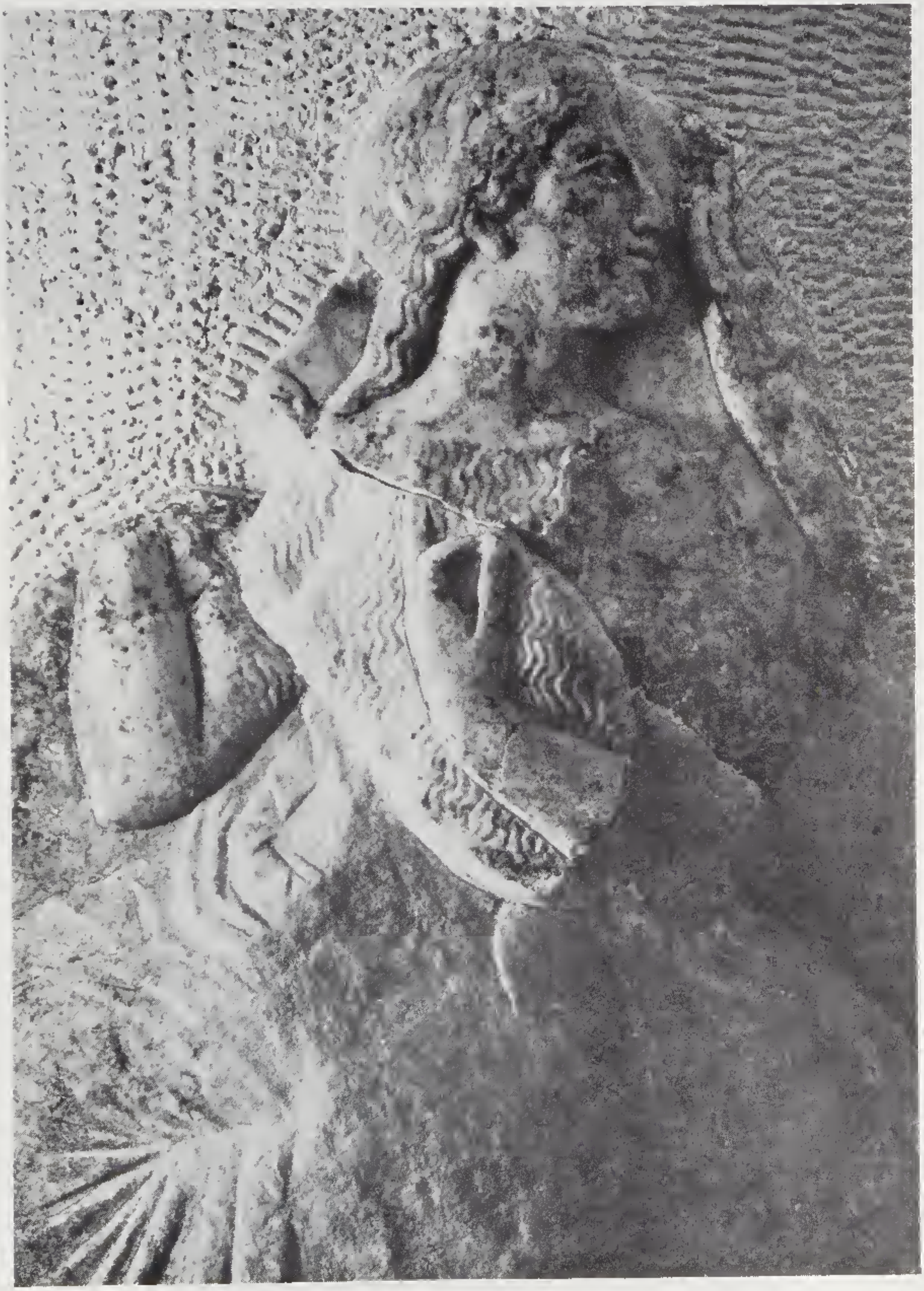
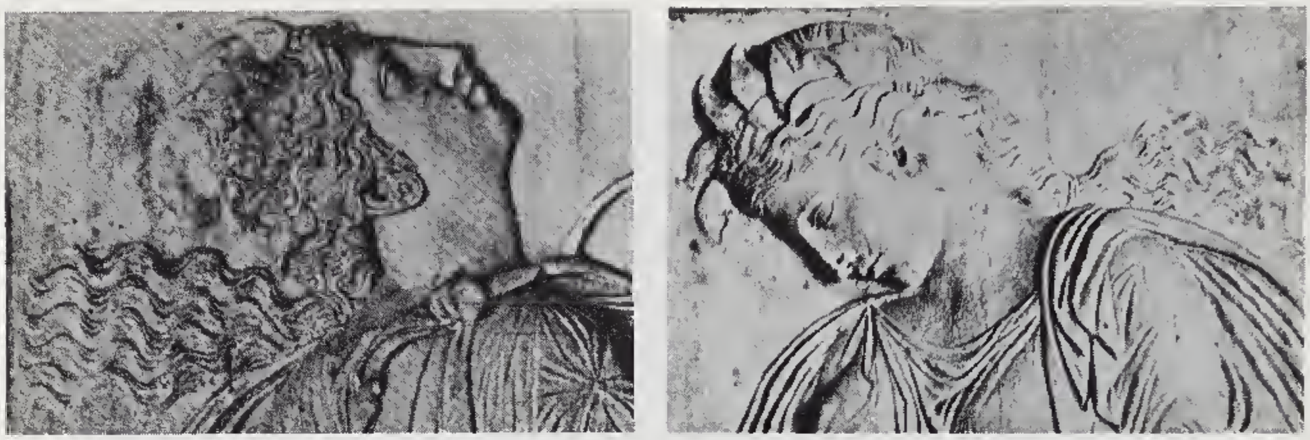


Fig. 15. Fragment of a marble round altar from Brauron.



Figs. 16, 17. Heads of dancing maenads, from a relief in Madrid, Museo Arqueológico. Types 29, 26.

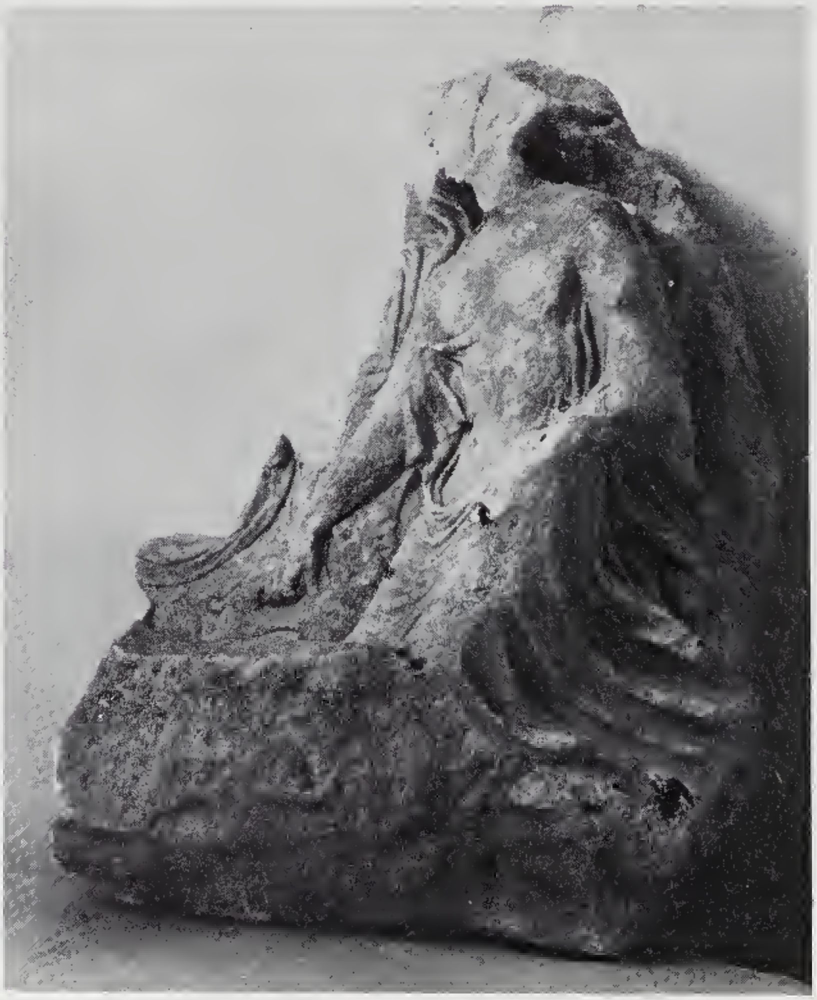


Fig. 18. Fragment of marble chariot relief. Chios Museum 255. Photograph: J. Boardman.

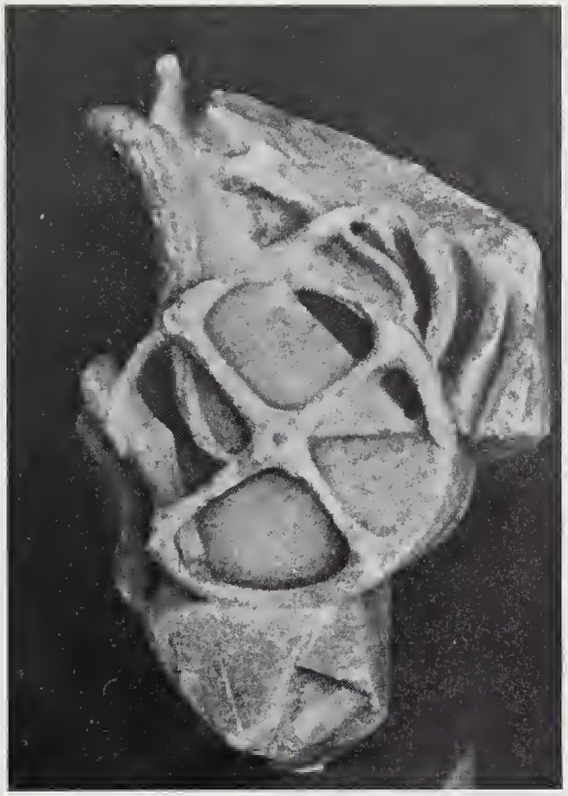


Fig. 19. Fragment of marble chariot relief. Chios Museum 256.

17).[19] In his creation of Archaistic art with its emphasis on the abstract, linear, decorative elements which had been well established in Chian art from Archaic times on, we recognize Callimachus' Chian origin. This heritage is clearly visible in all his works, such as the maenads, the kalathiskos-dancers, and his Aphrodite statue.

The fragments of votive reliefs of the end of the sixth century and of the second half of the fifth show that in these years relations between Chios and Athens must have been close. The large fragment, inv. 255, shows a woman and a man in a chariot, partly concealed by the missing rear part of a horse with flying tail (Fig. 18). Studniczka[20] said that the piece was found in the Chios Kastro and called the marble Pentelic (so would I). At all events this is a fragment of a votive relief carved by an artist who had worked in Athens; it even excels in quality other Attic reliefs of the same type, such as that for Echelos–Basile in Athens.[21] We may speculate whether it was made just before 413 BC or just after. There is a clear relationship with the Rich Style of Athens, just as there was between the kalathiskos-dancers stele and the work of Callimachus. A second fragment, Chios inv. 256, shows simply the rump of a horse, a chariot-wheel and box, and some drapery (Fig. 19). It must be from a similar votive relief though not of quite such high quality.

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[19] H. Schrader, *Phidias* (Frankfurt 1924) 335 ff. figs. 304–8; Fuchs, op. cit. (n. 14), 73–91; id., *Die Skulptur der Griechen*³ (Munich 1983) 521–4 figs. 609–14. See n. 15.

[20] F. Studniczka, *AM* 13 (1888) 190 no. 5; R. Kekulé, 'Echelos und Basile', *65. Berliner Winckelmannsprogramm* (1905) 15–16 fig.; C. Blümel, *Die klassisch griechischen Skulpturen der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Berlin 1966) 68 pl. 100.

[21] Kekulé, op. cit., with pl.; O. Walter, *Archaiologike Ephemeris* 1937, 97 ff., especially 112 ff. fig. 3; cf. K. Stähler, *Boreas* 1 (1978) 107–8.

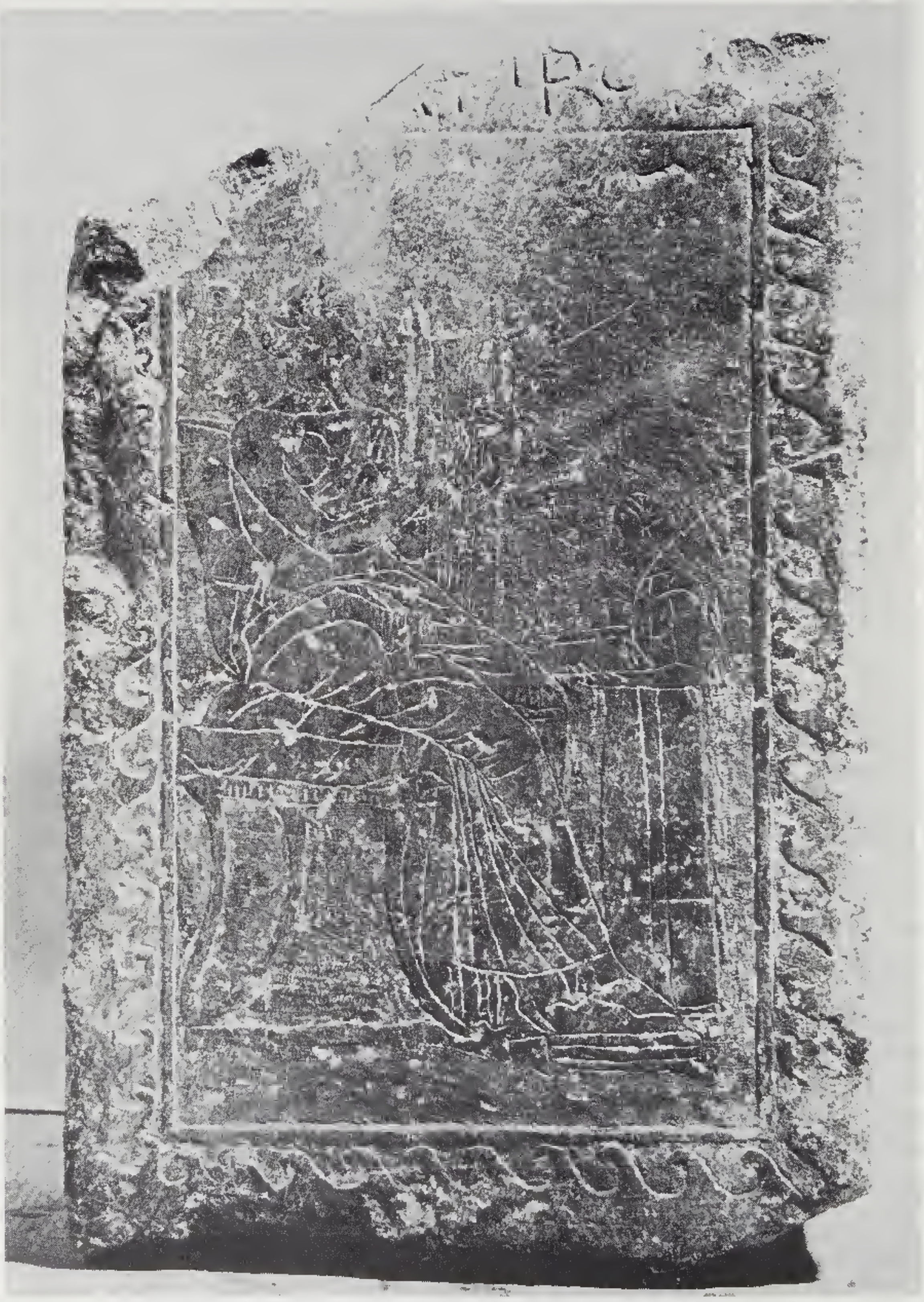

Fig. 20. Gravestone of Lampron. Chios Museum.

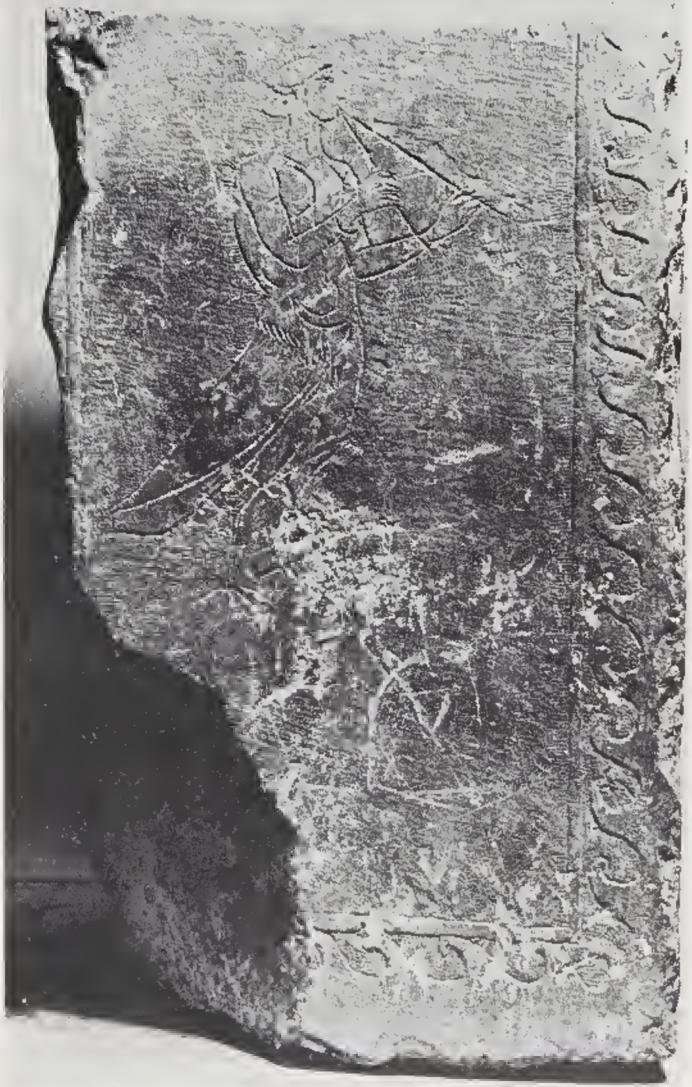

Fig 21. Side view of Fig. 20.

The abstract linearity of Chian art, strong formal structure, and mannered elements of surprise are apparent in the Hellenistic period in the gravestone of Lampron (Figs. 20–2)[22] She is shown as a musician, presumably reflecting her favourite recreation in life. She sits on a klismos covered with rich cushions and rendered in bold perspective. She plays an elongated stringed instrument which one would hesitate to call a kithara. Before her stands a small handmaiden holding a box. The subject is that of Dexamenos' gem for Mika. The carelessness of the cutting, however, goes far beyond the more formal and concentrated art of Dexamenos in the mid fifth century, and places the work in the early third. The three fields of decoration on the stone are framed with a running-dog ornament. The musician Lampron is accompanied on the other sides by two sirens, one with pipes, the other with kithara. The sirens are set higher in the field than Lampron; they seem to 'swim' in the background and show how even the sparsely incised figures of

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[22] Studniczka, op. cit. 195 ff; Pfuhl/Möbius, op cit. (n. 10), II. 568 no. XXII pl. 330.

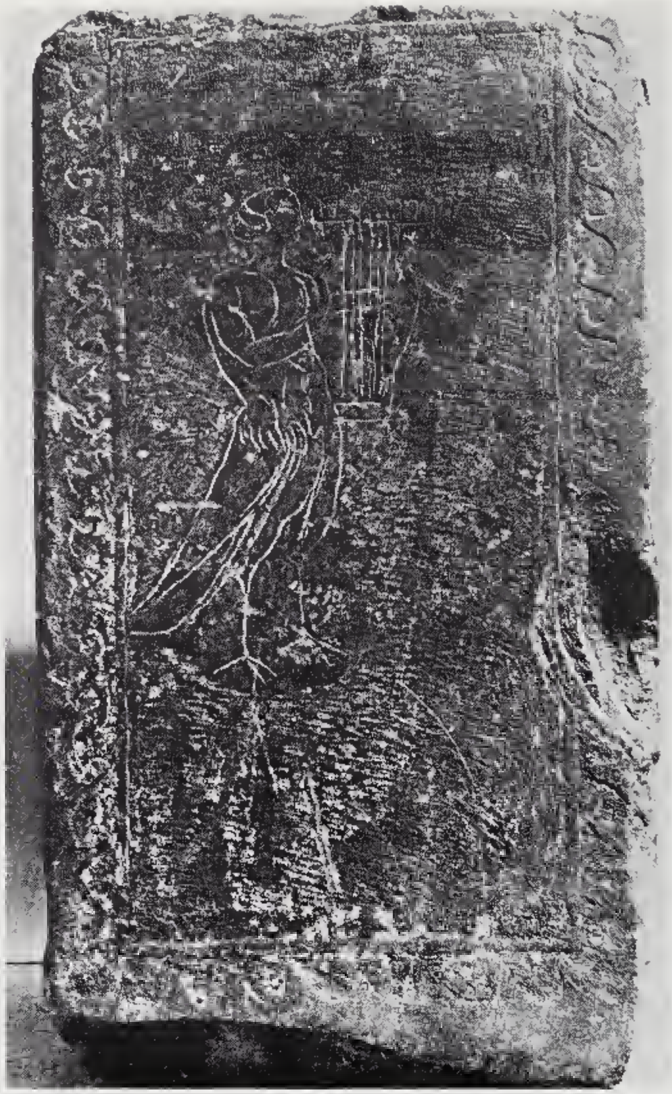

Fig. 22. Side view of Fig. 20.

the early third century can express vivid images. The sirens, Muses of the Other World (as Ernst Buschor[23] so happily called them), combine their art with that of the dead woman. Like Lampron's, their hair is worn in a snood or sakkos. Might they stand for sisters or relatives of Lampron who were already dead?

The many other Hellenistic works in Chios Museum are indistinguishable from other works of art of the Hellenistic east. The many grave reliefs are assembled in Ernst Pfuhl's and Hans Möbius's *Corpus der ostgriechischen Grabreliefs* (1979). The head in Boston first associated with Chios by Studniczka[24] has, despite its beauty, none of the characteristics of Chian art. It must be from a draped figure of the school of Praxiteles, typical of Attic art of the early third century, betraying nothing of native Chian inspiration. Sir David Hunt has drawn attention to the fact that the famous bronze horses of San Marco in

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[23] E. Buschor, *Die Musen des Jenseits* (Munich 1944).

[24] Studniczka, op. cit. 187–8 no. 1; R. Lullies and M. Hirmer, *Griechische Plastik*^{1} (Munich 1965) 97, 110 pls. 242–3; K. Schefold, *Die Griechen und ihre Nachbarn* (Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte I; Berlin 1967) pl. 118; W. Fuchs, *Die Skulptur der Griechen*^{3} (Munich 1983) 567 fig. 689; M. B. Comstock and C. C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone; Catalogue, Boston* (Boston 1976) 40 no. 56.

Venice must originally have stood in Chios before they went to Constantinople.[25] These horses are, however, not typical of Chian art but of the Lysippan school.

We have followed Chian art from the seventh century to the early third and discerned an unfailing regard for abstract linear schemes of decoration together with an original approach to life-subjects and the world of reality, accommodated to the forms of the different stylistic periods. Might we enquire what lies behind this characteristically mannered tendency in Chian art? Is it the people? Is it the land? Is it even mastic? The answer probably lies betwixt and between.

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[25] D. W. S. Hunt, *BSA* 41 (1940–5) 46–7. Further literature on the horses in V. Galliazzo, *I Cavalli di San Marco* (Venice 1981) and id., *Boreas* 8 (1985) 49–80.

ANCIENT FARMHOUSES ON MOUNT AIPOS

V. LAMBRINOUDAKIS

Mount Aipos rises abruptly to the north-west of the modern, as well as the ancient town of Chios, to form a large plateau lying 320–500 m above sea-level. Access to this plateau from Chios is difficult. A winding path leads up to it from the monastery of Mersinidi and another path follows in general the modern road to Volissos. The site is uneven and rocky, and only exceptionally do we meet tiny clusters of parched fig- or olive-trees and vineyards. Moreover, rare and roughly made threshing floors bear witness to a limited cultivation of cereals in the past. But generally the place seems to be suitable only for pasturage.

The desert, barren landscape is nevertheless characterized by a special feature that makes the place interesting for the study of the history of Chios. In larger, relatively even areas of the plateau we come across some thirty huge piles of stones, the largest of which reach a diameter of 40 m at their base and a height of about 7 m (Fig. 1). The piles seem to be the product of a resolute human effort in the past to clear the rocky place and to gain a patch of cultivable soil wherever this was possible. An investigation of two of them by M. Mitsos in 1976 provided evidence which supports this interpretation. As to the date of these constructions, it is significant that the only finds made in the piles were two sherds of the late Classical or early Hellenistic period.[1]

On a closer investigation of the site the piles of stones were proved to stand in connection with an extensive network of isolated installations, whose remains are still to be seen on the ground and can be roughly dated to the late Classical, Hellenistic and Roman period on the basis of rich surface ceramic finds.[2] These are at Merovigli, Gouvidaki, Evriaki, Makria Scala, Gyrisma Kambouri, with a second group higher up in the western part of the plateau (Spartina, Rimokastro, Phlori), and Skimies in the more uneven southern part.[3] Traces of a road and what seems to be a small fort controlling the southern access to the plateau seem also to belong to this complex.[4]

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[1] M. Mitsos, *Οἱ Σωροὶ τῆς Γριᾶς ἐπὶ τοῦ Αἴπους Χίου*, in *ΣΤΗΛΗ: Τόμος εἰς μνήμην Ν. Κοντολέοντος* (Athens 1980) 105 ff.; B. Lambrinoudakis, 'Antike Niederlassungen auf dem Berge Aipos von Chios' in *Palast und Hütte: Beiträge zum Bauen und Wohnen im Altertum* (1979 (1982)) 375 figs. 6, 7.

[2] B. Lambrinoudakis, *'Αρχαῖες ἐγκαταστάσεις στὸ Αἶπος, Χιακὰ Χρονικά* 11 (1979) 5 ff.; and op. cit. (n. 1) 377 ff., figs. 10, 11, 20–5.

[3] During the Conference in Chios Mr Saliaris kindly guided us to another site higher up on the mountain, near the milestone indicating 18 km from the town on the road to Volissos. At a few metres' distance from its east side are preserved the foundations of a house and of a large court behind it with a row of square rooms along its north side. Stones from this site are built into a reservoir of water constructed by the community of Pityos at a small distance to the north. Cf. E. Yalouris, 'The Archaeology and Early History of Chios' (Oxford diss. 1976) 291.

[4] Ibid. 294. Above, p. 159.

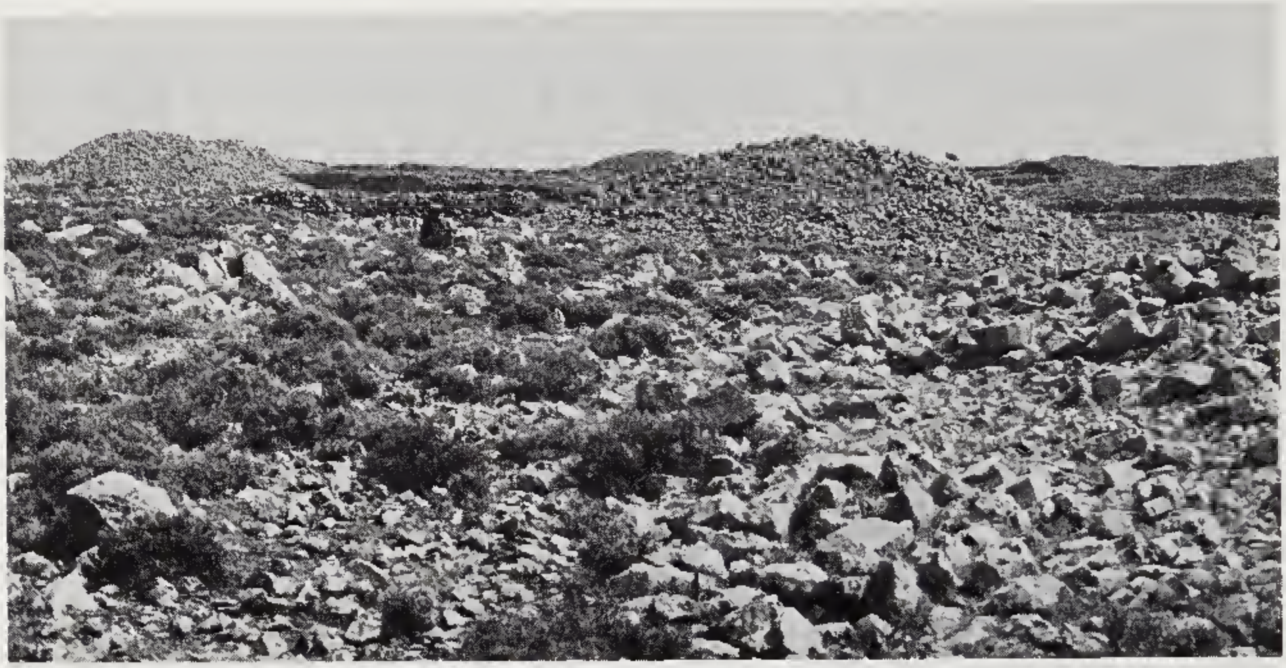

Fig. 1. Piles of stones on Mount Aipos.

In 1980–1 the University of Athens organized in collaboration with the German Archaeological Institute a more systematic study of this area, aimed at a careful clearing of three of the aforementioned installations on the plateau, namely Evriaki, Gyrisma Kambouri, and Rimokastro, which seem to be representative of the whole group.[5] Mrs S. Xylas also generously sponsored the enterprise. This clearing has not yet been completed, but it has already provided us with evidence which can give a more concrete idea about the type of the ancient settlements on Aipos.

The ancient remains in Evriaki are partially included within the ruins of a modern pen, in which there is a stone hut for animals. From the ancient complex are preserved: (*a*) the west side of a thick enclosure wall; (*b*) the northern part of the complex consisting of a big court, 7 × 11 m with a small one-room house in its north-west corner (Fig. 2); (*c*) another oblong room to the south, which was presumably uncovered; and (*d*) traces of walls under the modern hut, which seem to belong to an analogous ancient construction. The small house was provided with a tiled roof and a chimney in its north-west corner, but the court in front of it was very simple. Its ground surface was left in its natural, rocky condition and only on its east side is a roughly made hearth preserved. The hearth resembles closely constructions met in modern pens and serving mainly for the preparation of different milk products. To the complex belong also a small artificial terrace for planting and a rubbish pit opened in the rock outside the enclosure wall. The constructions described here may have stood in close connection with another, heavier building, whose walls run in different directions outside the ancient and modern enclosure of the pen. But it is evident that it formed a special unit, which functioned rather as the permanent quarters of a shepherd, with enclosures for sheep or other

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[5] Detailed reports on this work and the finds made are published by the author (Evriaki) and E. Bournia in Ἀρχαιογνωσία 3 (1982).

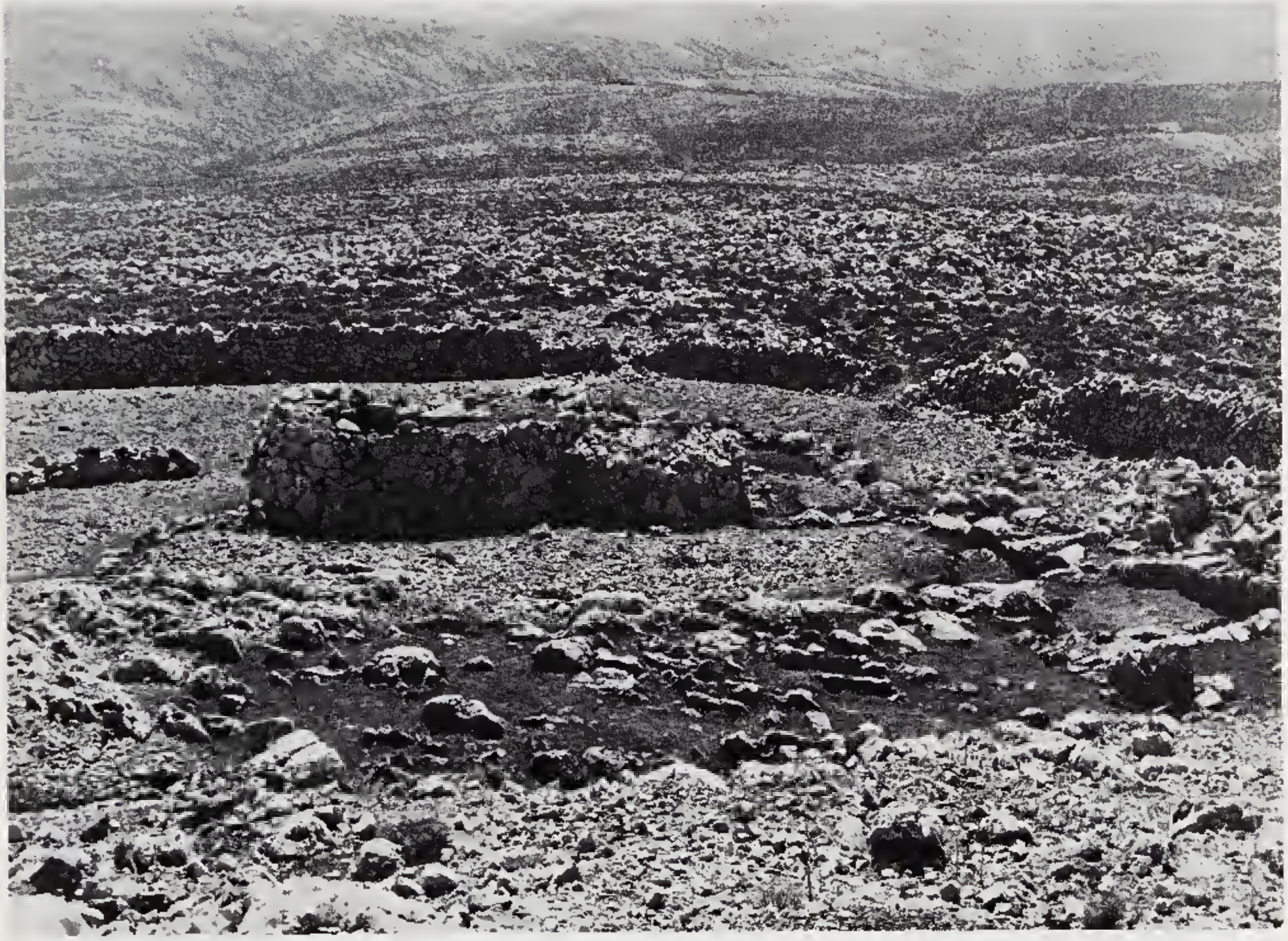

Fig. 2. Evriaki. The court of an ancient shepherd's quarters with a small room in the north-west corner (bottom right) and modern stone hut at the centre.

animals and a tiny garden for personal needs. The date of use of the complex is well documented by fragments of fine pottery, wine amphorae and storage vessels, found mainly in the small house, of the fourth century BC and later (Fig. 3).[6]

In Gyrisma Kambouri we find again modern stone huts and enclosure walls built by shepherds in the recent past. But the ancient building complex lying under these ruins was a carefully built house with strong, 80 cm thick walls and many rooms for different uses. The investigated part included two parallel oblong rooms, both 10.75 m wide perhaps to be interpreted as a stable with a kind of roofed space before it (Fig. 4),[7] and a large, 5.30 × 6 m room to the north with two smaller units before it, which may well have been one of the main living rooms in view of its shape and the finds made in it.[8] Unexplored traces of other rooms are to be seen on the west and north side in contact with the excavated rooms, and on the east side at a certain distance from them. There are also three artificial terraces for planting here, and in a depression of the soil some metres to the south we cleared a carefully built circular water-basin, 8 m in diameter (Fig. 5),

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[6] Most characteristic are the fragments of a brown-painted ribbed bowl found near the foundations of the small house.

[7] As in the farmhouses of the Crimea: M. Nowicka, *Les maisons à tour dans le monde grec* (1975) 113 f., figs. 66, 67.

[8] Fine pottery and fragments of animal bones.

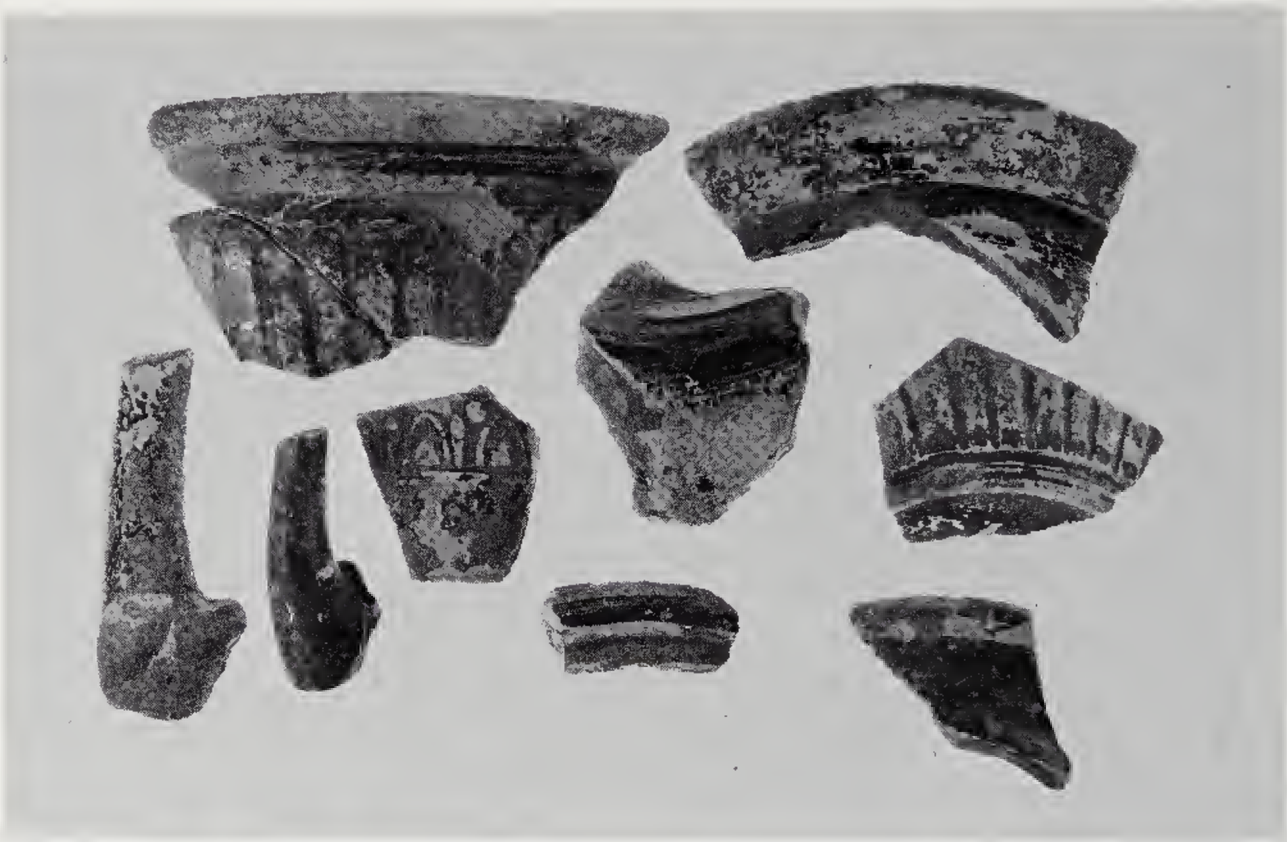

Fig. 3. Late Classical pottery from Evriaki.

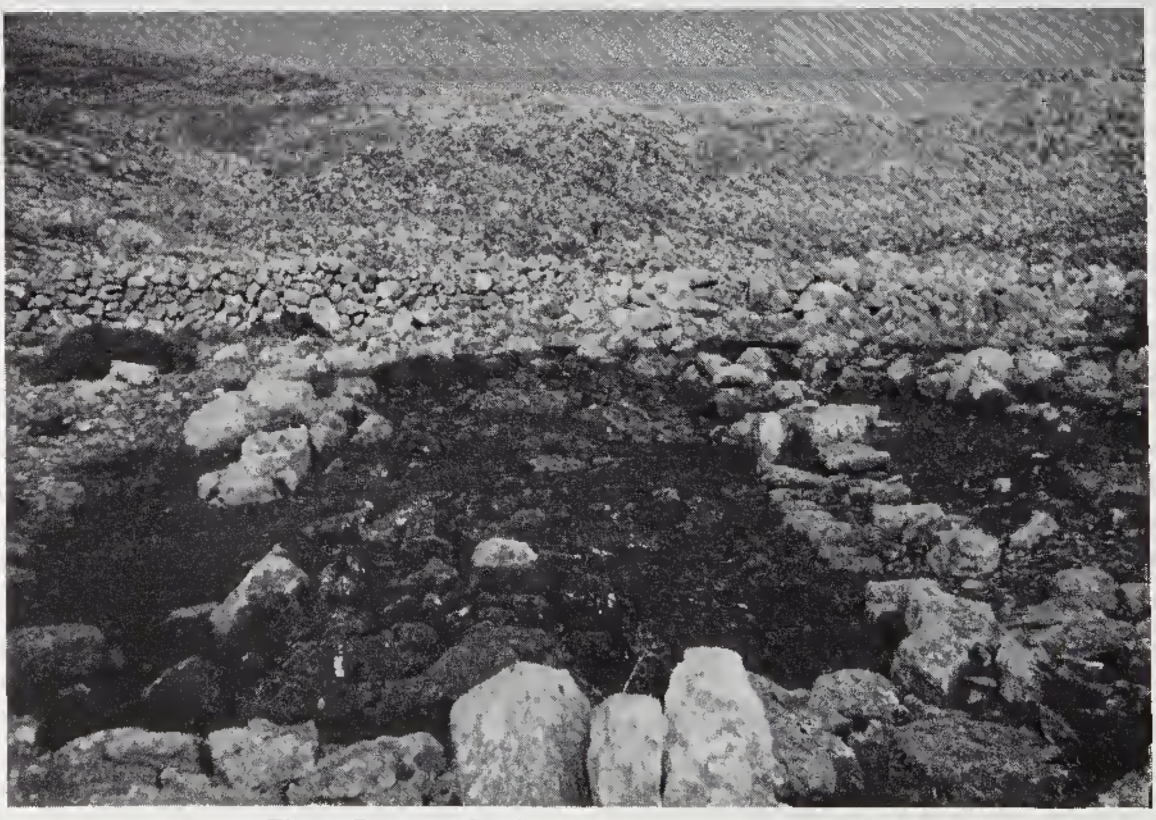

Fig. 4. Rectangular farmhouse rooms at Kambouri.

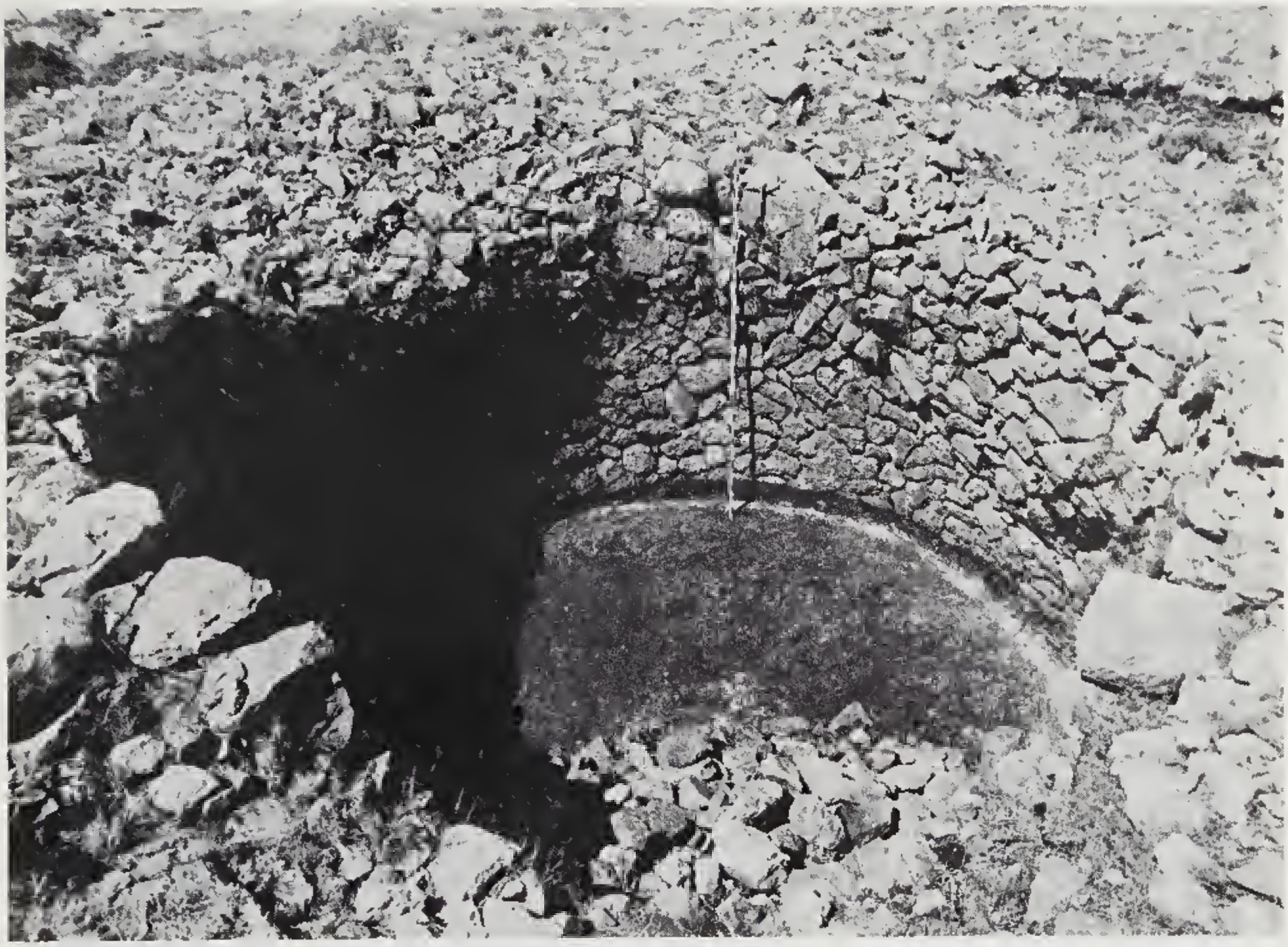

Fig. 5. Ancient water-basin at Kambouri, after clearing.

whose filling contained as latest finds some Byzantine sherds. The period of use of this complex is again well defined by fragments of fine pottery, wine amphorae or storage jars, and coins (Fig. 6), and falls in the centuries between 400 BC and the later Roman period.[9] So here too is a unit contemporary with that in Evriaki, but this second example is already a real farmhouse, for a farmer living curiously enough in isolation on a barren height, where only shepherding was possible; the distance between this house and the area with the piles of stones is about half an hour on foot. It is possible that the unexplored parts of the complex under the modern huts included rooms serving as pens for the combined farming and shepherding activity of the owners.

In Rimokastro,[10] on the brow of a precipitous slope in the higher, upper part of the plateau, we cleared the main part of a bigger and stronger complex, which seems to be by far the richest known in the area. Here again we find large terraces—this time stone terraces with access by staircases (Fig. 7)—a circular water-basin, and a big rubbish pit around the buildings. But the main building, a large oblong construction 11.20 × 23 m,

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[9] The late Classical/early Hellenistic period and the early Roman period are better represented in the finds. Two Chian coins with the names of the archons Kephisid(es) and Aristom(enes) are dated to the 1st c. BC; cf. *British Museum Catalogue of Coins* Ionia, 335 no. 69; 336 no. 74.

[10] For older references to Rimokastro see Yalouris, op. cit. 291; Lambrinoudakis, op. cit. (n. 2), 6 ff.

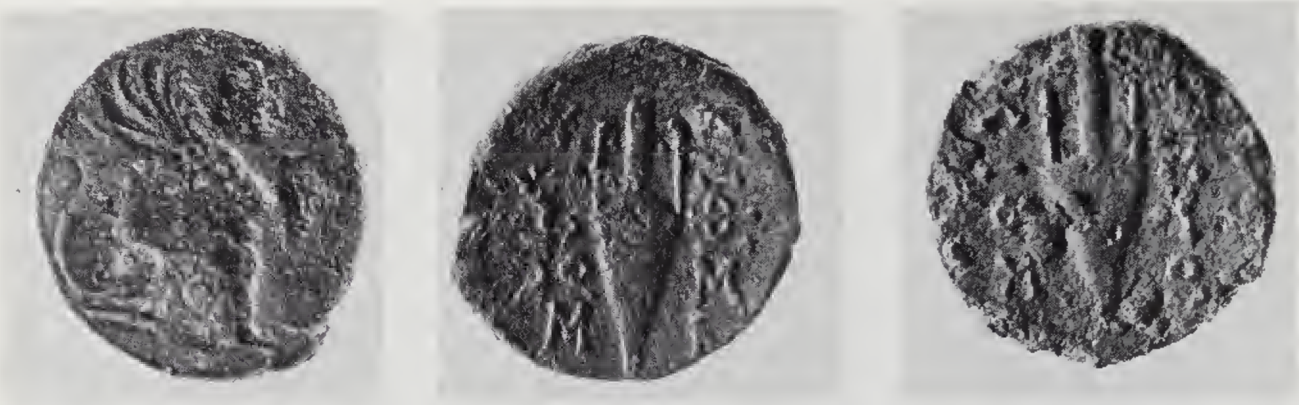

Fig. 6. Chian coins from Kambouri. See n. 9.

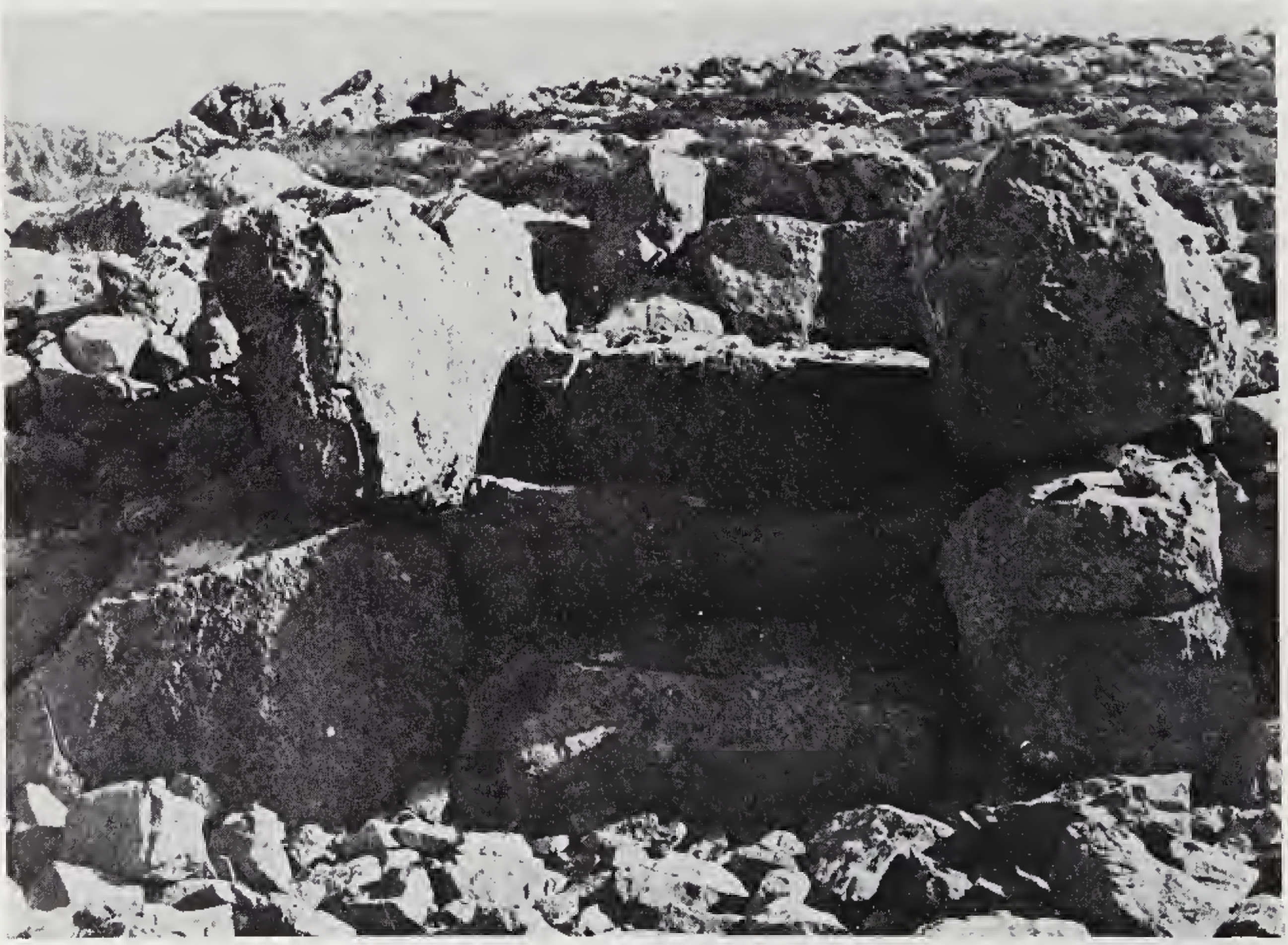

Fig. 7. Massive stone steps leading to terraces in the farmhouse complex at Rimokastro.

could be described as monumental (Fig. 8). The preserved lower parts of its walls are built with huge, carefully hewn and well-adjusted stones (Fig. 9), and its plan is completely regular and logical. It consists of a large central court, perhaps with a lightly sheltered peristyle, and smaller rooms arranged on both sides of it. According to the finds this construction too cannot be dated earlier than the end of the fifth century BC.[11] In the

[11] Bournia, op. cit. (n. 5).

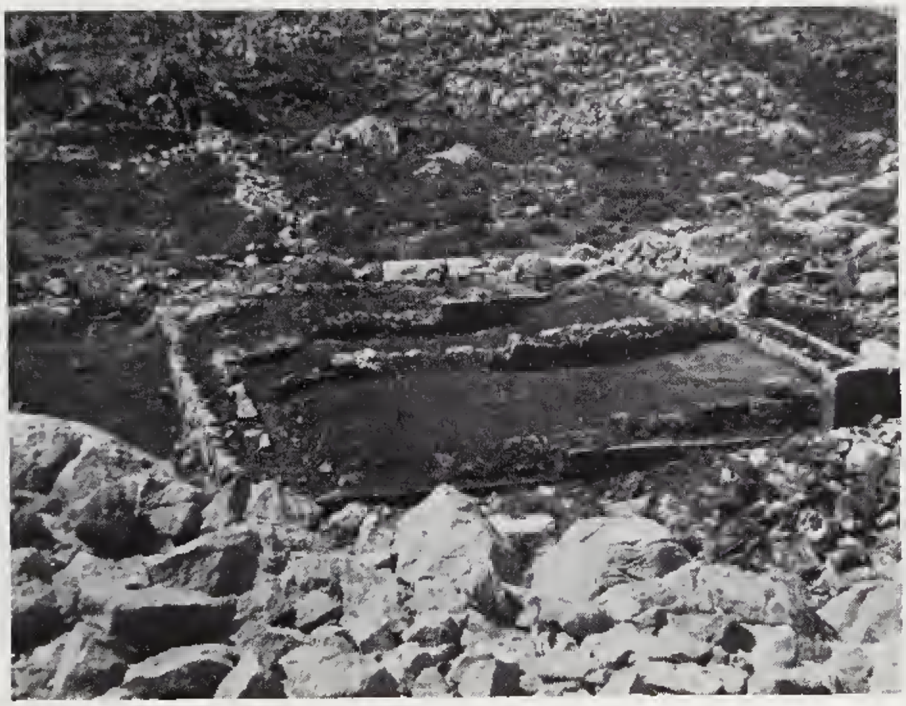

Fig. 8. The western part of the main farmhouse building at Rimokastro.

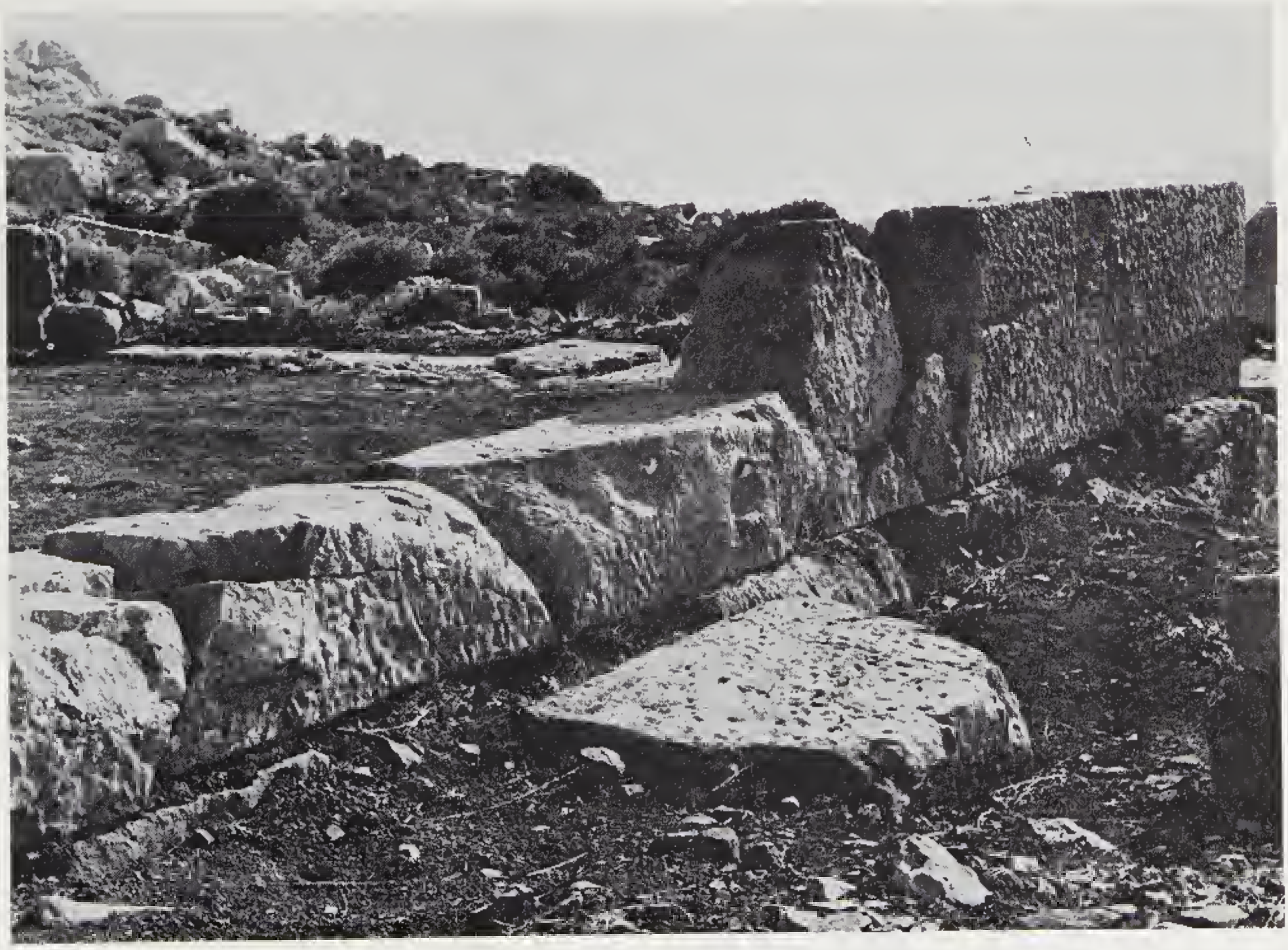

Fig. 9. Part of the south-east wall of the main building at Rimokastro.

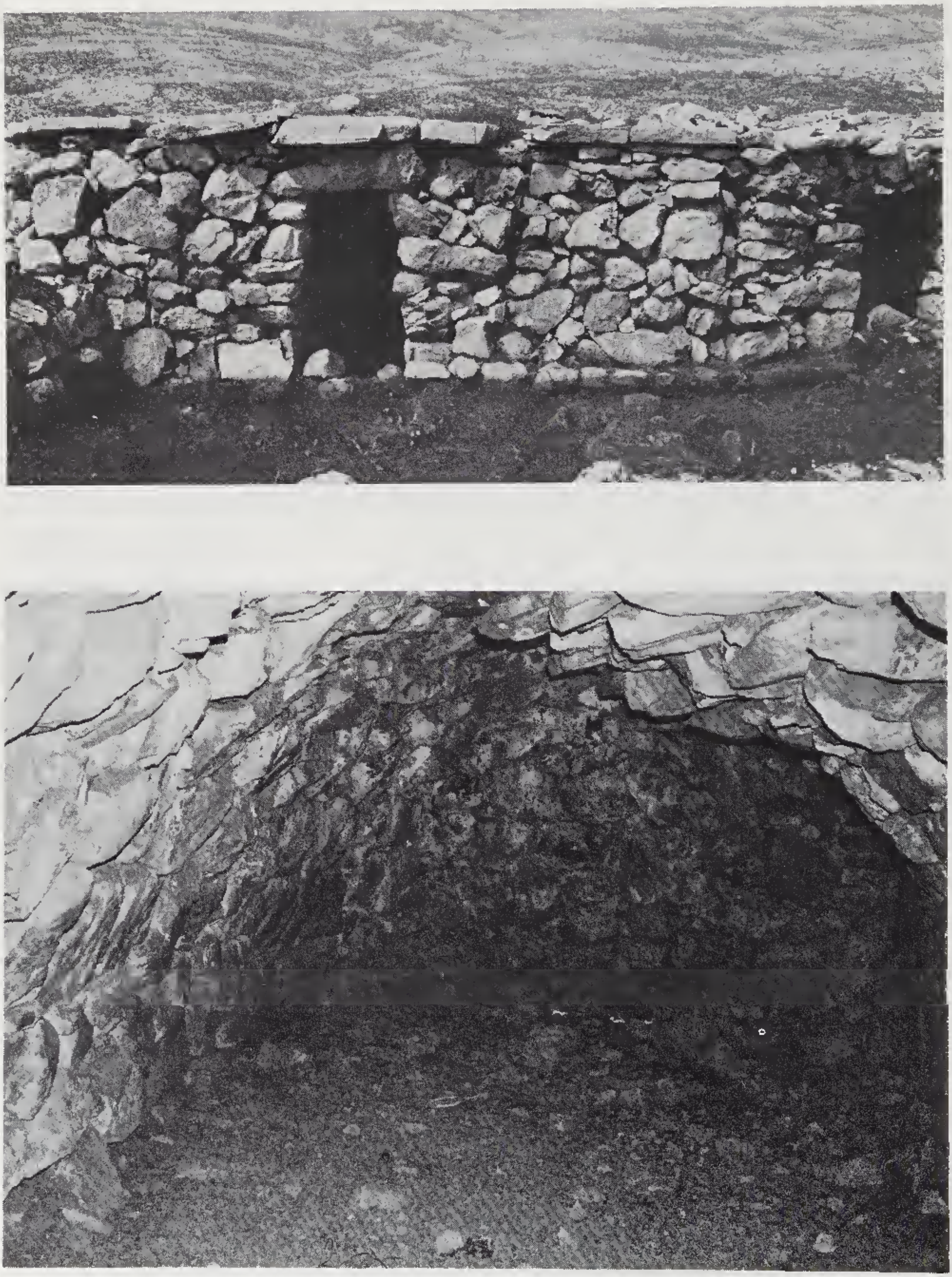

Fig. 10. Stone hut at Diabotsou ('Devil's hut'); exterior and interior view.

Hellenistic period and later new rooms were added to its east side, but their walls were now constructed in a rough way. Fragments of olive-presses, and millstones bear witness to the existence of a self-sufficient, well-equipped farmhouse in this complex. A parallel wing of humbler constructions, whose foundations now lie under modern walls opposite the main building, was perhaps destined for storage or as a shelter for cattle.

Among the many stone shepherd's huts in the area a particularly large one near Merovigli known as the 'Devil's hut', seemed to us possibly ancient because of its size, its shape, and its technique, a rough example of the so-called Lelegian manner of building (Fig. 10).[12] But this traditional technique has lasted in similar constructions to this day, and a closer investigation in this hut in order to date it did not produce any decisive evidence. The hut is founded directly on the rock and in the thin layer of earth in front of its entrance ancient and modern sherds were found together. A slight indication in favour of an ancient date is the fact that only a few ancient sherds were found in the earth between the stones of its thick walls and on its roof, so far as we could discover.

So, from our present knowledge, we can say that in the fourth century BC small groups of people settled on the unfriendly heights of Aipos in isolated country houses, and tried to live there by combining farming and stock-rearing. These houses, although contemporary, seem to be without uniformity and of different structure, ranging from simple shepherd installations to truly self-sufficient farmhouses. The stone piles bear witness to a resolute effort to create fields in the most appropriate places of the plateau,[13] independent of the place or nature of the different installations. But that the latter seem, despite the distance separating them, to be in a certain way connected (notice the farmhouse equipment found only in Rimocastro, and water basins not found everywhere, etc.).

Before clearing the ruins on the three sites mentioned, we had drawn attention to the possibility of a direct relation between this dynamic human presence on the desert heights of Aipos above the town of Chios, and the revolt of the Chian slaves under Drimakos, who are said to have settled on the mountains near Chios for a long time.[14] Now we know that not all installations on Mount Aipos were hasty, humble constructions of poor shepherds. Some of them were carefully built and well-equipped farmhouses, aimed at a lasting exploitation of the area, as in the case of Rimokastro. This fact does not agree with the proposed slave settlement. Nevertheless, the interpretation of the installations on Aipos remains a difficult matter. We know that in the fourth century BC people tended to live in villages or towns,[15] and that the many isolated farmhouses of the period functioned rather as estates for specialized production,[16] which is surely not the case on Aipos. One could think in this case generally of an expansion of farming activity of individuals in the ἐσχατιή, at the extreme limits of cultivable land, where only very poor people or even slaves would work.[17] But this kind of expansion does not explain sufficiently the systematic, extremely expensive action of clearing very difficult terrain, nor the remoteness of the farmhouses in relation to the cleared fields, or the existence of the small fort in the south part of the plateau.

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[12] See discussion and bibliography on the subject in Lambrinoudakis, op. cit. (n. 1) 376 ff., and cf. Bournia, op. cit., for the affinities of the farmhouses to known Lelegian parallels.

[13] Cf. Yalouris, op. cit. 291; Mitsos, op. cit. (n. 1) 109; Lambrinoudakis, op. cit. (n. 2) 17.

[14] Ath. 265 D–F (Nymphodoros *FGrHist* 572 F 4); Lambrinoudakis, op. cit. (n. 2) 18 ff.; (n. 1) 378.

[15] J. Pečirka, 'Homestead Farms in Classical and Hellenistic Hellas' in M. I. Finley, *Problèmes de la terre en Grèce ancienne* (Paris 1973) 115 ff.

[16] Ibid. 120.

[17] In the *Vita Herodotea Hom.* (21) Homer meets in these mountains the shepherd Glaukos, who is a slave and works

Our clearing of the shepherd's huts and farmhouses on Aipos has made the interpretation of ancient activity there more difficult. We could assume that traditional or occasional activity of individuals on the mountain was systematized after the slaves, who were surely akin to those working in the *ἐσχατιή*, took refuge on the heights, but we have up to now no evidence to support this view.

there for his master, who lives in the town of Chios. The slave is impressed by the fact that somebody is wandering in this 'desert and pathless land', *τόπους ἀοικήτους καὶ ἀστιβέα χωρία*.

A MOSAIC FLOOR IN CHIOS

A. TSARAVOPOULOS

In this preliminary publication I discuss and describe a mosaic floor dating from the Roman Imperial period and discovered in 1982 in the district of Agios Iakovos (St James) in Chios town. The mosaic is at present being restored and the context in which it was found is still being studied. This is not a full publication, which must await a future occasion, but a more or less detailed presentation of an important find which deserves to be made known to a wider public.[1]

In September 1982 builders working on a site beyond the north-western corner of the main park in Chios town, in a plot belonging to Mr D. Papazi and destined for development, stumbled on some remains of a mosaic floor (Figs. 1, 2: No. 6 on Agios Iakovos Square).[2] In the same area remains of a mosaic had been unearthed in the 1920s, but nothing of this early excavation is preserved, nor is there any evidence for its exact location.[3]

Around 1960, in the course of further excavations about 150 m to the west of the present find, another mosaic floor is said to have come to light. This was covered by the building which now stands on the site. It is almost certain that neither of these finds relate to our mosaic, where the overlying levels were undisturbed.

The excavation which followed the new discovery was in every respect a rescue dig, and suffered from the usual disadvantages:

(*a*) The area to be excavated was determined by the size of the proposed new building, surrounded by other buildings.

(*b*) The time of year for excavation was the least convenient (October to March).

(*c*) The time available for excavation was very short.

(*d*) No specialist in excavating and recording mosaics was at hand at a site so far from Athens.

In our case, these shortcomings are evident not so much in the unearthing of the mosaic itself, which luckily lay completely within the area of the plot, but in the problem

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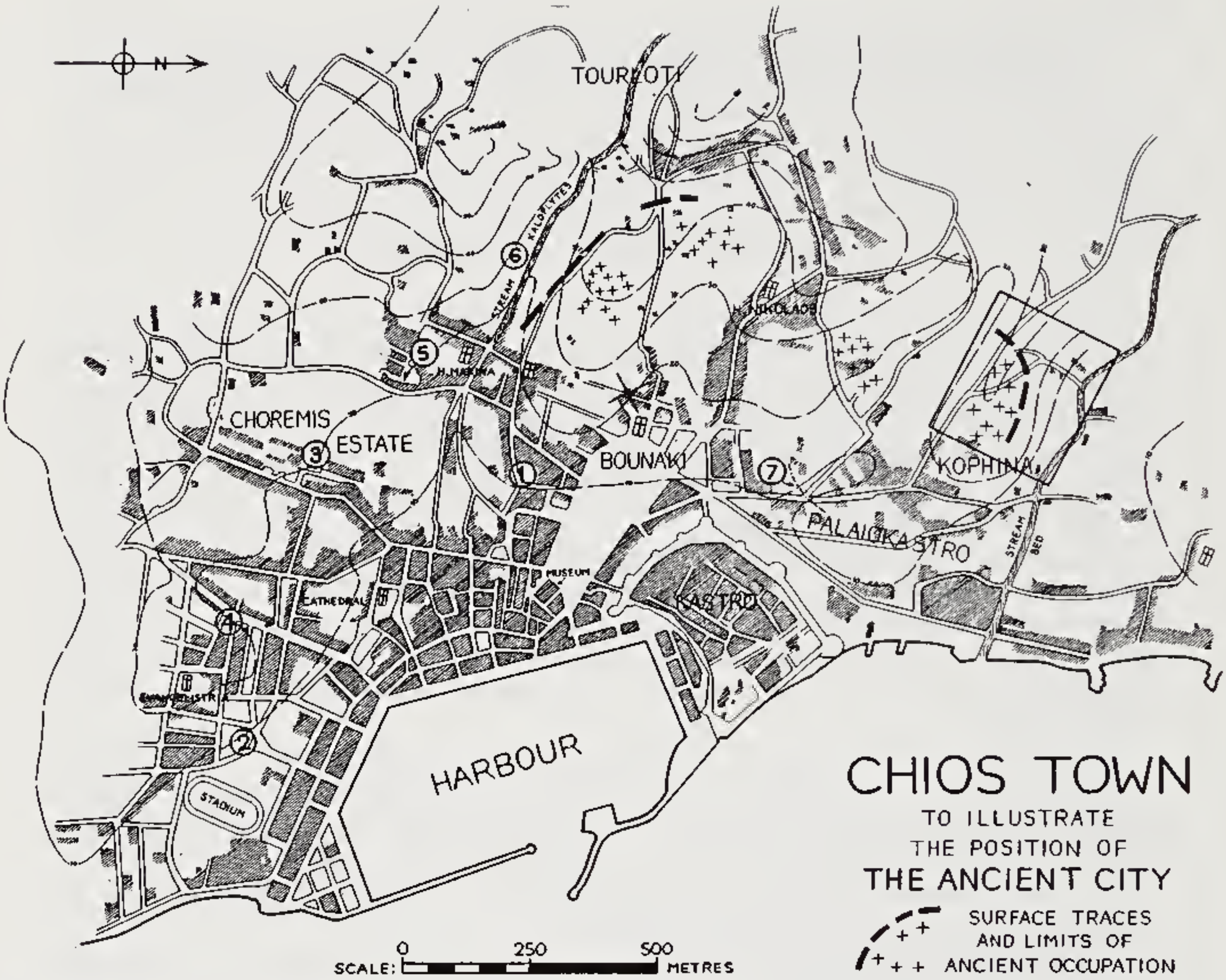
[1] My lecture at the Homereion in April 1984 contained a detailed review of all recent work in Chios. From this the present essay has been selected by the editors for this volume, and for an account of some of the other recent work in the island the reader is referred to *Χιακὰ Χρονικά* 15 (1983) 93–106. The following were co-authors of the communication: Athena Zacharou Loutraris, Nikos Zapheiriou, Eleni Zoïtopoulou, Nina Karelli, Stelios Moschouris, Aphroditi Papadopoulou, and John Fossey. The first phase of the excavation reported here was undertaken in collaboration with the Byzantinologist G. Mastoropoulos, with whom I wrote the first report on the mosaic in *Χιακὰ Χρονικά* 14 (1982), and a conservation group from the 3rd Byzantine ephoreia led by Takis Mantzoukis, with Theodoros Drizos and Kostas Pantelakis. The removal and installation of the mosaic in Chios Museum were executed by the conservator of the ephoreia of Mytilene, Nikos Nemtsas, with the help of Mina Mantika.

[2] The plan in Fig. 1, taken from J. Boardman's publication of 1954, shows the location of the topographical evidence for the ancient town as then known. Later work in Chios town has not seriously altered the general outline.

[3] *BCH* 44 (1920) 412. Rediscovery is unlikely in the light of the extensive new building in the area.


N
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PALAIOKASTRO
STREAM BED
MUSEUM
CATHEDRAL
KASTRO
④
EVANGELISTRIA
②
STADIUM
HARBOUR
CHIOS TOWN
TO ILLUSTRATE
THE POSITION OF
THE ANCIENT CITY
SURFACE TRACES
AND LIMITS OF
ANCIENT OCCUPATION
0
250
500
SCALE:
METRES

Fig. 1. Plan of Chios Town, after J. Boardman, *BSA* 49 (1954) 125 fig. 1. The numbers indicate finds in the town, discussed ibid. 123–8. The mosaic was found at X (above Bounaki).

of identifying the building in which it lay (the first ancient building accurately located in Chios town). The reason for this is that excavation was only partial: at one point the neighbouring buildings were at risk, and some of the evidence still lies beneath them. On the other hand, from the little evidence so far assembled we can attempt to draw the following conclusions.

(*a*) The mosaic floor covered an open area such as an atrium, with a colonnade on three of its four sides made of perishable material, possibly wood (Fig. 3).

(*b*) To the east was a paved stoa (Fig. 4) with a monumental doorway at its eastern side flanked by two unfluted columns and covered with a painted roof.[4]

(*c*) The building to which the mosaic belongs replaced an earlier and larger, possibly public one of the Hellenistic or Classical period. The new building was largely

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[4] Many fragments of fresco have yet to be cleaned and conserved in the museum workshops and cannot yet be described.

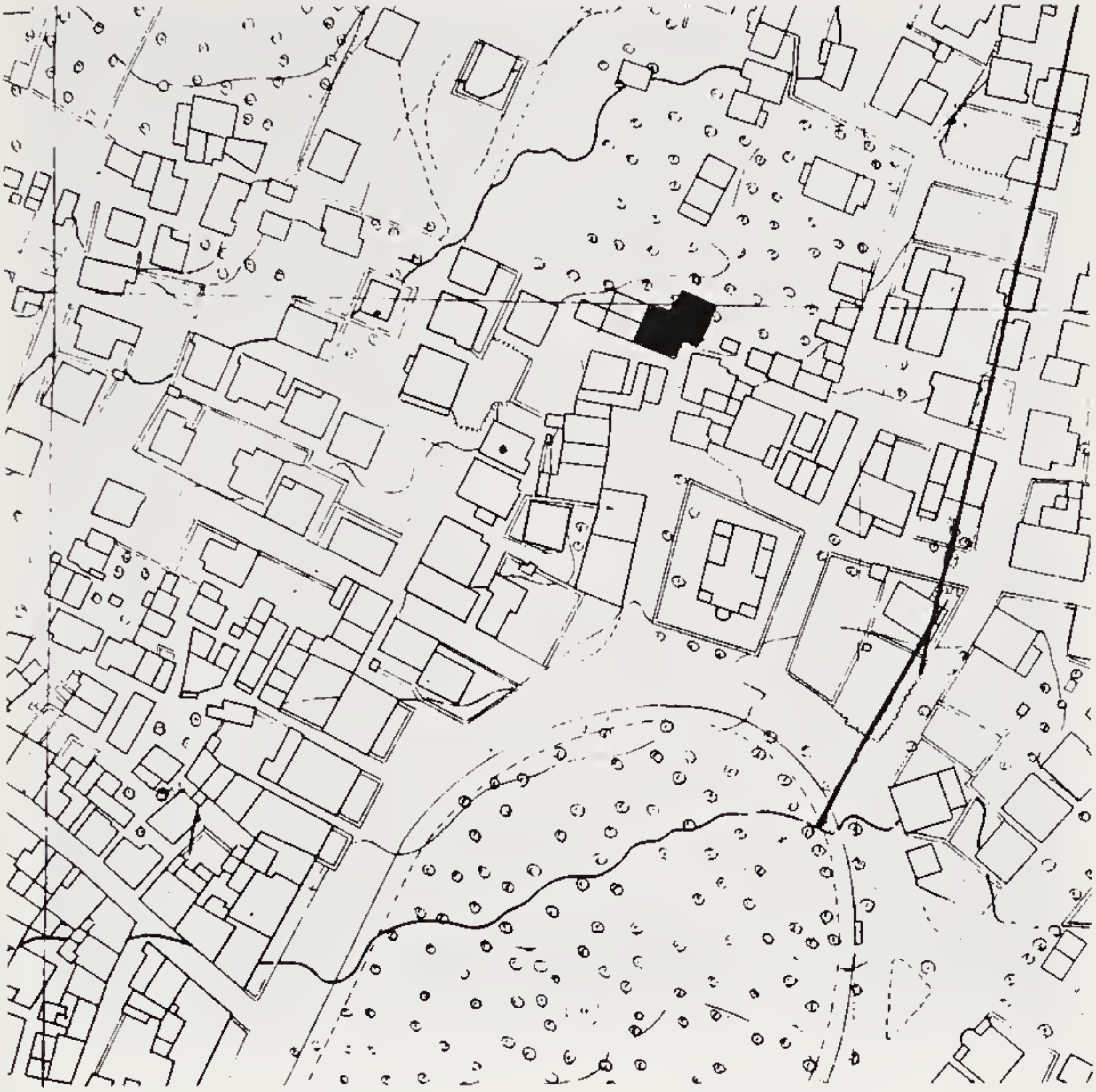

Fig. 2. Detail from the town plan of Chios showing the excavation site.

constructed from the materials of the earlier structure which it displaced, leaving *in situ* only the foundations of the earlier stylobate and at one point two courses and part of a built drain to attest the building's size and structure (Fig. 5).

(*d*) The mosaic building appears to have been connected to the main drainage system of the town.

(*e*) In some parts, particularly in the lower parts of the wall and at the edges of the floor, there was some *opus sectile*, none of which was found *in situ*, but scattered to the north.

(*f*) In many areas fragments of coloured glass were found which may come from window-panes.

Our good fortune was with the mosaic itself. Its entire surface was accessible, and the damage done by the mechanical digger was limited to repetitive ornamental motifs

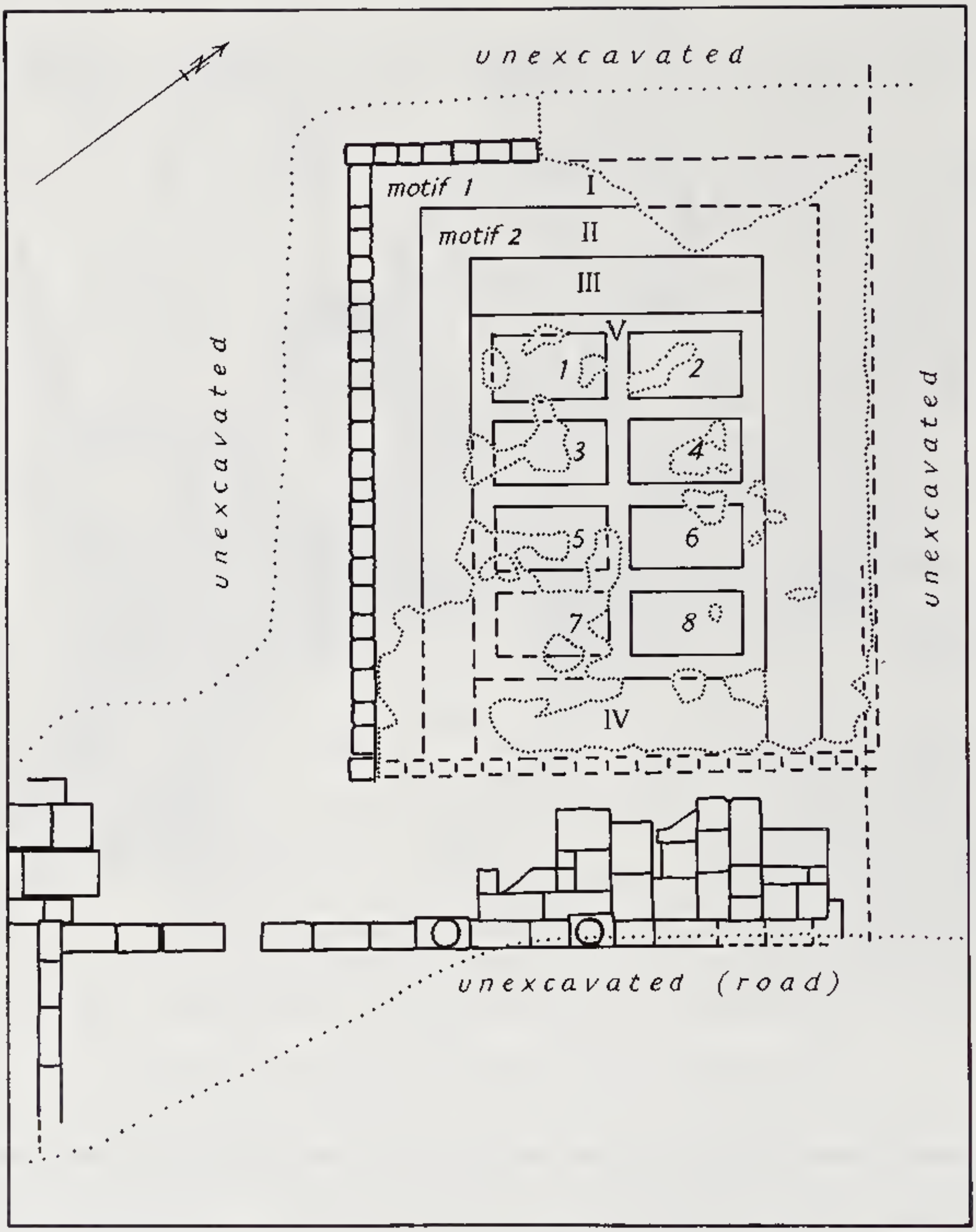
N
unexcavated
motif 1
motif 2
I
II
III
V
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
IV
unexcavated
unexcavated
unexcavated (road)

Fig. 3. Plan of the excavation. Scale 1:75.

which can easily be reconstructed. It measures 10.30 m by 8.80 m. the tesserae are set in a fine layer composed of a mixture of lime and powdered marble, over a hard cement-like bedding at least 10 cm thick. Most of the tesserae were found on this layer, some underneath it, which suggests that the mosaic was laid on site. The foundations were composed of large stones up to 30 cm in width. The tesserae are of two sizes: those

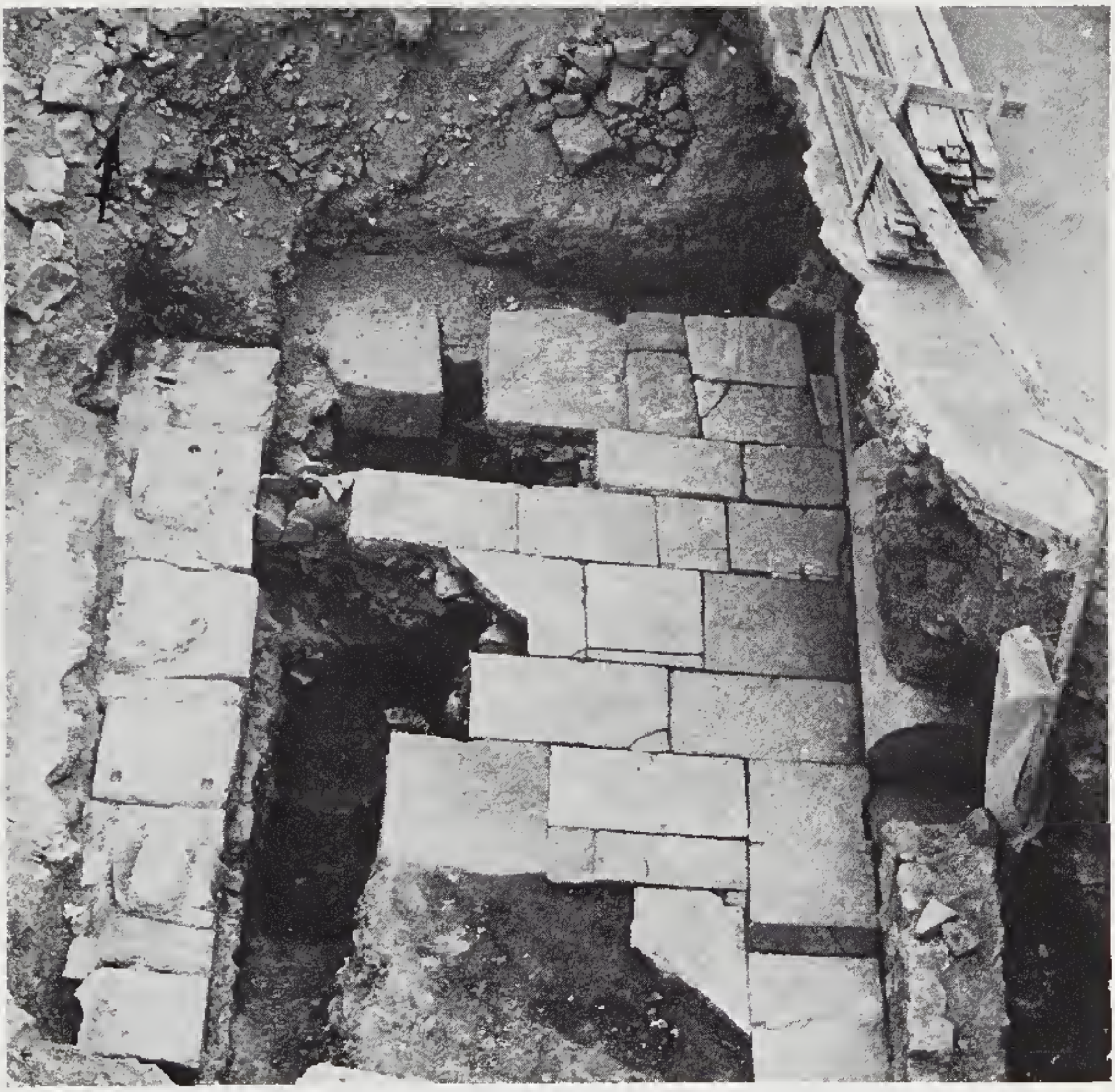

Fig. 4. The paved stoa east of the mosaic, the base of whose stylobate appears to the left.

intended for the decorative motifs are cubes measuring 1 to 1.2 cm (a density of 67–70 per 100 cm^2); whereas the tesserae used for the figured decoration, and particularly for details, are smaller: 0.2–0.6 cm (a density of 140–160 per 100 cm^2). The colours used are of great variety: white, black, cream, red, red ochre, yellow ochre, orange, dark red, various shades of pink, light blue, Prussian blue, blue, green and grey. Neither their composition nor their provenance has yet been established, save for a few such as the white, which may be derived either from a creamy white, rather crumbling limestone, or from white marble, both of which are found on the island. The deep red may come from the red stones found at Latomi north of Chios town, while the ochres look very much like stones from Thymiana. Finally, the blue and green are of a vitreous paste.

The entire floor slopes towards the north-east to allow rain-water to run off into the drainpipe, and hence to the main drain, which has been mentioned.

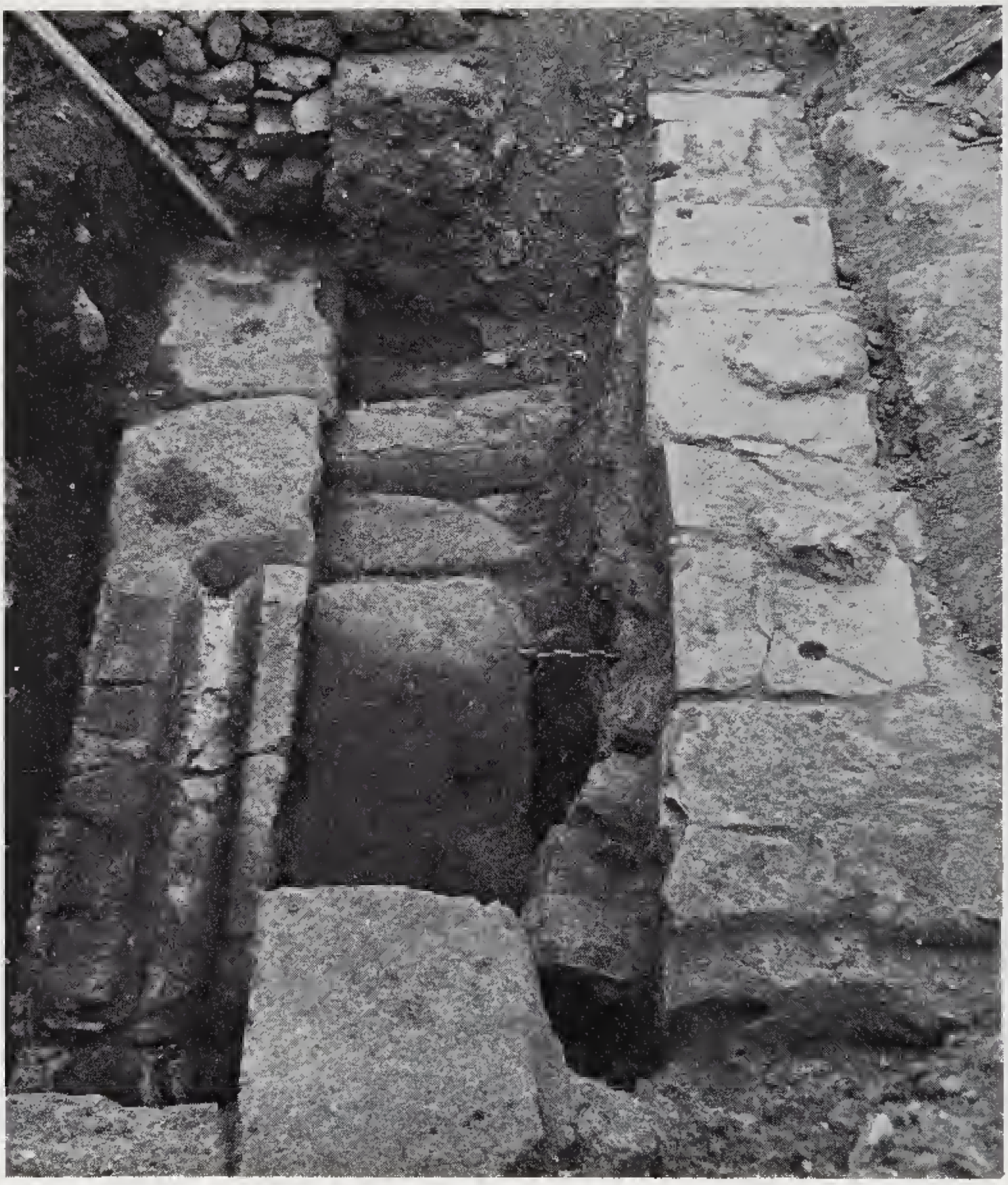

Fig. 5. The east edge of the mosaic appears at the right. In the foreground are the blocks of the first two courses of the Hellenistic building with the drain on the left.

As the plan (Fig. 3) shows the mosaic takes the form of a Π, with its opening towards the paved stoa. Its centrepiece is divided into eight rectangular panels, each measuring about 1.80 m by 1.03 m (Colour pl. IX *a*). These in turn are surrounded by five different decorative zones. Filling the gaps beside the stylobate are rows of white and red tesserae placed parallel to the wall (to be seen at two points, on the north and west sides).

The first decorative band (I)[5] measures on average 80 cm wide and runs on three sides, north, west, and south. It carries the common motif of intersecting circles. The resultant patterns—four-pointed with curved sides—are bordered by two rows of

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[5] The mosaic motifs codified by AIEMA in 'Répertoire graphique du décor géometrique dans le mosaïque antique' in *Bulletin de l'Association Internationale pour l'étude de la Mosaïque Antique*, (4 May 1973), Paris, are represented on our mosaic as follows: nos, 5, 47, 54, 58, 106', 140, 194, 197, 546, 554, 555.

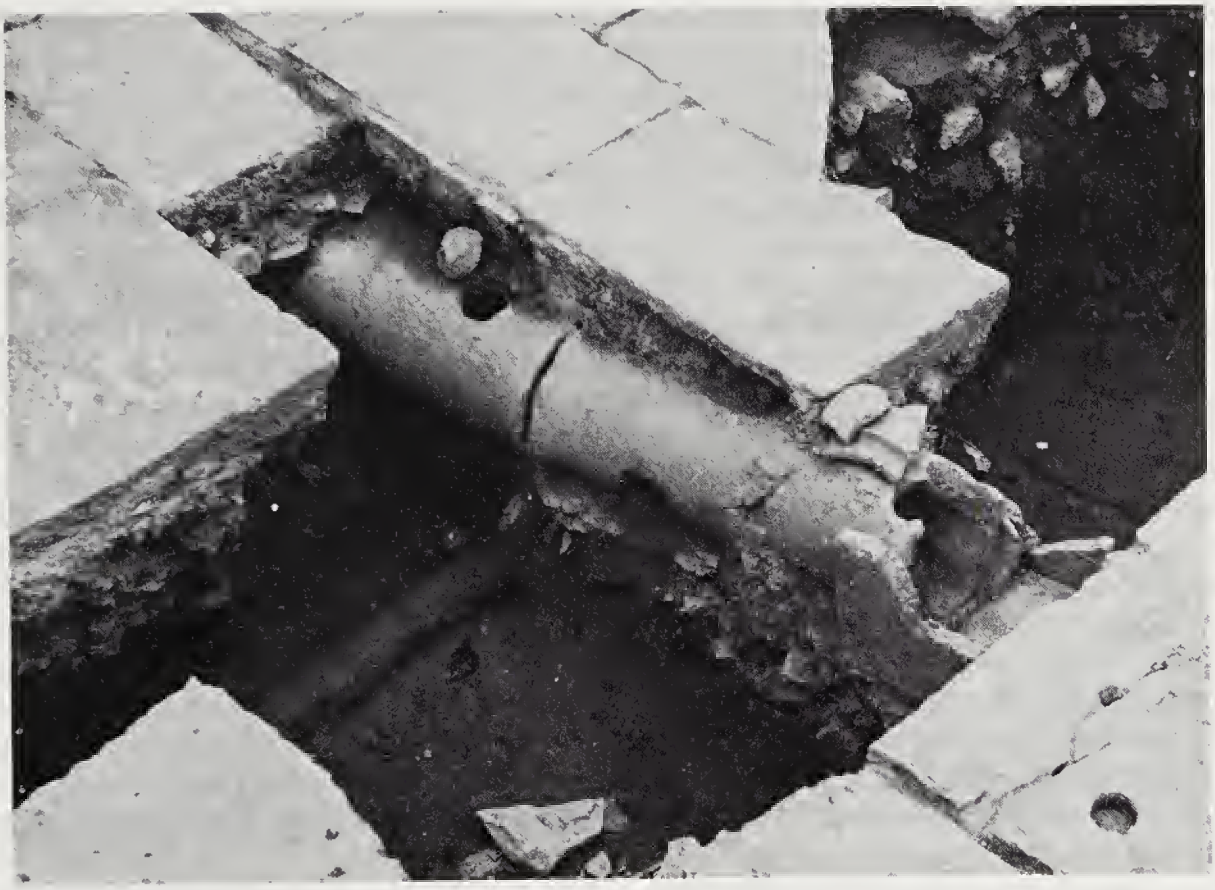

Fig. 6. The water-pipe beneath the stoa paving.

tesserae, each outline being alternately red and black. This makes the four-pointed patterns more prominent than the bichrome circles. However, the border is not limited to these colours and we can see the interiors of the patterns changing colour too: on the south and west sides white, on the north yellow. In their centres are crosses composed of five tesserae. The colour of the crosses also varies: red on the west side, black and red on the south and north.

The next border (II), which also runs on the three sides of the centrepiece, is separated from the first by five rows of black tesserae. Its decorative motif is a series of stars formed by four isosceles triangles, alternately black and red, with the square centre bearing a cross, as in zone I. The junctions of the triangles form bichrome Maltese crosses. We meet again the alternation of red and black, and of yellow and white in the star centres.

The two zones (III, IV) which flank the centrepiece carry a rich geometrical pattern of which the dominant motif is a star formed by eight lozenges (Colour pl. V*a*). There are five stars in zone III, fourteen in zone IV. In zone III, which measures 1.03 m by 5.0 m, each lozenge in the stars is filled with black or red tesserae, with yellow or red centres respectively. The gaps between the stars are filled alternately with a black quatrefoil and a square in circle. At the south corner there are quatrefoils and at the north 'Solomon's knots', and in the areas beside the star along the long edges appear panels with cable, circles in lozenges, and plain triangles. In zone IV, which is very poorly preserved, the fourteen stars were disposed in two rows, the intervening spaces being filled with short cables, squares in circles, quatrefoils, lozenges, triangles, and pairs of peltae, while the large central squares carried triple 'Solomon's knots'. This zone's bright colours, with yellow and orange, must have made a striking impression on the visitor, who entered the room from this side.

In the central area the eight panels of figured decoration are enclosed by the motif of a four-plaited cable in a two-colour scheme (cf. Colour pl. V*b*). Each strand of the cable has its own colour, carefully observed throughout the long interlace.

Each figured panel measures approximately 1.80 by 1.03 m and is surrounded by a black border. The arrangement is in parallel pairs. The one in the south-east corner (7) is almost completely ruined. The remaining seven, though incomplete, preserve enough to enable us to identify their subjects.

I will now describe the panels individually starting with the western two (1, 2). The first panel (Colour pl. VI*a*) shows three hunting-dogs pursuing a hare in a floral setting. Another hare, in whom the dogs show little interest, can be seen at the top right. The background is in white marble tesserae with black lines indicating the ground itself and possibly the shadows of the figures. The dogs are well preserved, two yellowish and the third brown in colour. We miss the hare's head. Their type is well established from other mosaics portraying similar scenes, such as those from Piazza Armerina, Carthage, and Bordj Djedid.[6] The artist was well acquainted with the animal type and rendered it very realistically. The movement of the composition runs from left to right, and the viewer's eye is carried to the second panel, where a wild boar is depicted being attacked by a hunter with a spear, portrayed on foot at the right (Colour pl. V*b*). Above him one can detect a rider with a spear who is also attacking the animal. Here the ground is shown very clearly with creamy-white tesserae, while the background is executed in white marble tesserae, with rugged mountains. Unfortunately, both the rider and the wild boar have suffered greatly, but their shapes can be observed from the double row of tesserae which outlined the figures. Of the rider little remains, and of the boar, only part of his wounded head, tail and front legs. He appears to have been dark grey in colour, to judge from his muzzle, and was shown running from left to right, in the same direction as the rider. The other hunter is fully preserved and shown in the usual defensive posture: his body bends forwards as his weight is shifted on to the left leg. He holds his spear at waist-level with both hands. He wears a red costume with short sleeves and trousers, under a sleeveless tunic tied with a red belt round the waist, short boots, and possibly a cap which covers most of his hair. A tear in his trousers at the left knee leaves a patch of flesh visible. The proportions of the figure are correct apart from a minor misunderstanding in the representation of his right hand, which should have been shown beyond his body. These panels form a unit, with hunting as their theme.

The following two panels (3, 4; Colour pl. VII) depict a different subject: games in the palaestra. On the first we perhaps see a wrestling match, on the second the end of a boxing match. On panel 3 the two athletes are supervised by their trainers, but very little of the athletes remains since the panel has been badly damaged. We have only their lower legs, and part of the contour of their bodies which can be judged from the tesserae that outline them. The placing of their legs suggests that they are grappling head-to-head, in a wrestling-match or pankration, and not boxing. The trainers are shown standing bare-footed behind each athlete, wearing a himation and with a taenia bound round their heads. The one on the right supports his weight on his stick. The ground-line is indicated by a large band of creamy tesserae, but the background is left plain in white marble tesserae. The black wavy ground-line may indicate their shadows.

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[6] Room 23, Piazza Armerina (G. V. Gentili, *La Villa Erculia* (Rome 1959) pls. 16, 19); Tunis, Bardo Museum inv. 3579; Oudna, Maison des Laberii, inv. Tun. 375; hare-hunt from El Djem, inv. Tun. 64; and a mosaic floor in the Archaeological Museum, İzmir. The most striking similarity is with the dogs in the first register of the so-called Small Hunt in room 23 of the Villa del Casale at Piazza Armerina. Here too, and at El Djem, we see a cowering hare while the hunter prepares to attack it.

Panel 4 depicts the end of a boxing match. One athlete stands naked but for the wrapping round his hands and forearms, and an exercise-cap tied under his chin. The other is prostrate on the ground, raising one hand as if to show that he has been defeated. The trainer appears at the right raising his stick to indicate the end of the contest. On the far left is another figure, possibly a seated spectator, wrapped in a cloak and with his head covered. This panel also has suffered greatly. The background is treated in the same way as on panel 3. The figures in these two panels are rendered with the greatest care and their dress offers a great variety of shades. The compositions represent standard schemes of subject and arrangement, known since the Greek Archaic period. So again we have a pair of panels with a common theme.

The next two panels (5, 6; Colour pls. VI*b*, VIII*a*) tell a different story, and face the opposite way to panels 1–4. Panel 6 is the better preserved. In the foreground a tigress is represented running towards the right, while two figures appear behind a rise in the ground, preparing to attack the beast. The ground-line is rendered differently here, thickening towards the right as if to indicate a slope. The two huntsmen recall those in panel 2. The one on the left is seen from the waist upwards holding a spear in his left hand while with his right he seems to beckon to his companion, who attacks the tigress with a round object, possibly a stone. The first huntsman is clad in a red inner garment with long sleeves and an outer grey garment with short sleeves. Of the second huntsman only the head, shoulders, and raised right arm are visible. He wears a grey long-sleeved tunic and some sort of head-dress. The proportions of the huntsmen seem unnatural, given their apparent distance from their prey, and the creature's tail is wrongly shown behind a huntsman's spear.

The next panel (5; Colour pl. VI*b*) is very damaged. Here we see a group of antelopes running from left to right. Only two heads and the hind quarters of four animals survive. The rendering of the ground is, however, very similar to that of panel 5, but here some schematic vegetation appears in the background. Here again there is a notable variety of shades and a thin line of dark tesserae outlining the body contours. And again we have thematic unity in the pair of panels, for it is clear that the tigress is pursuing the antelopes.

Finally, in the last two panels (7, 8) the orientation changes once again to face eastwards. Unfortunately little survives in the first panel except a human leg, the foot of an animal, and part of a spear. From these we can postulate a scene inspired by the amphitheatre: man versus animal. The last panel (8; Colour pl. VIII*b*) shows a man, perhaps a gladiator, attacking a charging lion. Behind the animal a tree is shown in full bloom. The human figure is clad in a long-sleeved tunic belted at the waist, with striped leggings and sandals. His hair is short with a fringe at the forehead. The lion, which is in vigorous motion like all the animals on this mosaic, is excellently rendered both in colour and depth. His open mouth shows his tongue and two teeth, which, with his glaring eye, give the beast a fierce expression. His long tail loops upwards.

The mosaic thus offers four hunting and athletic themes: in the first pair the hunt of a wild boar and hares; in the second scenes from the palaestra; in the third another type of hunt in a sub-tropical setting with a tigress pursuing antelopes; and finally scenes in the amphitheatre. Hunting subjects are very common in this medium, particularly during the last centuries of Roman Imperial art. We meet them in all parts of the Roman Empire but especially in the regions round the Mediterranean. The animal representations are derived from the common repertoire. The 'slender dog, long-eared and long-tailed',[7] is the stock type on mosaics of the third to fifth centuries AD, and the same is true of the hare. The wild boar and the horse[8] are too poorly preserved for their type to be determined, but the wild boar hunt is a subject well known both in mythology and life from the Archaic period on. The only exception is the tiger-hunt,[9] an 'unheroic' scene where the huntsmen may be using the antelopes[10] as bait. By contrast, the lion is commonly represented on mosaics both in hunting scenes and in the amphitheatre. Despite the fact that a tree is shown on panel 8, it seems to me that the action takes place in an amphitheatre and not in the open. This is emphasized by the stance of both huntsmen and lion.[11] In the execution of the mosaic I detect two different hands. Thus, if we compare the two 'heroic' huntsmen (on panels 1 and 8) one can detect differences in their respective treatments despite their similar stance. Their clothing belongs typologically to the second half of the third or first half of the fourth century AD, and we may compare the Small Hunt scene at Piazza Armerina.[12] The same is true of the concealed hunter, who also recalls figures from Piazza Armerina. On the other hand, the trainers in the palaestra scenes are clothed differently, since they belong to a different environment and their types may derive from earlier models.

The archaeological evidence at our disposal cannot help to define more closely the date of the mosaic. The little pottery found below the mosaic, black-glazed or coarse, dates mainly from the early Christian era and gives no close *terminus post quem*. No firm *terminus ante quem* can be established since the building has been reused. Moreover, the subjects used for the decoration were fashionable for a long period (third to fifth century

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[7] J. M. C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (London 1973) 105, says that these dogs are suitable for hare- and fox-hunting, which may seem to argue against my suggestion that panels 1 and 2 form a thematic unity. But since the artist borrowed stock themes for each panel, probably from pattern-books, the contradiction is less serious.

[8] Horse and rider are shown in almost all the hunting scenes. The contour here shows the rider turning slightly to the right with his hand raised and his cloak flying—a common motif from the early Hellenistic to Christian periods.

[9] There are no tigers in north Africa, and the creature appears there only in Dionysiac and Orphic scenes, and, so far as I know, in one hunt which is hardly a proper scene (J. W. Salomonson, *La Mosaïque aux chevaux de l'Antiquarium de Carthage* (The Hague 1965)). On the other hand a tigress (rather than a tiger: the tigress is to be expected in Roman art, cf. Toynbee, op. cit. (n. 7), 70) appears in all three major hunting scenes at Antioch (the Worcester mosaic, the Megalopsychia mosaic, and the Constantine Villa mosaic; D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* (Princeton, 1947) 373 ff.). At Piazza Armerina there are tigresses in the hunting scenes (Great Hunt corridor) despite the supposed African connections. The 'hidden' hunter also appears in the Small Hunt at Piazza Armerina, throwing a stone at a boar.

[10] Antelopes (gazelle, δορκάς, common in the east of north Africa and generally in the Near East) are common quarries for wild animals and hunters on mosaics, and one is often shown with its head turned back.

[11] The symmetrical arrangement of panels 7 and 8 and the centralized theme of man and animal alone appear also in amphitheatre scenes with gladiators: e.g. M. Blake, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 13 (1936) pl. 42; S. Aurigemma, *I mosaici di Zliten* (Rome 1976); L. Robert, *Les Gladiateurs dans l'orient grec* (Paris 1940) pl. 25—British Museum 1286; K. M. Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of North Africa* (Oxford 1978) pls. 20–4. This suggests that the scenes in the Chios mosaic are set in a showplace of some sort, even if not a real amphitheatre. There is also the apparent thematic alternation: panels 1 + 2 and 5 + 6 with hunts, panels 3 + 4 and 7 + 8 with spectacles.

[12] Decorative details of the dress of the lion-fighter, the hair and the shoes, are similar to those of hunters in the Small Hunt at Piazza Armerina.

AD), and the geometrical motifs which form part of the decoration also fall within these limits.[13] More helpful comparisons can be made with Piazza Armerina and the hunt mosaic of the Maison des Chevaux in Carthage.

The compositional difference between our mosaic and those compared with it, that is, the artist's decision to present the subjects in separate panels (like emblemata) rather than in an 'overall' composition as was becoming the fashion of the period particularly in the East,[14] may reflect his difficulty in executing the commission for a special theme rather than his own choice. If the patron requested these subjects (hunting–palaestra–amphitheatre), which were by their nature difficult to assemble in an 'overall' composition, the artist was obliged to show them in separate thematic units.

Since panels 5 and 6 are inverted the visitor to the *atrium* first viewed panels 7 and 8 and then had to move to the centre of the room and view all the other panels by turning in a circle. But much of this explanation is still conjecture, and I must again stress that, since the archaeological evidence is still under study and the mosaic still being restored, it would be premature to offer any firmer conclusions about it.[15]

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[13] Blake, op. cit. (n. 11) 185–95, and *Memoirs* 17 (1940); Levi, op. cit. (n. 9).

[14] E. Kitzinger, 'Stylistic Developments in Pavement Mosaics in the Greek East from the Age of Constantine to the Age of Justinian', in *La Mosaïque gréco-romaine*, Colloques internationaux du CNRS, Paris, 1963 (1965) 341–52; I. Lavin, 'The Hunting Mosaics of Antioch and Their Sources; a Study of Compositional Principles in the Development of Early Medieval Style', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963).

[15] The absence of a complete published corpus of mosaics found on the Greek mainland, in the islands, and in western Asia Minor, and the many unpublished mosaics which still lie in museum stores, including those mentioned by G. Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (*Ἑλληνικά* (Thessaloniki) 26 (1973) 246–54) hinder any serious study of the subject.

Professor and Mme J. C. Balty, to whom photographs of the mosaics have been shown, kindly communicated the following comments: the eight-lozenge star is frequent at Antioch from the early third century (cf. Levi, op. cit. (n. 9), pl. 103*e*); the ground lines, the landscape elements disposed to give an illusion of depth, and the shadows have more in common with African than eastern mosaics. These comparisons indicate common models but no more direct relationship between the Chios mosaic and the African. The date seems to be the second half of the 3rd c., perhaps late in it.

THE BASILICA OF ST ISIDORE: NEW EVIDENCE

C. I. PENNAS

THERE are very few elements which could help us establish the topography of the city of Chios during the Early Christian and Byzantine periods. The long Genoese and Ottoman occupation of the island, and especially the disastrous earthquakes which occasionally affected it, destroyed or considerably altered most of the buildings of the earlier period. Moreover, the written sources are very poor and excavations in the modern city have not been very extensive. So the only real evidence we have for reconstructing the topography of Chios in this period consists of two Early Christian basilicas found in Chora, the modern capital of the island;[1] an early Christian pavement dated at the end of the fifth century AD found in the modern shopping centre (7 Dimogerontias Street); scattered re-used architectural elements[2] (column bases, slabs, capitals, anta-capitals); fragmentary information, mainly from oral tradition, and, last but not least, the early Christian basilica of St Isidore[3] in the district of Letsaina, in the northern part of the modern town of Chios.

According to Zolotas,[4] the oldest churches in the town of Chios are the church of St Nicholas, for which we have no evidence, and the church of St Isidore, the so-called Great Isidore, or *Τουρλί* on account of its outstanding dome.

St Isidore's basilica is intimately connected with the martyrdom of the patron saint of the island. He came from Alexandria and suffered martyrdom in Chios in AD 250, during the rule of Decius, when the squadron of the Roman fleet to which he belonged harboured there.[5] According to the tradition the church was built on the grove of St Isidore and St Myrope from Ephesus; the latter suffered martyrdom in Chios at the same time.

Most travellers who visited the island in later times mentioned the basilica of St Isidore but did not supply detailed descriptions. On the other hand, various biographies of St Isidore give contradictory evidence and can hardly lead to a reconstruction of its

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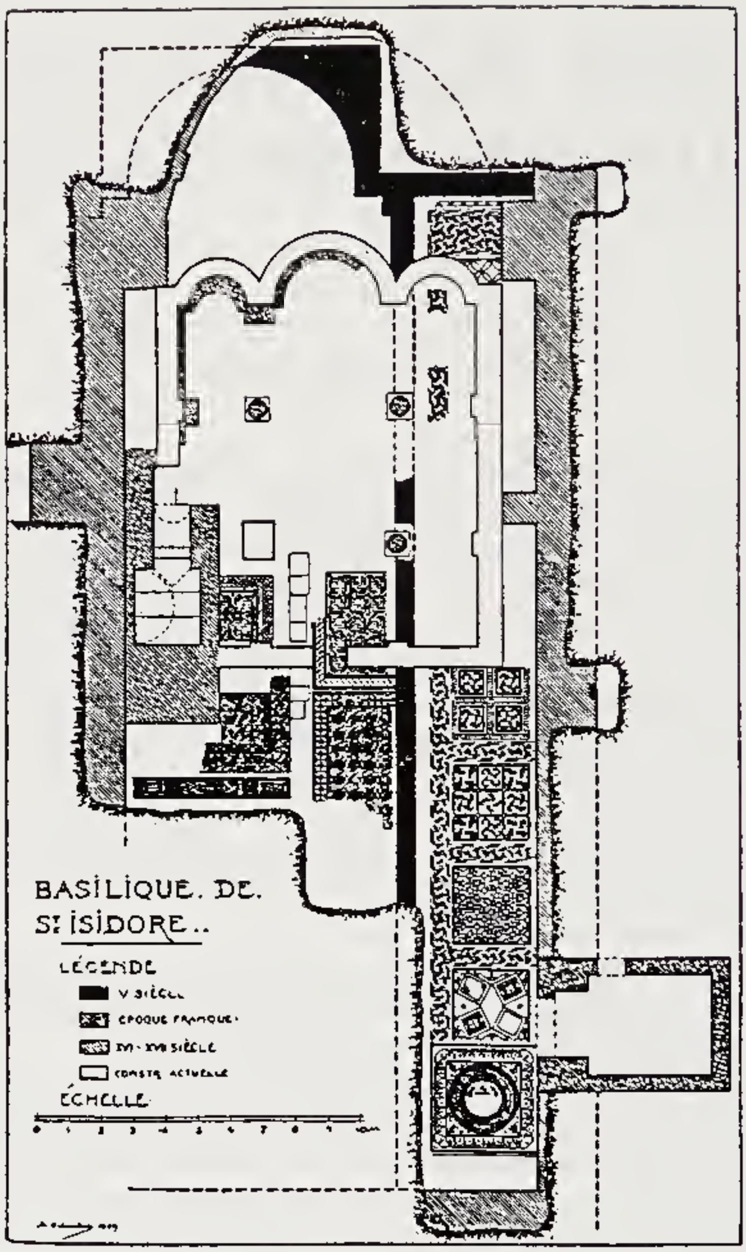
[1] N. Kontoleon, *PAE* 1953, 268–72 figs. 1–5; S. Pelekanidis and P. Atzaka, *Corpus mosaicorum Christianorum pavimentorum Graecorum* I, *Graecia insularis*, Monumenta Byzantina I (Thessaloniki 1974) 139 (St Andrew's basilica of Argenti, Kaloplytes, a district of Chios town).

[2] G. Soteriou, *ADelt* 2 (1916) parartema 27–44; A. Orlandos, *Monuments byzantins de Chios* II, *Planches* (Athens 1930); A. Stephanou, "*Βυζαντινὰ γλυπτὰ ἀπὸ τὸ Κάστρον*" *Χιακὴ Ἐπιθεώρησις* 23 (1970).

[3] Soteriou, op. cit. 28; *JHS* 41 (1921) 276; Sp. Lamprou, "*Χριστιανικὰ Μνημεῖα τῆς νήσου Χίου*", *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* 15 (1921) 302; G. Soteriou, *AE* 1929, 191–2, 214–39; Orlandos, op. cit. pls. 1–5; id., 'Les monuments byzantins de Chios d'après les recents recherches', *Compte-rendu du III^e Congrès international des études byzantines* (Athens 1932); H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 6 (1937) 200 n. 1; D. Pallas in *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst* I (Stuttgart 1966) s.v. 'Chios' 951–2 fig. 1.

[4] G. Zolotas, *Ἱστορία τῆς Χίου* I. 2 (Athens 1923) 45, 48.

[5] On the martyrdom of St Isidore and relevant bibliography see Zolotas, op. cit. II 215–22.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LÉGENDE
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Fig. 1. Basilica of St Isidore. The phases according to A. Orlandos.

history or even help interpret the archaeological evidence available. Jerome Giustiniani, a Chiote author, relates that the church was built by the emperor Constantine IX Monomachus (1042–55) at the same time as Nea Mone;[6] he also gives us the following account of its architectural form: 'In the Upper part there is the circular (rotonda) church of St Isidore, decorated inside with a most beautiful mosaic.'

The church is also mentioned by the author of the *New Leimonarion*, the holy Chiote Nicephoros.[7] According to his version the church was built in the seventh century by Constantine IV Pogonatus (668–85), and during his reign Arab invaders burnt and

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[6] Ibid. I. 2. 48.

[7] Ibid. I. 2. 49 and II. 221.

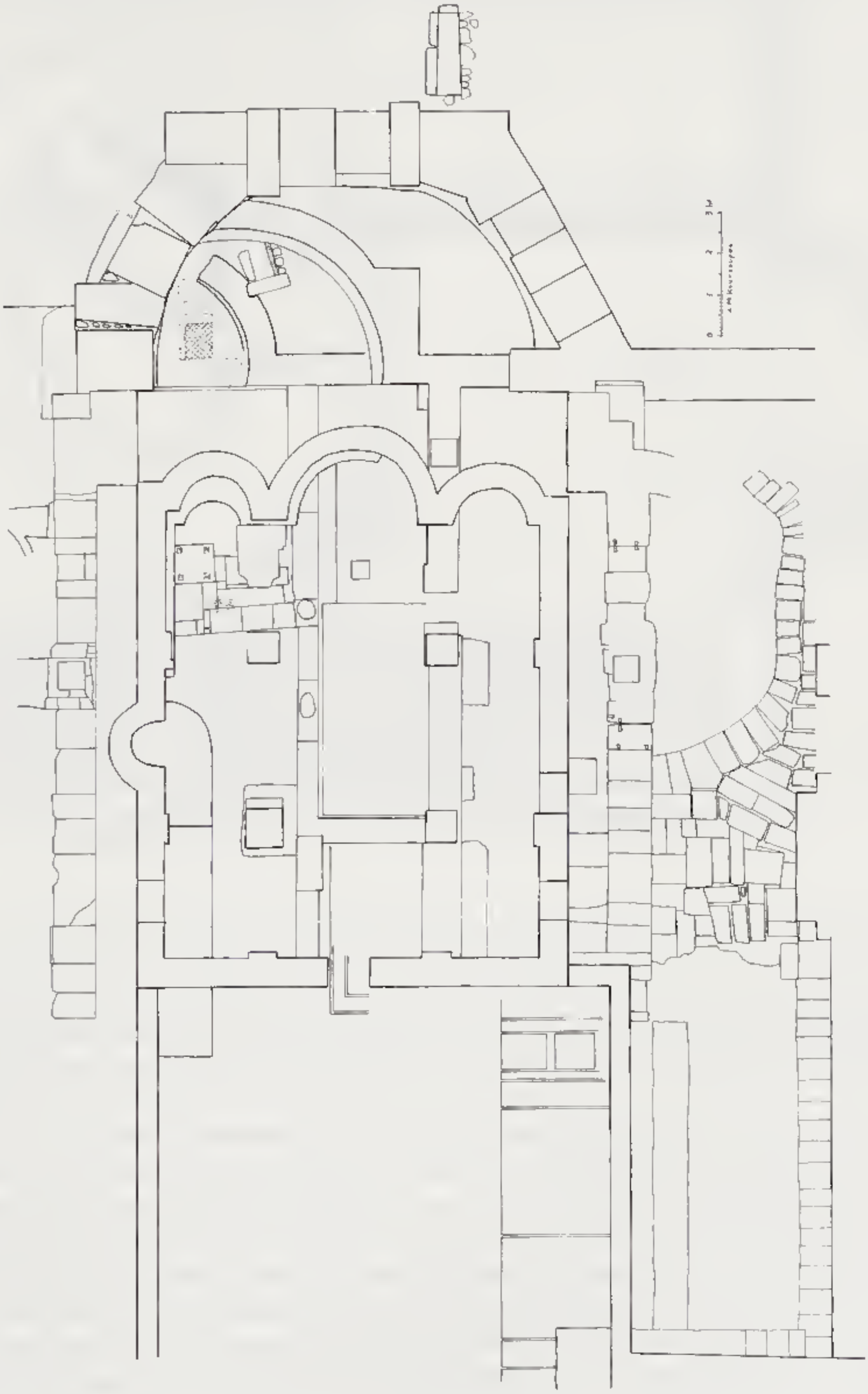

Fig. 2. Basilica of St Isidore. General plan of the excavation.

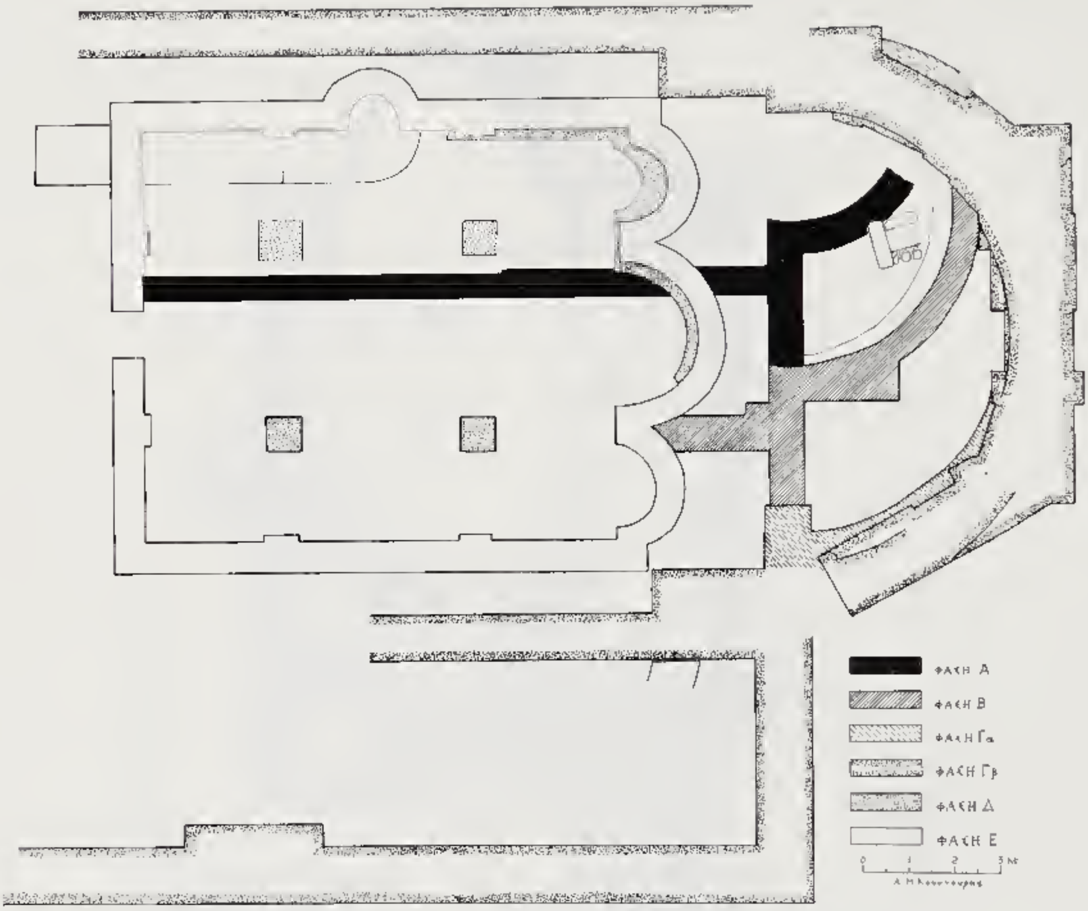

Fig. 3. Basilica of St Isidore. General plan of the phases.

ransacked the marbles and tesserae of the church, built over the bodies of the martyrs Isidore and Myrope. Another tradition relates that the emperor Marcian (450–7) built in exactly the same place 'a magnificent church after the saint had appeared in front of him asking for a shelter'.[8] In the Life of St Sabas the Coinobiarch it is said that Marcian built in Constantinople the church of St Eirene 'by the sea' and deposited there the holy relics of the saint. However, this version is contradicted by most hagiographers, who relate that his relics were stolen from Chios by the Venetians in 1125 and were deposited in a special chapel in Saint Mark's in Venice, decorated with mosaic representations of St Isidore's martyrdom.[9] The operation was actually carried out by Gerbanus Gerbani, a Venetian priest known to have been at the court of John II Comnenus in 1123; in 1125 he related in person to Bishop Boniface Falier the story of the theft of the holy relics. Although he describes at length the theft of the relics themselves, he does not refer at all to the form of the monument. The church is also mentioned in the Allatius codex Bible, Vallicelliana 116 of Rome, no. 31, which records that in the earthquake of 1389 a large part of the dome of St Isidore was destroyed.[10]

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[8] Ibid. II. 222, 224.

[9] Ph. Argenti and S. Kyriakidou, *Ἡ Χίος παρὰ τοῖς Γεωγράφοις καὶ Περιηγηταῖς* (Athens 1946) III. 1273 ff.

[10] Zolotas, op. cit. I. 1. 90.

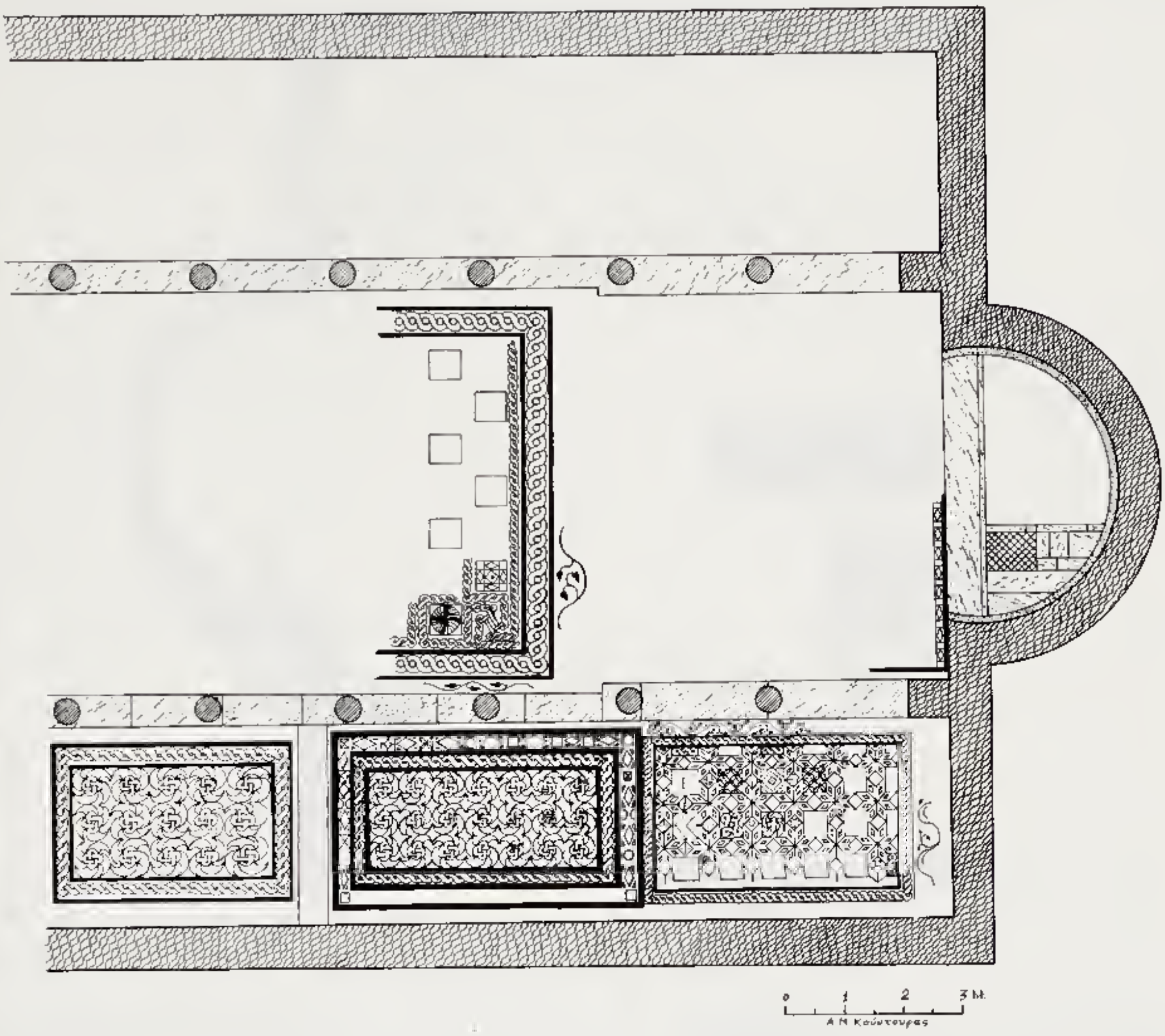

Fig. 4. Basilica of St Isidore. First phase.

When Zolotas visited the church in 1866 it was deserted, but part of its hemispherical dome was still preserved. Subsequently the earthquake of 1881 ruined the church completely.[11]

The first excavation on the site started in 1918 under G. Sotiriou and was continued by A. K. Orlandos in 1928. Orlandos published plans and photographs in *Monuments byzantins de Chios* (Athens 1930), without the corresponding text. His plan of the church (Fig. 1) suggests only one Early Christian phase, dated around the fifth century. However, in the *Third International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (Athens 1930) he dated the church in two phases, the fifth and seventh centuries. This agrees with Sotiriou's earlier dating of the church. He had suggested the existence of two Early Christian phases, first because the mosaics are placed on two different levels, and secondly because the stylobate cuts through the mosaic of the central nave. According to Sotiriou the first phase of the church comprises those mosaics of the nave which belong with part of the stylobate shown in the plan with rectangular paving; the second phase comprises those

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[11] Ibid. I. 2. 51.

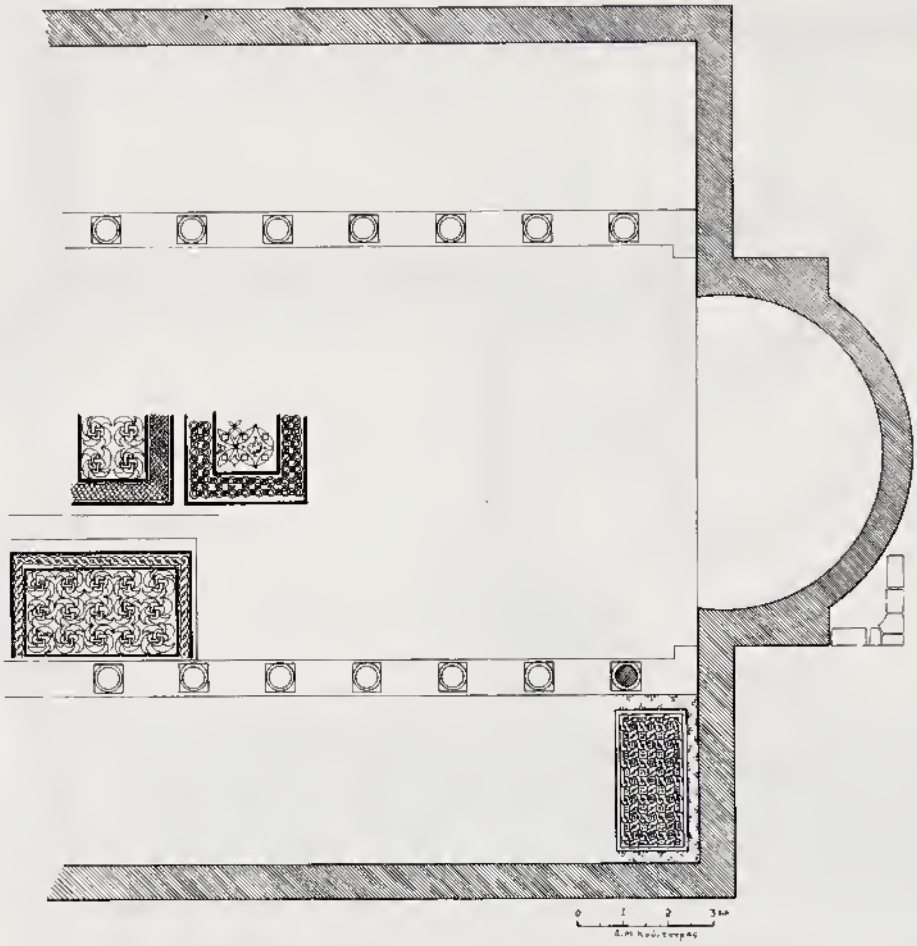

Fig. 5. Basilica of St Isidore. Second phase.

mosaics which belong with the stylobate connected with the eastern wall and the apse. Sotiriou dates this later phase to the reign of Constantine IV Pogonatus (668–85).

During the summer of 1981 and 1982 the Third Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities conducted rescue excavations on the site in co-operation with the engineer Argyris Kountouras. In the following pages the results of these excavations are presented.

FIRST PHASE (Figs. 2–4)

The Early Christian basilica consists of a nave, flanked by two aisles and terminating in a bema with a horseshoe-shaped apse; on the raised chord of the apse were found traces of marble paving. The nave is separated from the aisles by colonnades resting on elevated stylobates. At a distance of 5.60 m from the eastern wall of the basilica, the width of the southern stylobate decreases from 0.65 m to 0.50 m; at this point there was most probably the original chancel screen.

The principal measurements are as follows:

Nave-to-aisle ratio	2:1
Intercolumnation	2.00
Apse radius	2.25
Width of outer walls	0.70

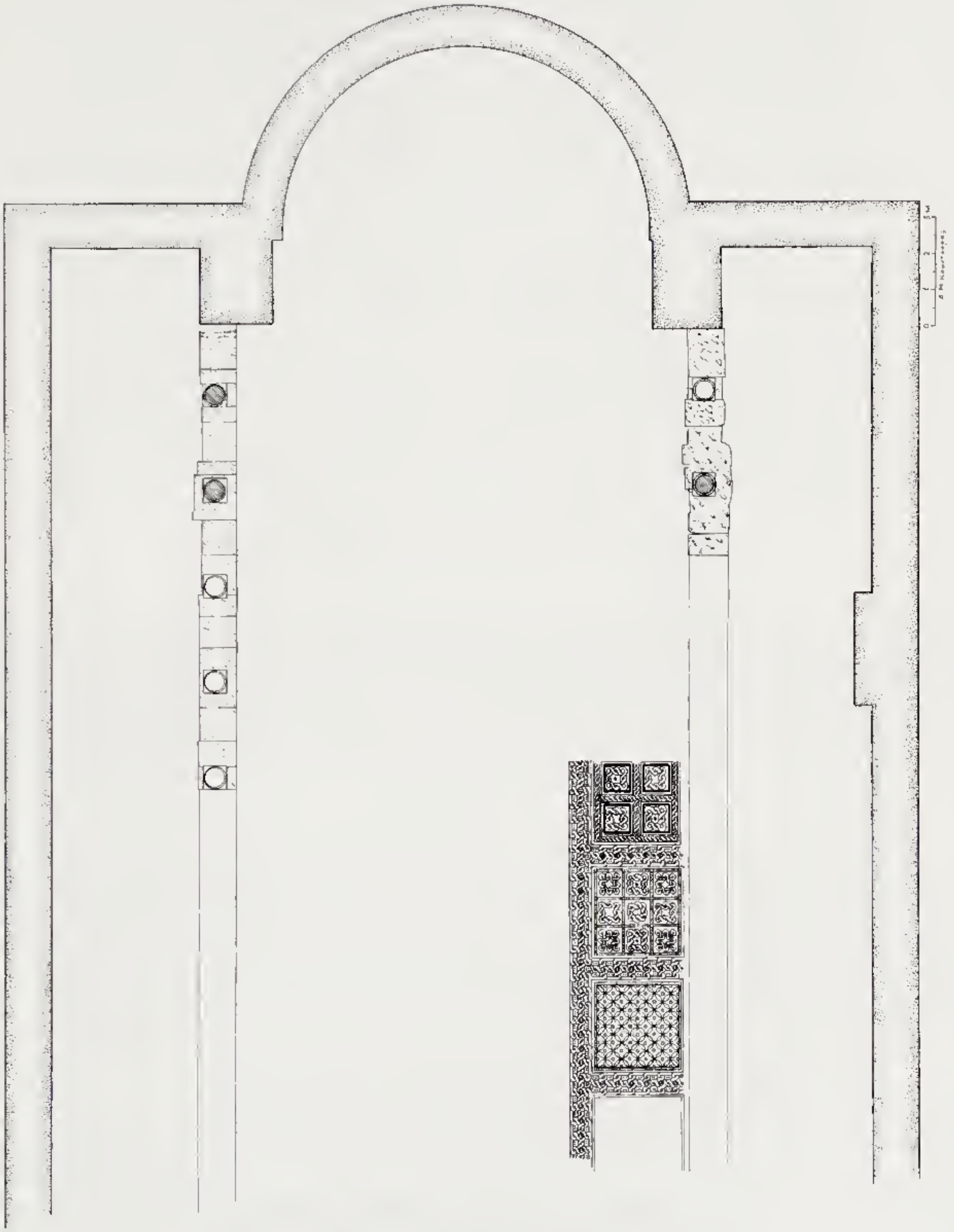

Fig. 6. Basilica of St Isidore. Third phase, first period.

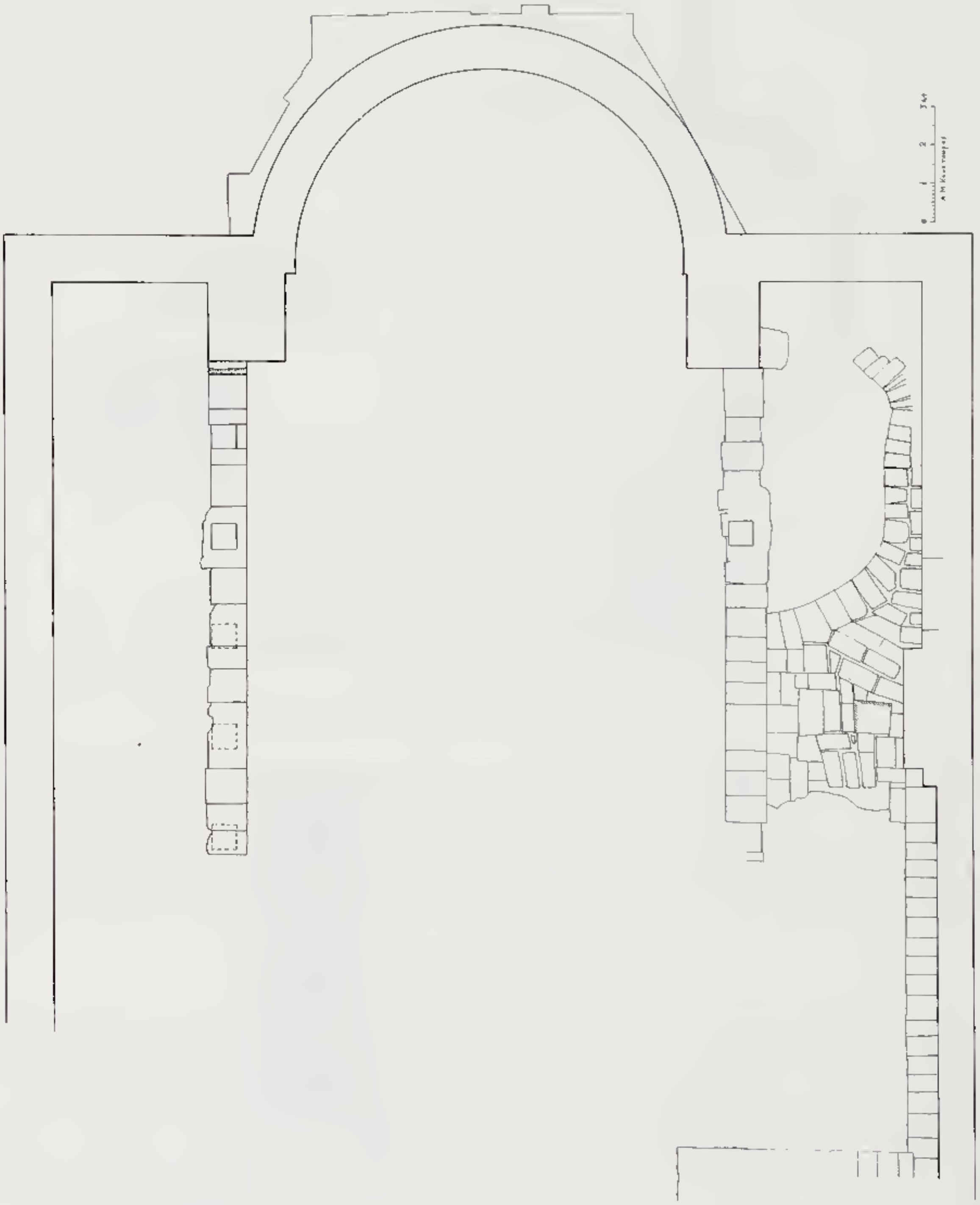

Fig. 7. Basilica of St Isidore. Third phase, second period.

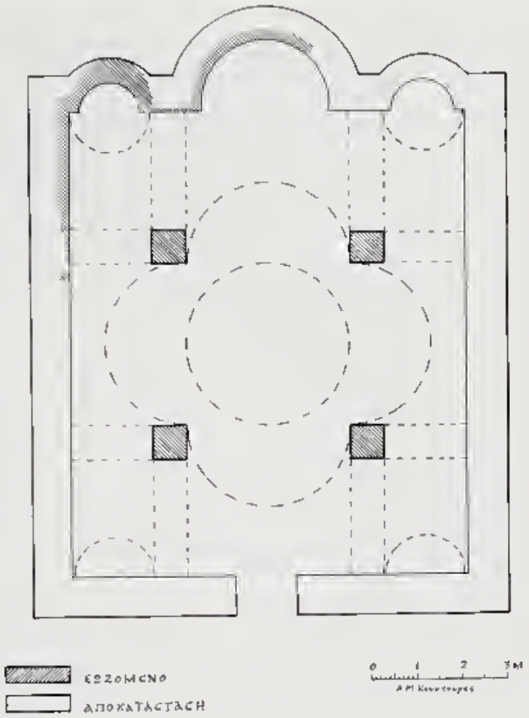

Fig. 8. Basilica of St Isidore. Fourth phase.

During the first phase architectural elements were reused from the walls and stylobates of an earlier building, for instance, the easternmost column which is irregularly positioned on a joint. Furthermore, parts of the earlier mosaic decoration were incorporated in the basilica: the mosaic panels of the nave and the easternmost panel of the southern aisle.

Panel decoration

Borders: oblique grid, ivy rinceau.

Fields: *Nave*: (Fig. 9) oblique grid, forming squares, filled with polychrome decorative patterns with different colour transitions.

South Aisle: (Fig. 10) joined lozenges surrounding squares decorated with a variety of patterns. In one of these squares the different size of tesserae used shows that the original decoration was replaced by the following inscriptions (Fig. 11):

ΑΡΚΑΔΕΙΟC | ΦΩΚΑΑΙΟΥC | ΑΡΜΑΙΝΟΡΑΦΟC |
ΑΙΠΟΙΗCΑΥ | ΠΕΡ ΕΥΧΗC | ΤΟΥ ΟΙΚΟΥ ΜΟΥ

The inscription names Arcadius the son of Phocaeous, sailmaker, as dedicator of part of the mosaic pavement.[12]

Chronologically this belongs with the next panel to the west, which is surrounded by a double border; the external border is a combination of squares and rhombuses while the

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[12] E. Patlagean, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance, 4e–7e siècles* (Paris 1977) 163; she translates the term ἀρμενορράφος to mean sailmaker. It is one of a number of terms for harbour occupations which appear in the 5th–7th-c. funeral inscriptions of Korykos (Cilicia).

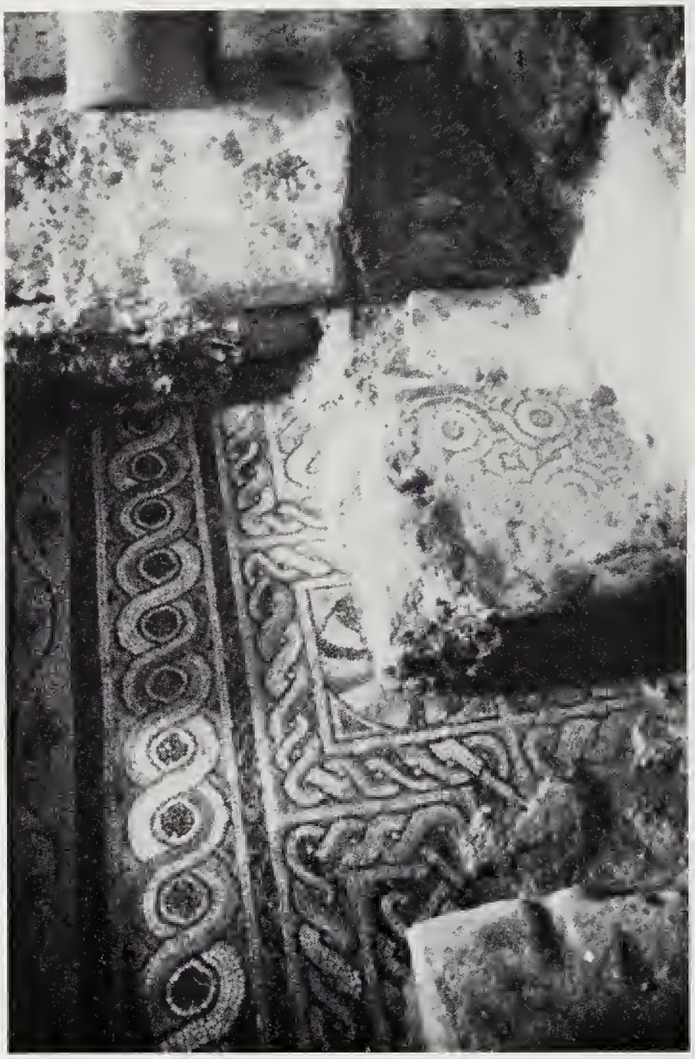


Fig. 9. Basilica of St Isidore, first phase. Mosaic decoration of the nave.

internal one consists of an oblique grid. The panel itself is decorated with pelta-shaped patterns—Solomon's knots (Fig. 12).

Apart from differences in decoration and colours, the fact that this panel cuts into part of the ivy rinceau border of the easternmost panel argues for a slightly later date.

The panel decorated with the pelta-motif and the oblique grid border belongs to the same phase; this mosaic, situated to the west of those mentioned above, is on a different level, 0.3 m higher.

In the area of the excavation described so far the following coins were found:

On the mosaic inscription two *minimi* of Theodosius II (408–50): Rev.—cross in a wreath. On the basis of the easternmost column of the southern colonnade two copper coins: one *Aes* II of Theodosius I (379–95), issued 383–92, mint Thessaloniki; and the other *Aes* IV, probably of Julian Caesar (354–60), issued 355–61.

Two other copper coins were found on the ivy rinceau and oblique grid border of the nave; one is an *Aes* IV of Arcadius (383–408), issued 383–95, the other an *Aes* III of

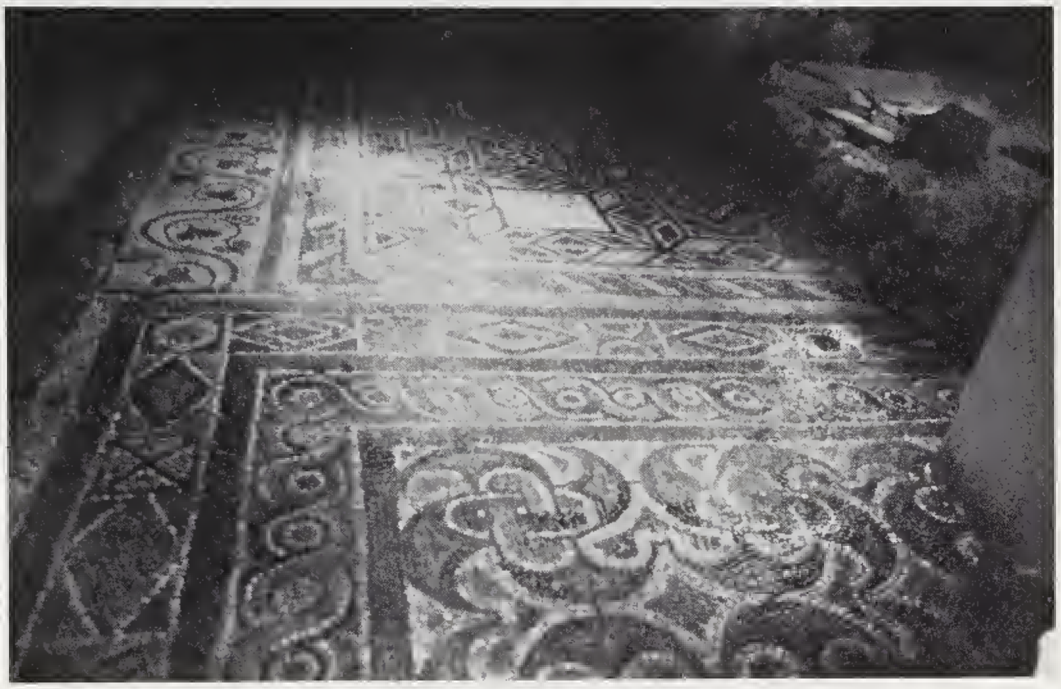
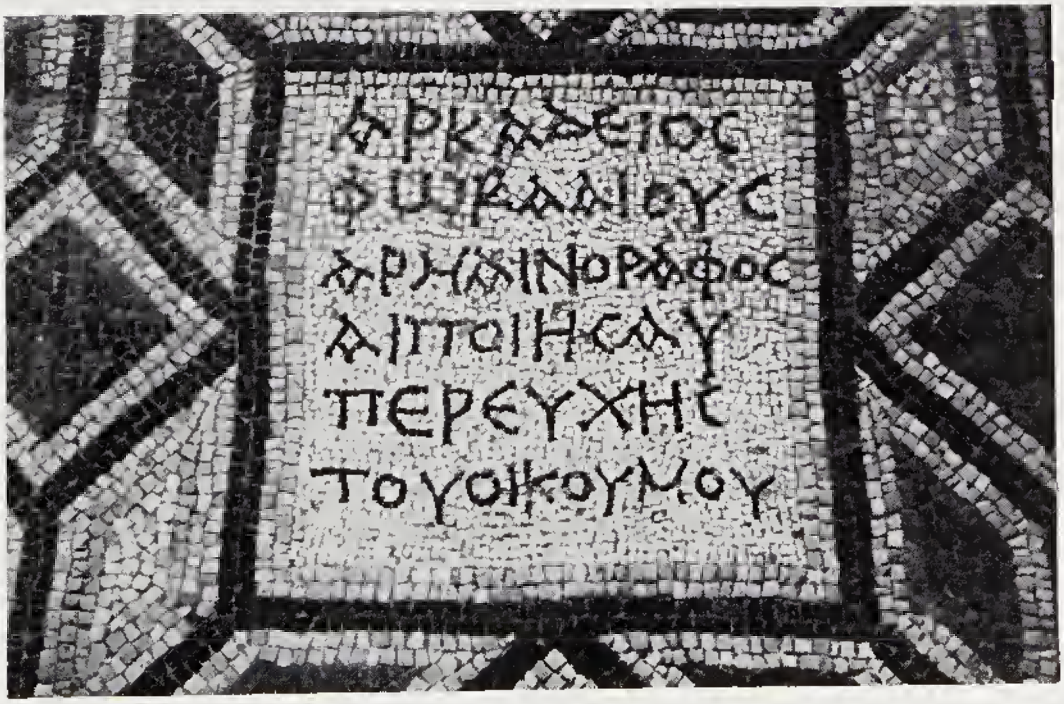


Fig. 10. Basilica of St Isidore, first phase. Mosaic decoration of the south aisle.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ΦѠΚΑΔΙΟΥC
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Fig. 11. Basilica of St Isidore, first phase. The mosaic inscription of the south aisle.

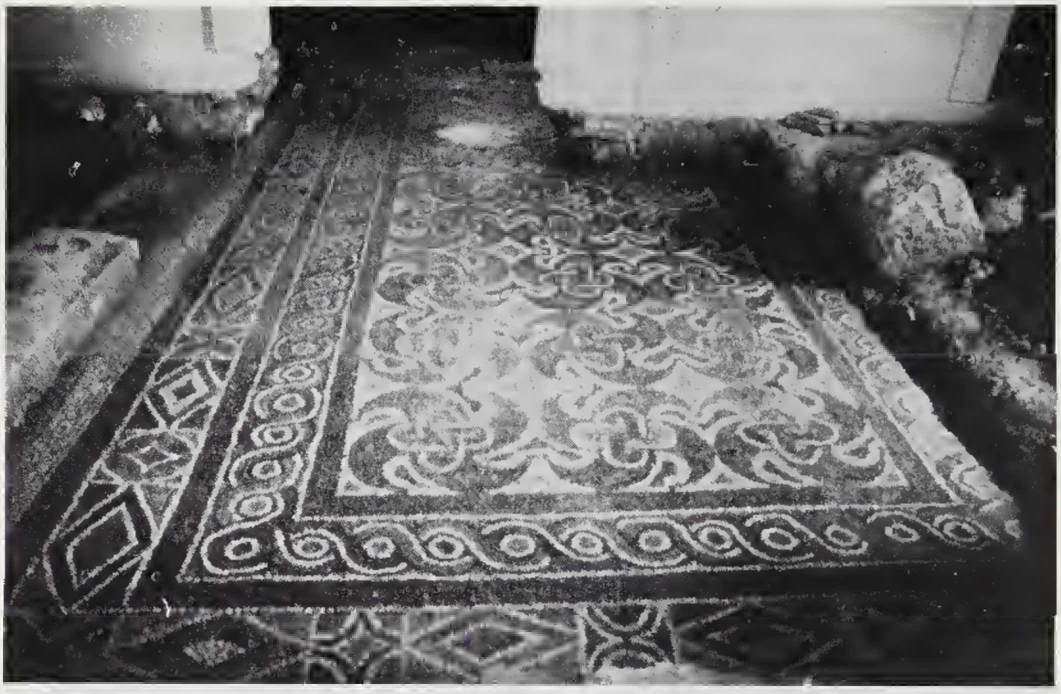

Fig. 12. Basilica of St Isidore, first phase. Mosaic decoration of the south aisle.

Pulcheria, issued 423–25, mint Constantinople. These six coins found in the nave and southern aisle of the basilica range in date from the mid fourth century to the mid fifth.

Outside the southern part of the apse a grave made of stone slabs was found: it is earlier than the apse because its north-west corner is incorporated into the width of the apse wall (Fig. 13). In the grave were found four clay unguentaria (height 0.15 m) and fragments of a small pot with rounded base, everted rim, and wheel-ridged body, without handles. There were also three copper coins: one *Aes* III of an unidentified emperor, either Theodosius II or Honorius, issued 408–23; one of Honorius (393–423), issue unknown since the reverse of the coin is worn; and a *minimus* of the middle of the fifth century. The coins found in the grave date from the end of the fourth to the mid fifth century.[13] The fact that the grave antedates the construction of the apse, which was left intact, leads to the conclusion that the adaptation of the earlier building to a basilica church took place during the second half of the fifth century AD. The two panels decorated with pelta-patterns (one of which overlaps the ivy rinceau panel border) can be dated to this period, after the mid fifth century.

SECOND PHASE (Fig. 5)

A two-aisled basilica is preserved from this phase. Its semicircular apse was supported by two external buttresses on the eastern wall. A number of stone slabs forming a corner near the southern buttress outside the wall have been interpreted by previous scholars as

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[13] For the presence of *Aes* III (end of the 4th c.) together with the *minimi* of the 5th c. and after, see H. L. Kustas, 'A Bronze Hoard of the Period of Leo I', *American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes* 9 (1960) 142; id., 'A Sixth-century Hoard of *minimi* from the Western Peloponnese', ibid. 11 (1964) 161.

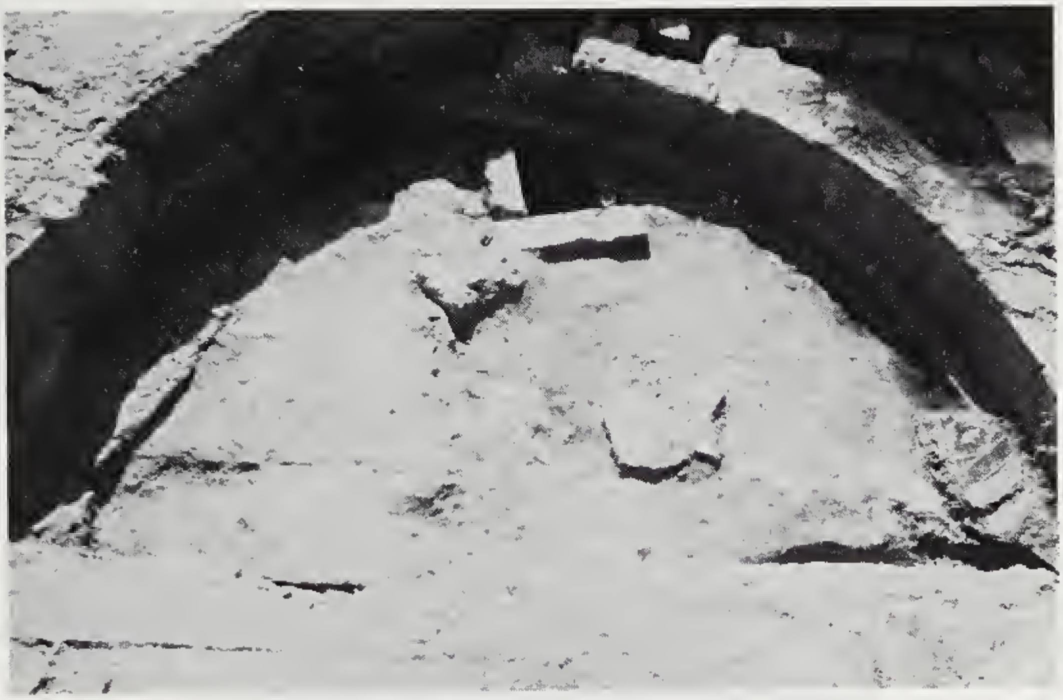

Fig. 13. Basilica of St Isidore, the apse.

part of the apse wall;[14] consequently, the external shape of the apse was thought to be rectangular, resembling the Early Christian basilicas of Syria. However, further investigation showed conclusively that the slabs belong to a drainage basin used to collect rainwater from the roof.

The western part of the grave belonging to the earlier phase was destroyed by the construction of the apse wall. The wall on the southern side was built on part of the wall of the earlier building; the toichobate of that building thus became the stylobate for the arcade of the new basilica. The columns were unfluted, with a diameter of 0.48 m, and they were supported on Ionicizing bases with square plinths 0.64 m wide. Columns and column-bases were of local marble; they were not reused materials from some earlier building but were made specially for the basilica in this phase.

The principal measurements are as follows:

Nave-to-aisle ratio	2:1
Intercolumnation	1.25
Apse radius	3.50
Thickness of outer walls	0.80
Thickness of apse wall	0.64

Of the earliest mosaic decoration only the panel with pelta-patterns bordered by an oblique grid continued to be used. This panel, originally set 0.30 m higher than the other panels in the southern aisle of the church, now became part of the nave mosaic; it is not preserved intact because the new stylobate destroyed the southern side of its frame. Mosaics from two more panels of the nave have been preserved (Figs. 5, 14), the first

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[14] A. Orlandos, *Ἡ Ξυλόστεγος Παλαιοχριστιανικὴ Βασιλικὴ τῆς Μεσογειακῆς λεκάνης* (Athens 1952) 207 fig. 166. 17.

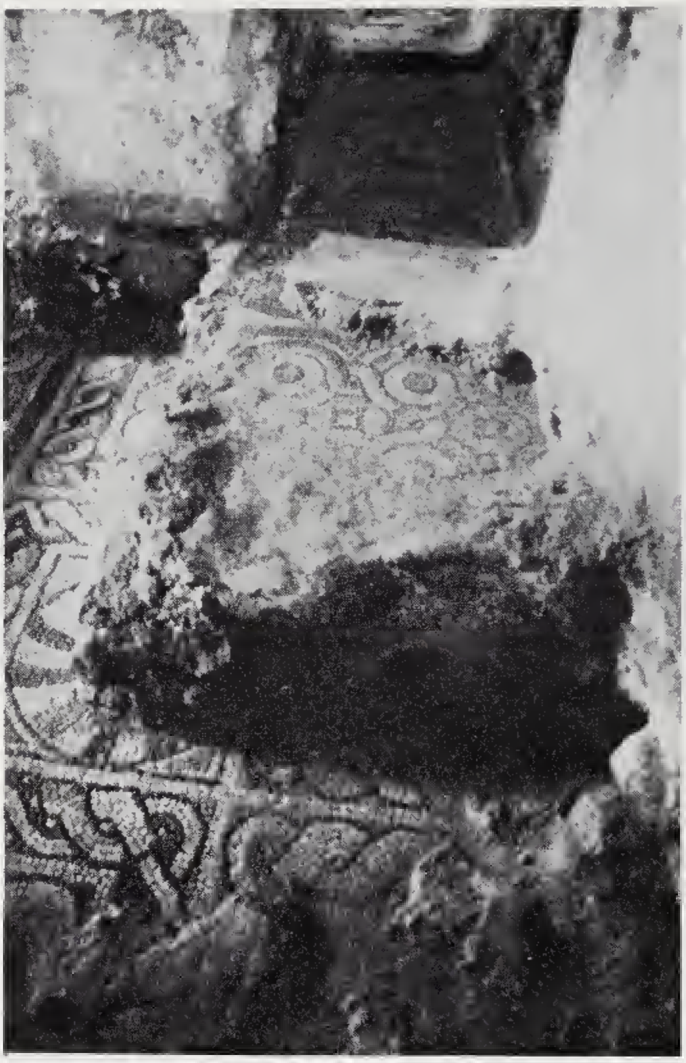

Fig. 14. Basilica of St Isidore, second phase. Mosaic decoration of the nave.

with a grid border enclosing pelta-patterns, the second with an oblique grid border enclosing circles, curvilinear joined lozenges, and leaf patterns. The oblique grid of the second panel was made of a three-strand guilloche, filled with a white tessera at each loop, the curvilinear octagons between the circles being filled with geometric patterns. Another panel was found at the eastern end of the southern aisle, at the same level as the three panels discussed above. Its border featured triangles of alternating colours, framed by a simple band (Fig. 15). The panel itself was decorated with a band composed of two interlacing strands, forming loops filled with white tesserae; the circles and the curvilinear octagons formed by the two-stranded band were decorated with Maltese crosses.

THIRD PHASE (Figs. 6,7)

A two-aisled church of large dimensions replaced the second-phase basilica, built at a level 0.50 m higher. The southern stylobate for the arcades of the new church was built

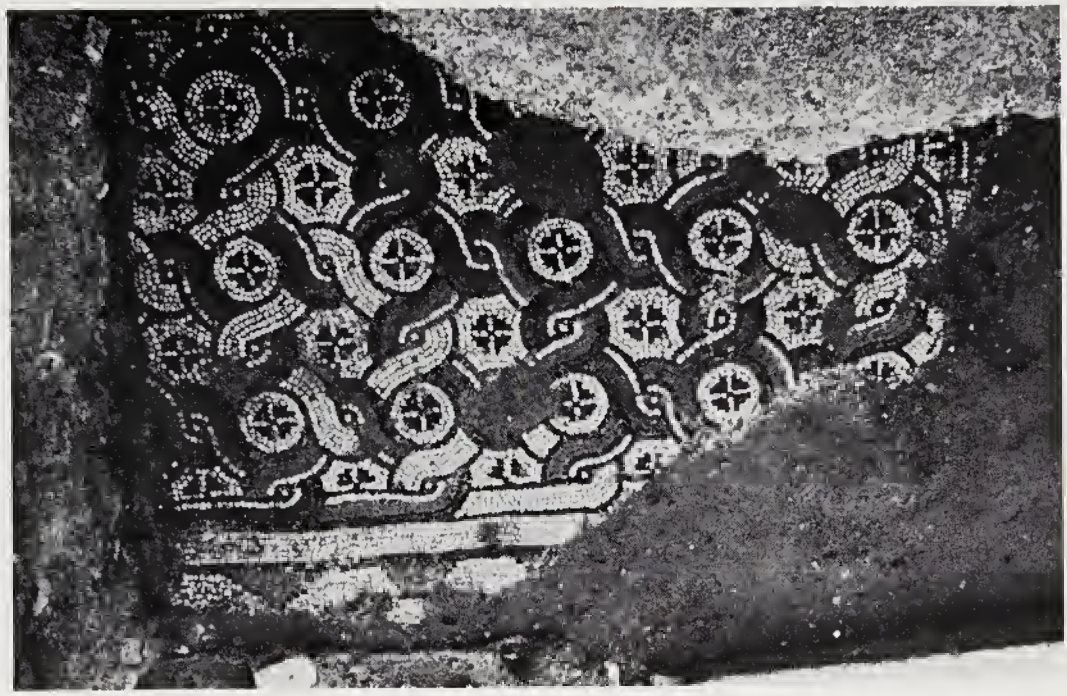

Fig. 15. Basilica of St Isidore, second phase. Mosaic decoration of the south aisle.

over the southern wall of the earlier building. This was in accordance with a repeated process of alteration whereby the church was enlarged using the side walls of the old phase as stylobates for the new aisle arcades. The stylobates were built of large stone blocks taken from important pagan buildings; the dovetail clamps found on the upper surface of the southern stylobate may even date to the Classical period. The columns of the previous phase were replaced by Ionicizing columns of identical dimensions, but with the lower part fluted (diameter 0.48 m, plinth side 0.64 m). The two easternmost column-bases of the north stylobate and the second from the east of the southern stylobate were preserved in situ. The floor of the south aisle was made of reused pavement from a street, or possibly from a nearby building.

Two distinct building periods can be distinguished in the construction of the apse, which featured two large square buttresses (width 2.00 m) supporting the triumphal arch. In the first stage, the apse was semicircular both internally and externally, lacking the supporting buttresses on its north and south sides; this resulted in structural defects as far as the support of the apse was concerned. Consequently, in the second stage the apse was dismantled and built from scratch on a three-sided foundation, but its internal semicircular form was retained.

The principal measurements are as follows:

Nave-to-aisle ratio	3:1
Intercolumnation	2.00
Apse radius	5.00
Thickness of outer walls	1.25

The mosaics found in the modern courtyard belong with the stylobates mentioned above, and therefore date from the same building phase. They are decorated with adjoining circles containing a combination of guilloches and lozenges and are framed by an oblique grid composed of two interlacing strands. These mosaics, as shown in Fig. 6, have the southern side of their frame cut by the stylobate of the third phase. The partial destruction of the frame of these mosaics, as well as other archaeological evidence pointing to a programme of alteration to the stylobates, may well date to the same time as the reconstruction of the apse.

Two Corinthian capitals have been found together with the column bases of the northern stylobate. The first capital (left on Fig. 16) has a lower ring of six acanthus leaves, devoid of any vegetal character, with their veins and lobes rendered by angular relief profiles; their lateral tongues are continuous, thus forming geometric patterns. The upper ring consists of four upright acanthus leaves, covering the abacus corners; their tendrils form semicircles at the centre of each side. An identical capital (Fig. 17) is kept in the Byzantine Archaeological Collection of Chios housed in the mosque at Chora;[15] this capital certainly comes from the basilica of St Isidore. R. Kautsch[16] dated a similar capital from Constantinople to 460–90, while R. Farioli[17] suggested a date for it in the mid sixth century. The second capital (right in Fig. 16), uncovered near the northern stylobate, is also Corinthian, but belongs to a different series. It carries two rings of acanthus leaves, similar in appearance and disposition to the vegetal decoration of the capitals from the court of the church of St John Theologus at Ephesus,[18] dating from the reign of Justinian. This connection provides a sound foundation for dating the third phase of the church of St Isidore stylistically to the middle of the sixth century.

The second building stage of this phase might date to the reign of Constantine IV Pogonatus (668–85), which is indicated by the tradition, but the archaeological evidence for such a date is inadequate.

FOURTH PHASE (Fig. 8)

The builders of this phase ignored all the earlier constructions on the site. They reused column drums and corner-stones from pagan buildings to construct pillars on unsteady foundations; this fact in particular leads to the conclusion that the site was abandoned for a long period of time. The new church was of the cross-in-square type, resting on four pillars with four barrel-vaults at the sides, while the corner-bays were either domed or groin-vaulted. The 2 : 1 ratio between the central and the lateral spaces was maintained. The large apse of the bema, as well as the smaller apses of the prothesis and the diaconicon, are semicircular both externally and internally. A *terminus ante quem* for the fourth phase is provided by the earthquake of 1389, mentioned in the Allatius Codex ('. . . when the northern part of the dome of the church of St Isidore was damaged').

FIFTH PHASE

The church was rebuilt following the same plan, but a minaret was now added at the middle of the northern wall (Figs. 2, 3), leading to a grave built shortly before.

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[15] M. Orlandos, op. cit. (n. 2) pl. 5.

[16] R. Kautsch, *Kapitellstudien* (Berlin and Leipzig 1936) 53, pl. 12 n. 167.

[17] R. Farioli in G. Bovini (ed.), *'Corpus' della scultura paleocristiana bizantina ed altomedioevale di Ravenna* III, *La scultura architettonica, Capitelli* (Rome 1969) 23 n. 19 fig. 18.

[18] G. Soteriou, *ADelt* 7 (1921/2; publ. 1924) 169 fig. 41.

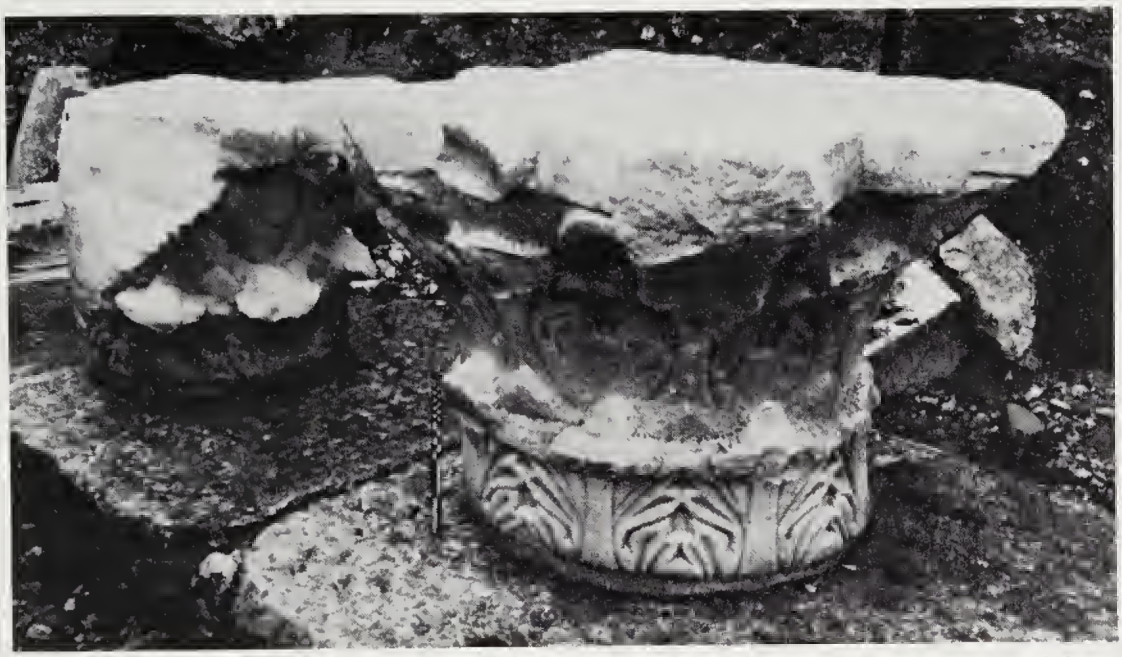

Fig. 16. Basilica of St Isidore, third phase. Two Corinthian capitals of the northern stylobate.

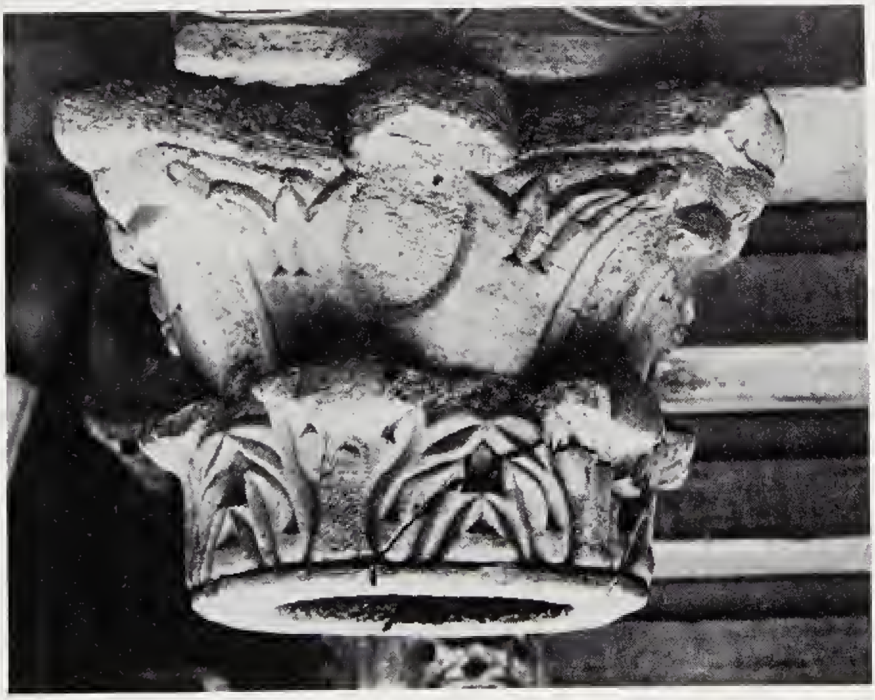

Fig. 17. Byzantine Archaeological Collection, Chios. Corinthian capital from St Isidore.

The stratigraphy of the site is very difficult to determine from the finds kept in the archaeological collection housed at the mosque in Chora. These finds, mostly potsherds, were found to a large extent among the rubble of excavations, which took place fifty years ago; unfortunately, the very thin levels in the stratigraphy of the recent excavation yielded few potsherds. Characteristically, an illustration of potsherds from the southern aisle of the first phase comprises Early Christian pottery together with black-glazed.

The excavation has been confined so far to part of this basilica with cemetery dating from the Early Christian era; this paper is an attempt to present a precise picture of the archaeological evidence. The continuation of the excavation and the study of the architecture (columns, capitals, architrave blocks, slabs, the ambon, etc.) and the mosaic pavements will not only provide crucial evidence for the final reconstruction of the various phases of the monument, but will also help to elucidate some problems of Early Christian and Byzantine Chios.

CHIOS, THE MASSACRES, AND DELACROIX

F. HASKELL

THE civilization of Chios—that home of poets, historians, artists and legends, as well as of prosperous merchants and famous producers of wine—has been generously celebrated in the papers delivered to this Conference. This makes it particularly painful to have to conclude with so different an aspect of the island's history: its savage mutilation.

But for lovers of nineteenth-century art Chios is remembered because for two months in the spring of 1822 it was the scene of an appalling massacre, which gave rise to one of the most famous of all French paintings (Colour pl. XII), just as for lovers of twentieth-century art the name of Guernica is to be found in our 'imaginary museum' because the terrible bombardment it suffered in 1937 was immortalized in a masterpiece by Picasso (Fig. 1). In looking at Delacroix's painting we may—I hope—be led to speculate as to whether artists are able to communicate as impressively the horrors of our own times (to which the massacres on the island constitute a prelude) as they once did the beliefs and hopes of earlier ones.[1] This, then, is a talk in which the inhabitants of this beautiful island appear not as creators, but as victims: the raw material both of an atrocity and of an ambitious and talented painter, who helped to change the course of French, and hence of modern, art.

The most important thing to say about paintings is also the most banal, so that it is never said and is therefore always forgotten. Paintings are designed to be hung on walls and looked at. This does not mean that they always have to represent agreeable themes. For many centuries horrible scenes of Christian martyrdoms constituted a high proportion of all the pictures painted in Europe: but the authority of established religion overruled any reservations that might have been felt about their display. Similarly scenes from ancient history or myth, such as the suicide of Seneca or the flaying of Marsyas, could be shown in repellent detail: but they were sanctioned by the unchallengeable prestige of classical civilization. However, large pictures of the more disheartening scenes of contemporary life, which had behind them the prestige neither of Christianity nor of ancient fable or history, have always been extraordinarily rare—although they were occasionally used for purposes of propaganda. The most obvious exception to this general rule is one to which I shall have to return later: the production of paintings which displayed, often in gruesome detail, the ravages caused by plague: but in such pictures we are nearly always shown a saint interceding with Christ or the Virgin for the cessation of this all too familiar calamity.[2]

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[1] Some of the issues raised here are discussed in an interesting article which has appeared since the Chios conference: Werner Hofmann, 'Picasso's "Guernica" in its historical context in *Artibus et Historiae*, 7 (1983) 141–69.

[2] See, for instance, the exhibition catalogue *Venezia e la peste 1348–1797* (Venice 1979).

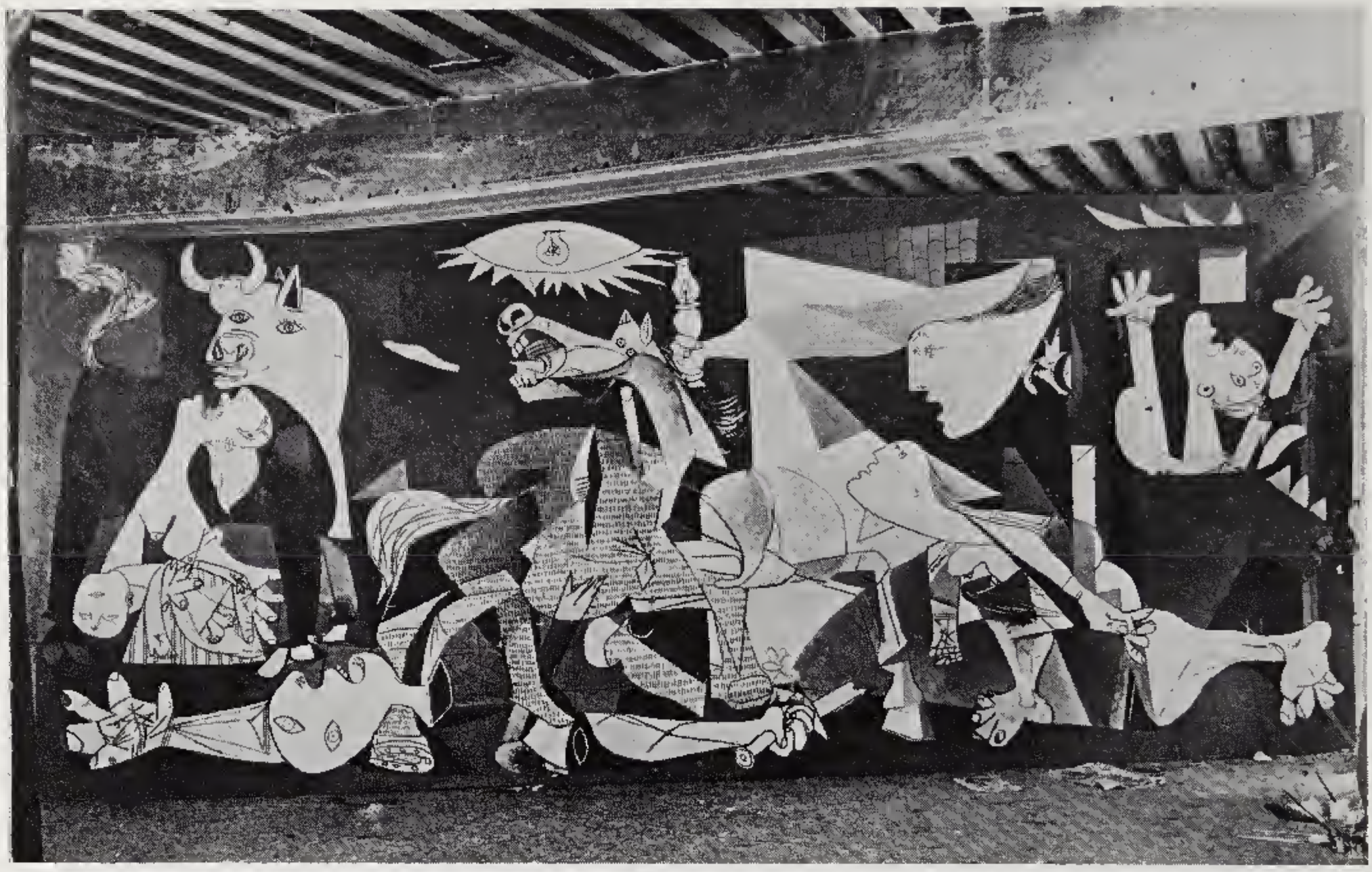

Fig. 1. Picasso, *Guernica*. Madrid, Prado Museum.

In 1814, however, Goya, who was the official painter of the King of Spain, wrote to the Regent of his 'ardent desire' to perpetuate through his brushes the heroic actions of the Spanish people in their fight against the French, who had just been driven out of the country. The authorities agreed that, as the painter had not enough financial resources of his own to pay for such an undertaking, they would subsidize him—and this subsidy made possible the creation of *The Second of May 1808* and *The Third of May 1808*: the latter painting (Fig. 2) is thus the first supreme masterpiece ever to be dedicated to a painful (but, of course, patriotic) event.[3]

A few years later in Paris Théodore Géricault (who could not, I think, have heard of Goya's picture) painted, without being commissioned to do so, a far more immediate and controversial disaster, and his painting was exhibited in 1819 under the anodyne title of *Scène de naufrage*. This picture, now invariably called *The Raft of the Medusa* (Fig. 3), commemorated—in the most exalted artistic style—the appalling hardships suffered by the abandoned crew of a government frigate which had been shipwrecked because of the criminal incompetence and cowardice of its captain. Despite its disturbing political implications and its radically original style the picture was quite widely admired—but no one bought it. Who could? Where could it be put? No private collector would have wall-space enough to hang it, and when the Director of the Royal Museums suggested

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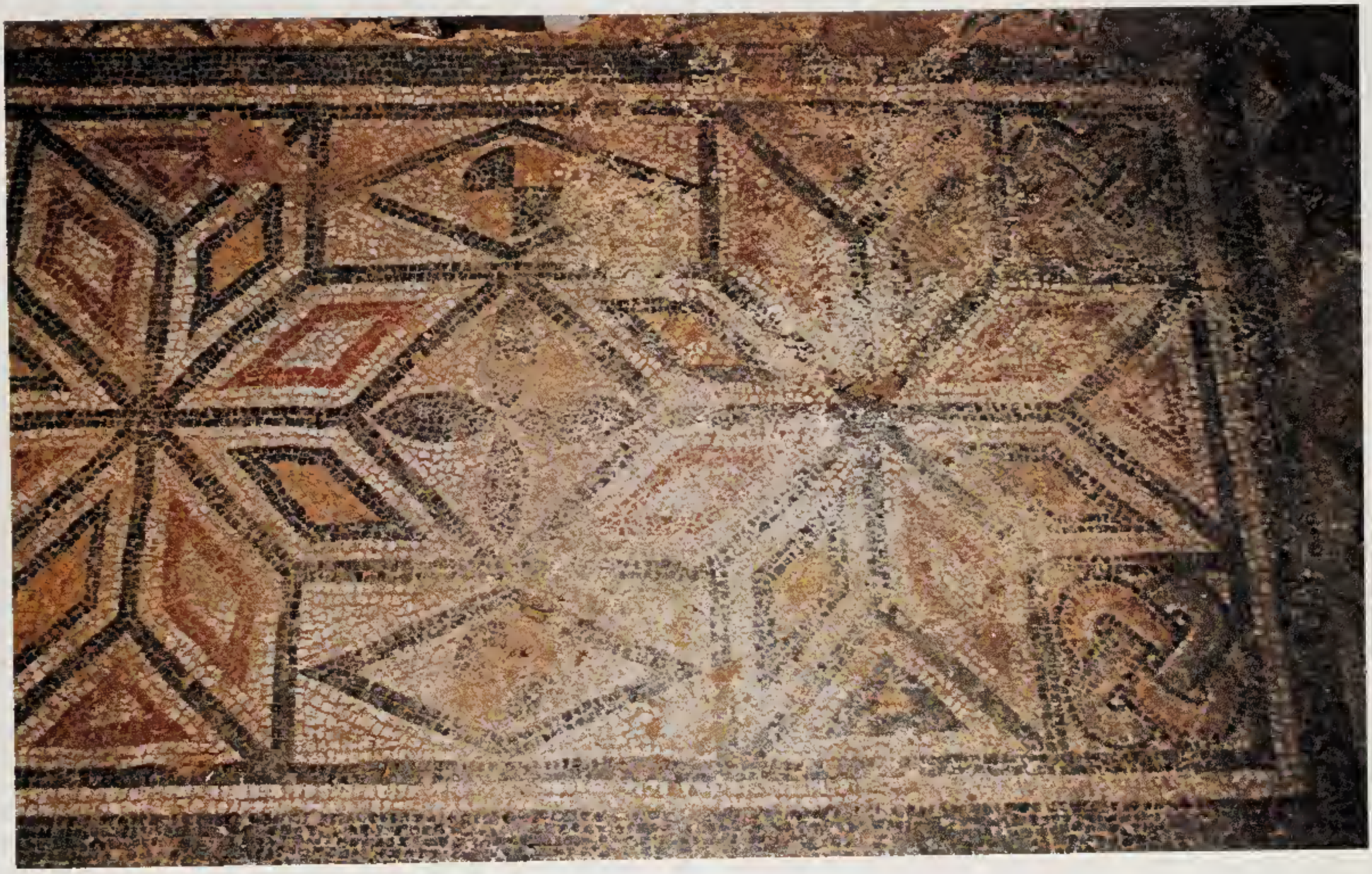
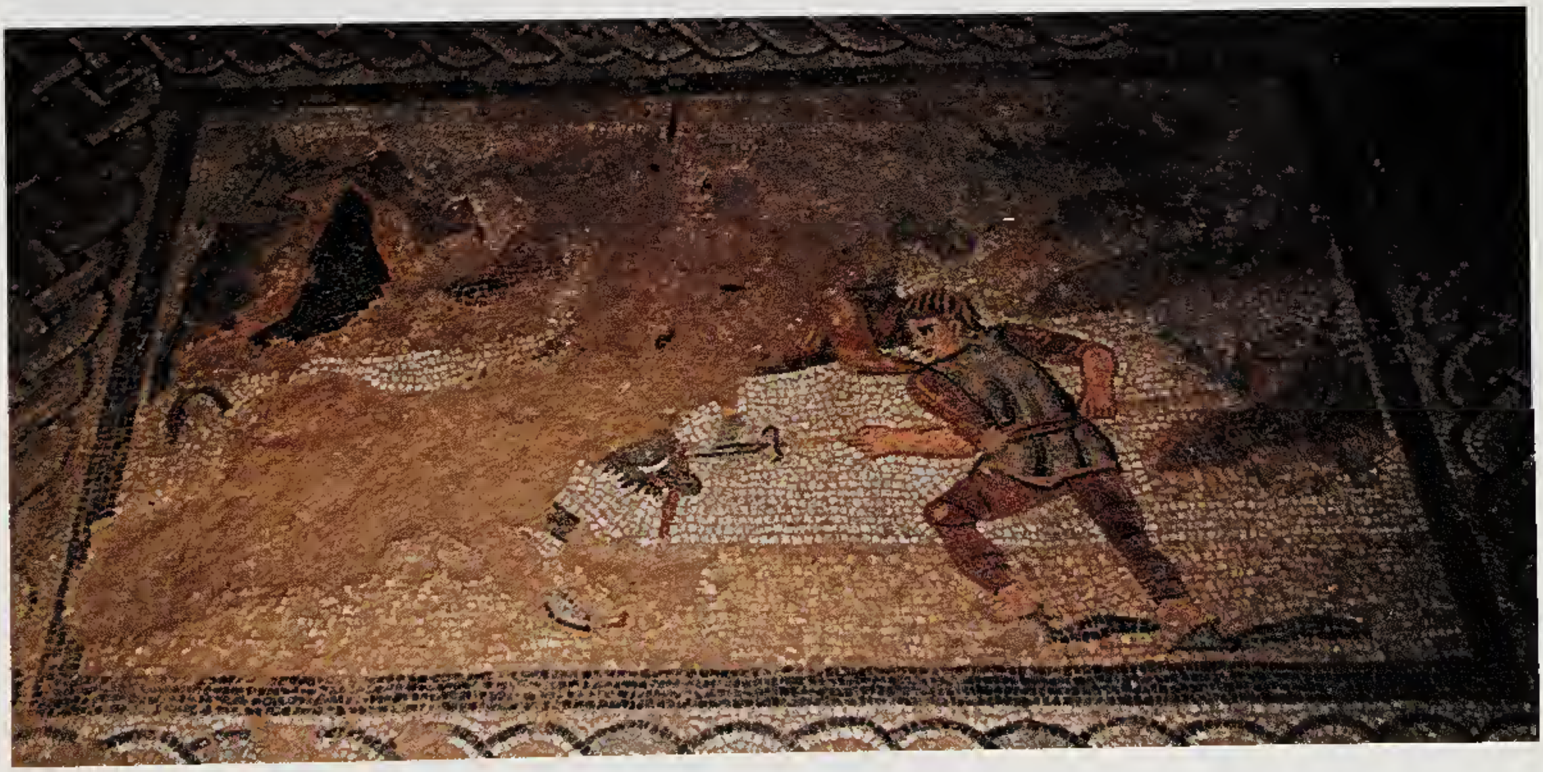
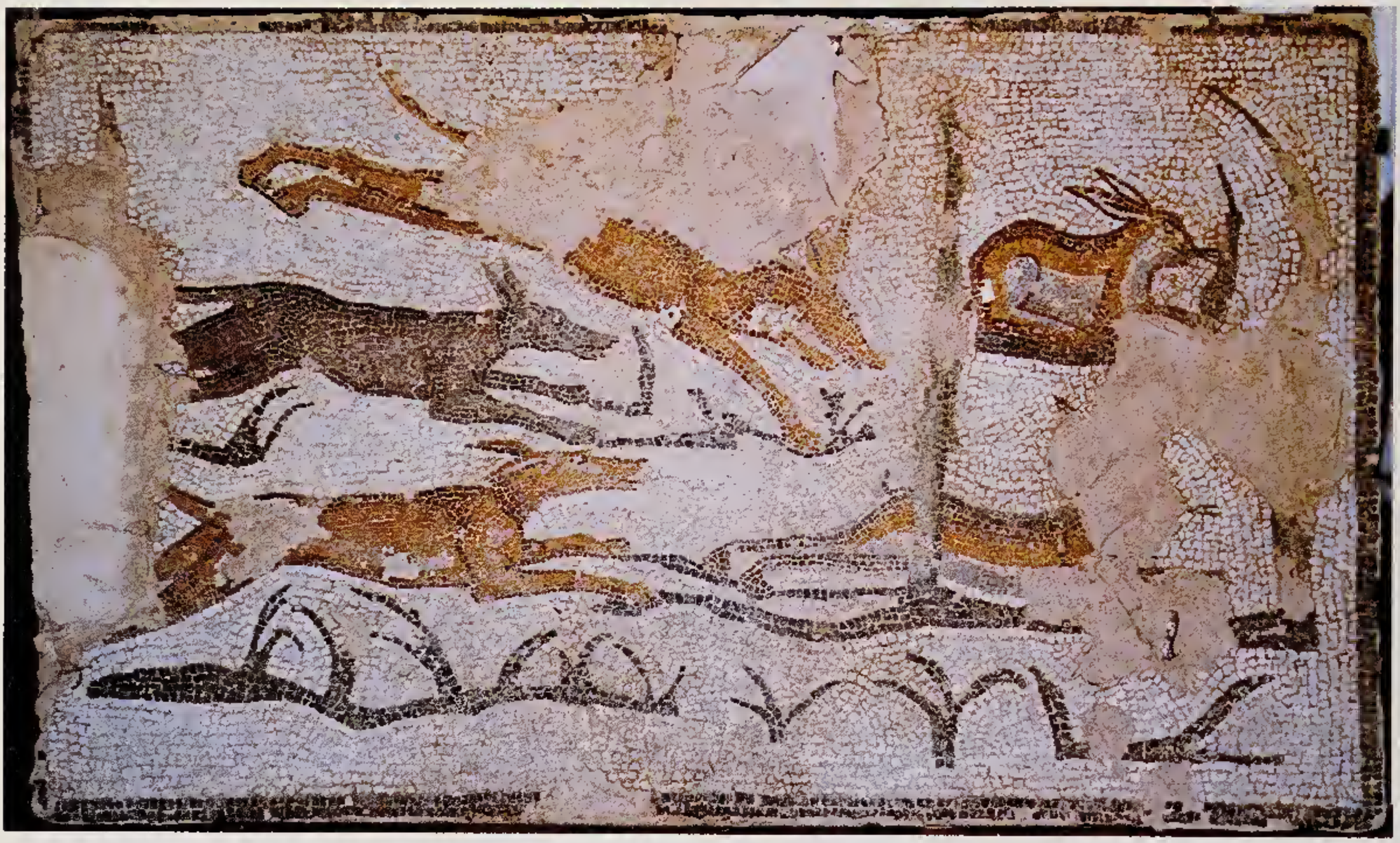
[3] For details of the commission and the historical circumstances see Hugh Thomas, *The Third of May 1808* (London 1972).



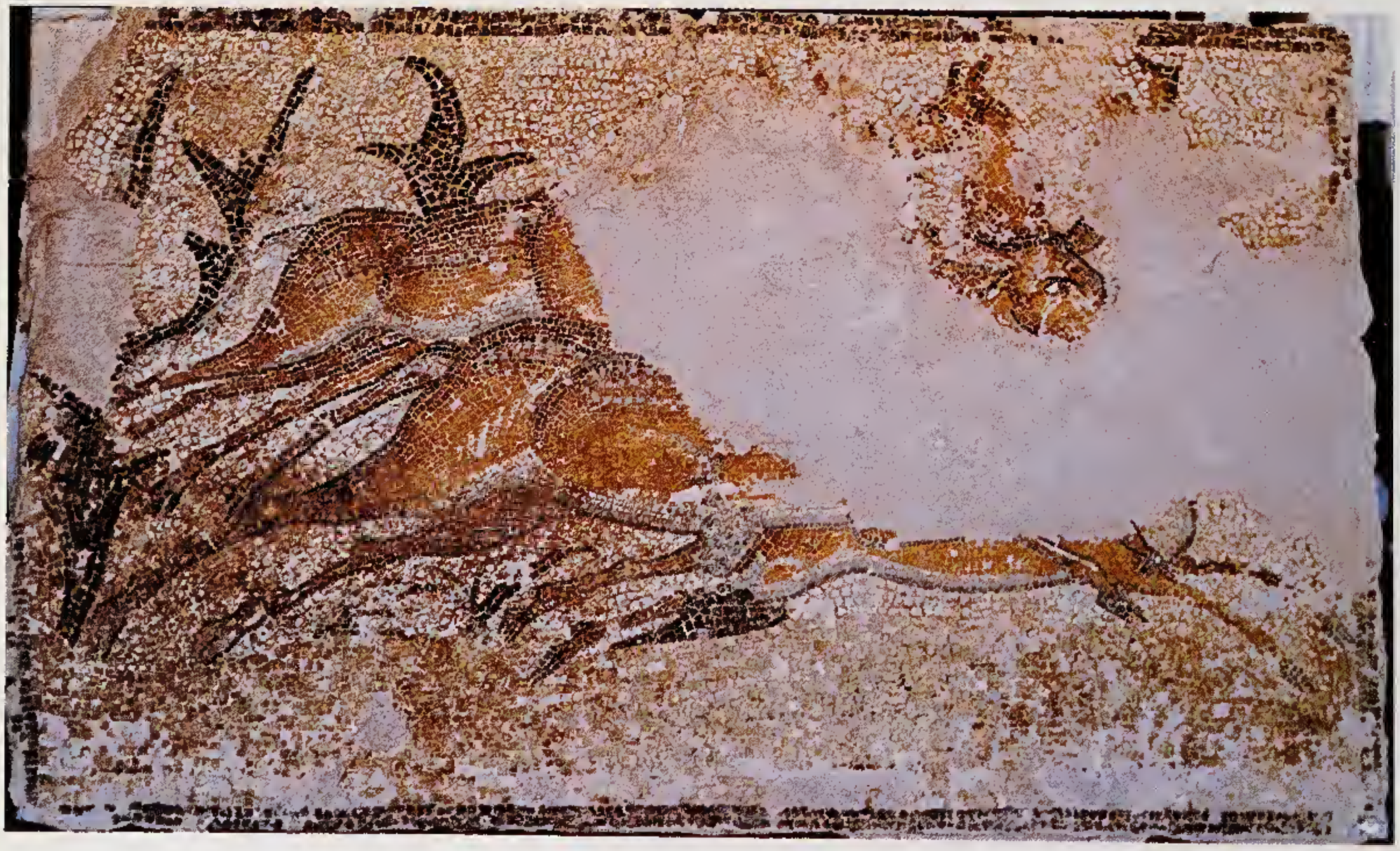
(*a*) Zone III.



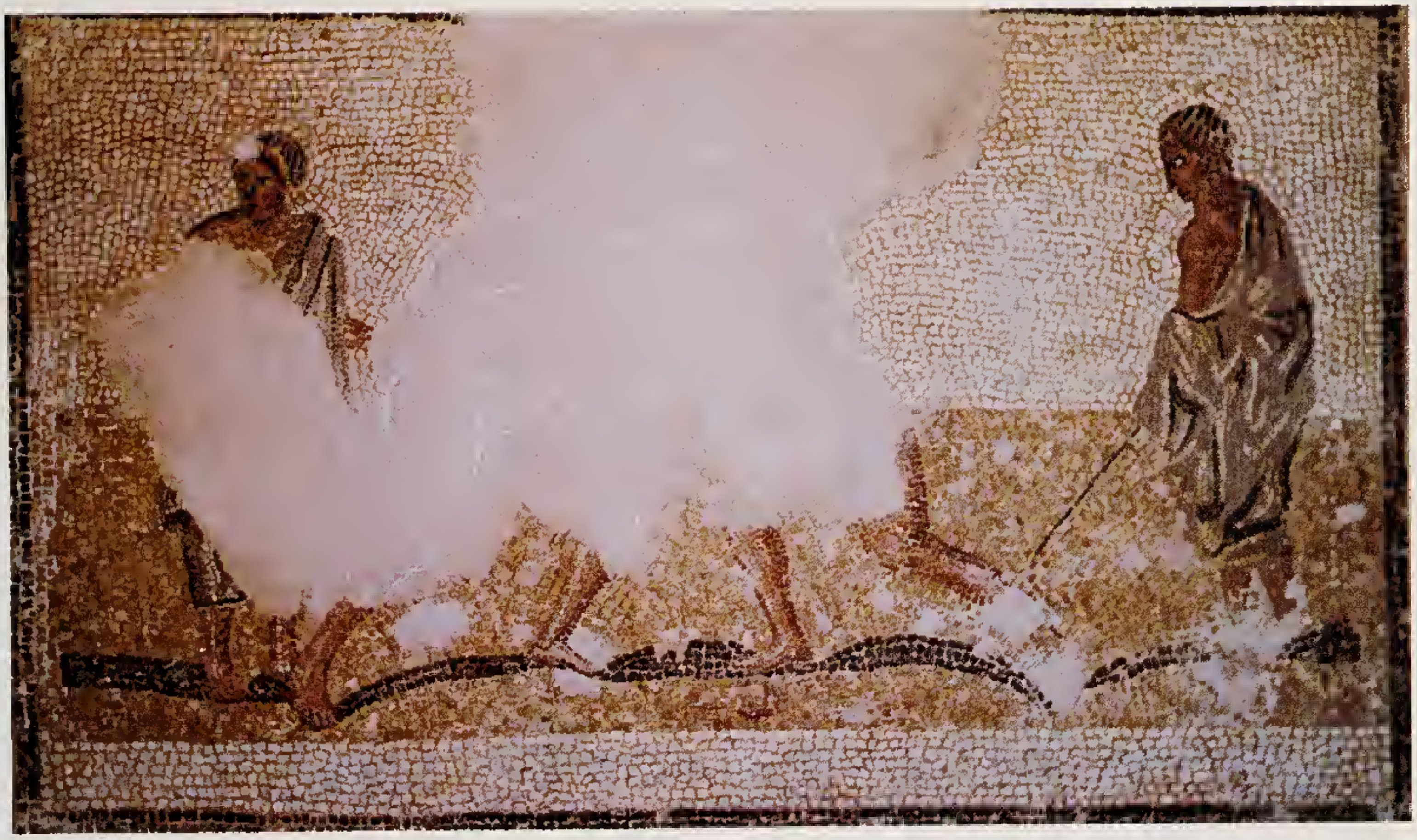
(*b*) Panel 2.



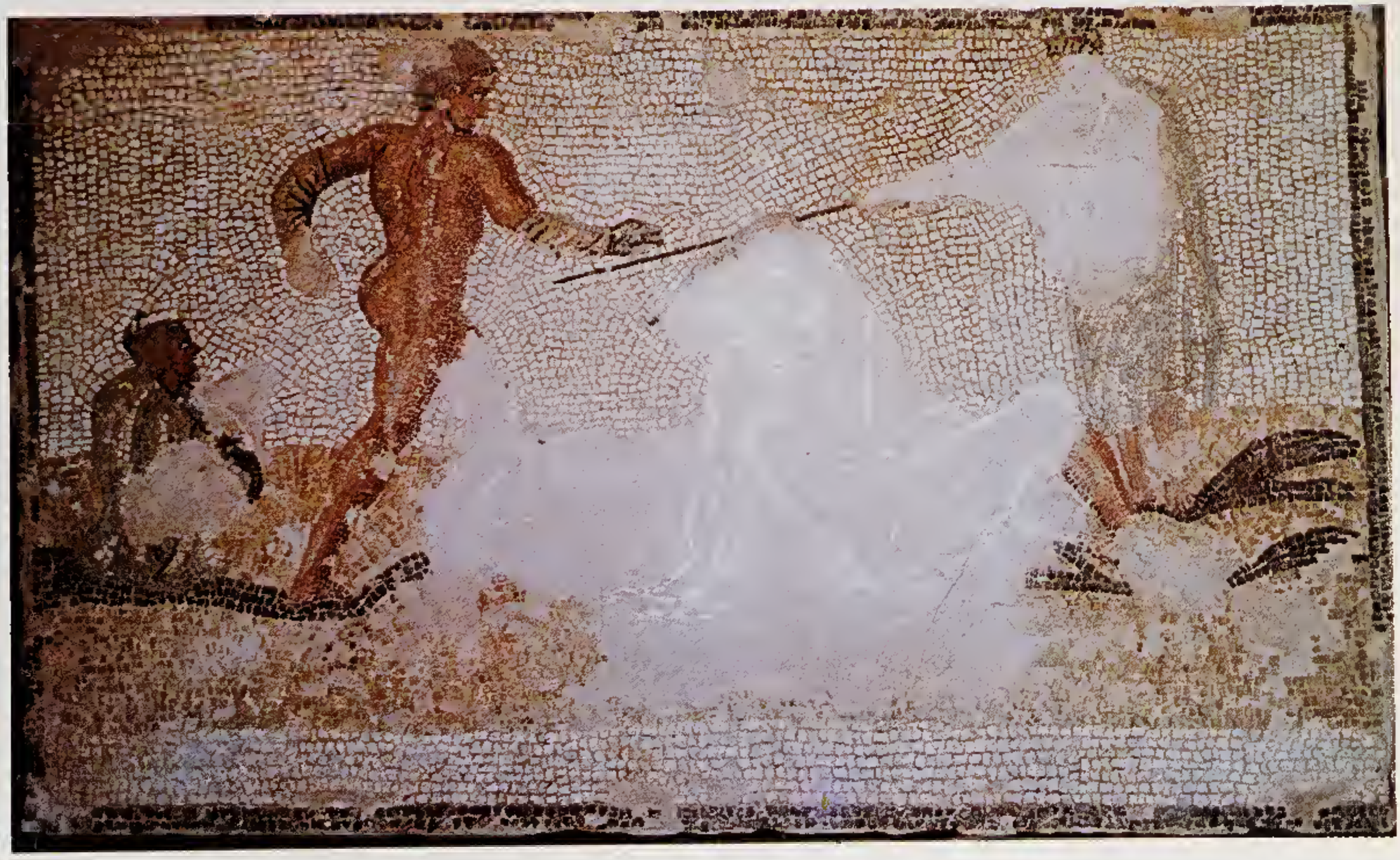
(*a*) Panel 1.



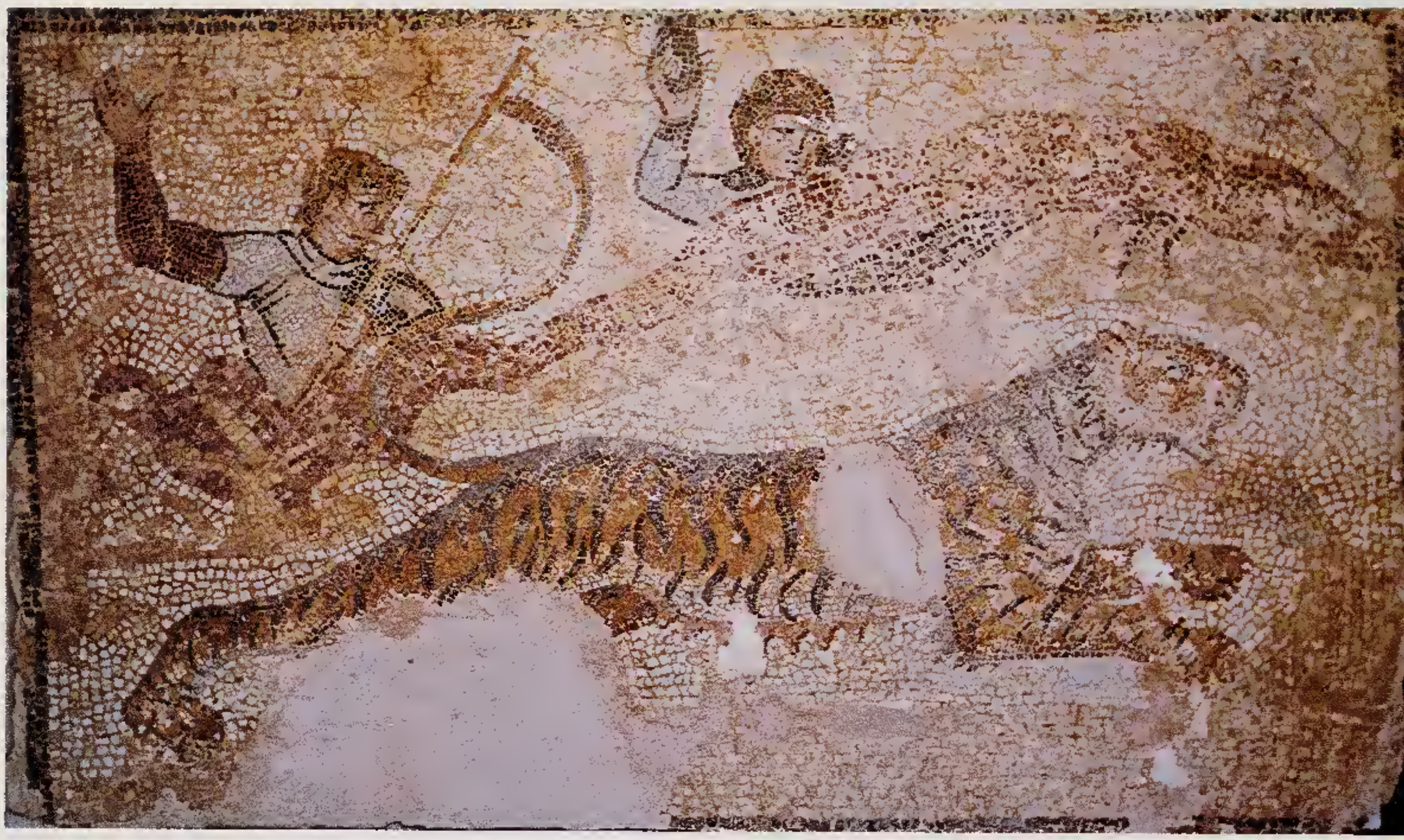
(*b*) Panel 5.



(*a*) Panel 3.



(*b*) Panel 4.



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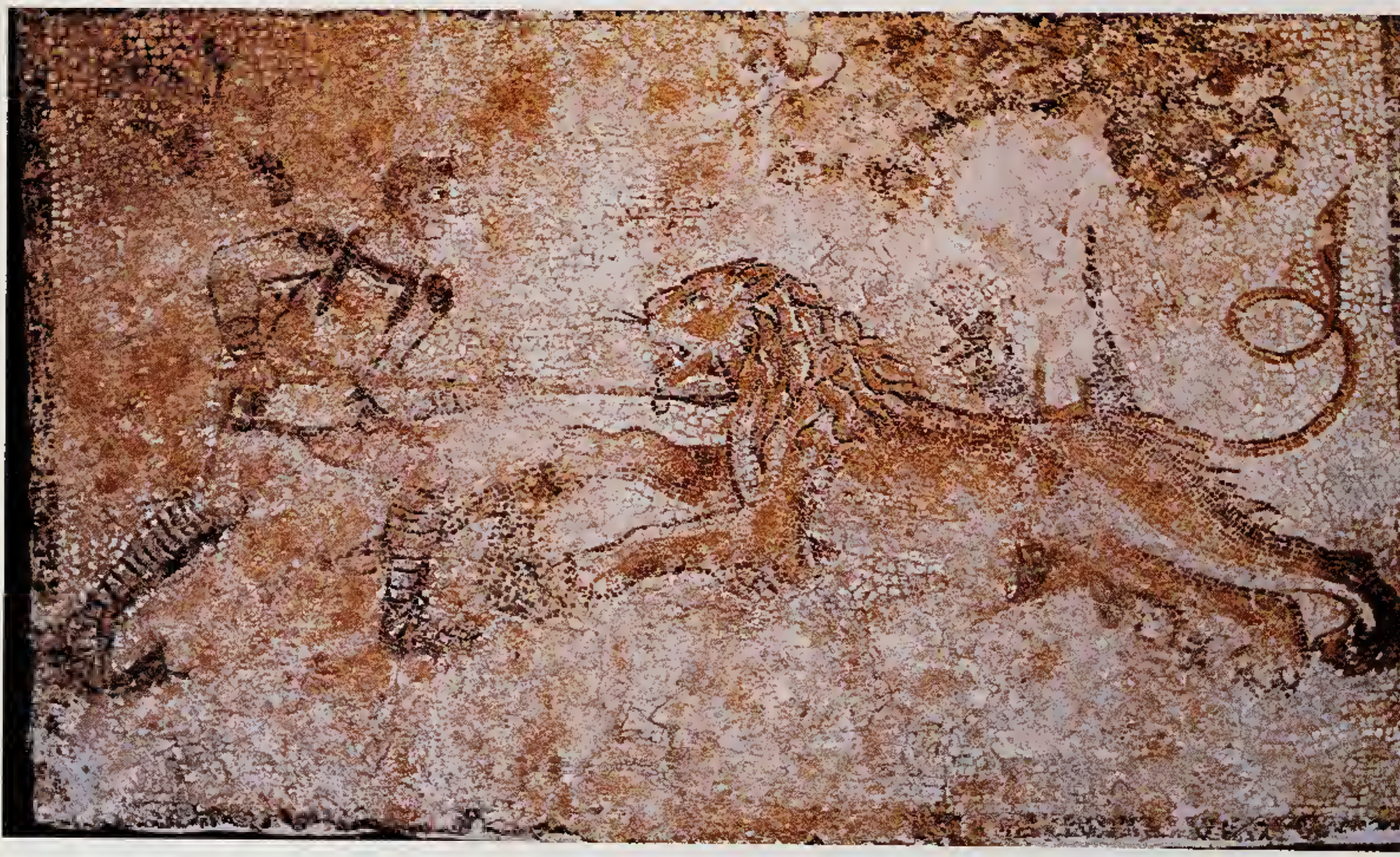
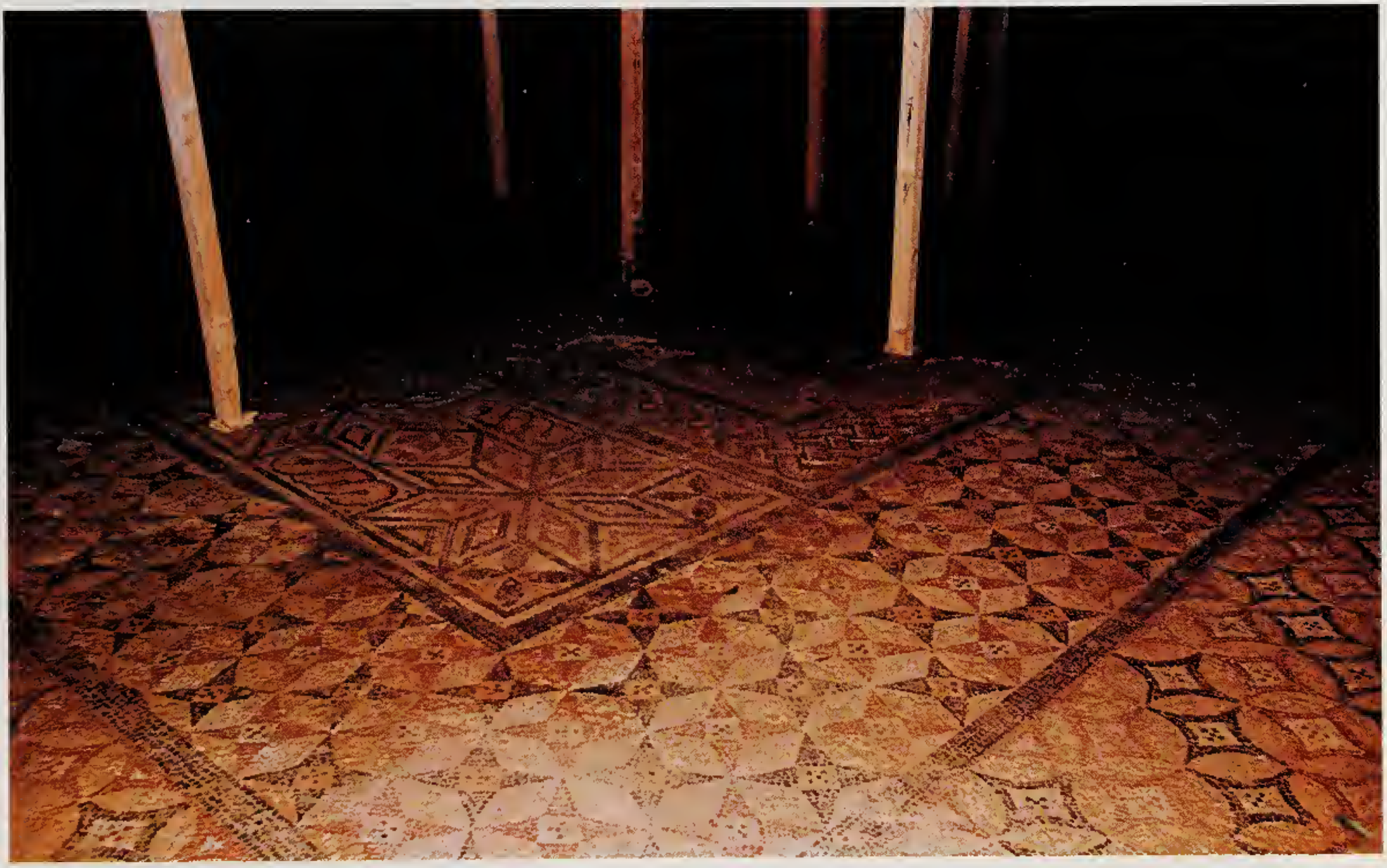
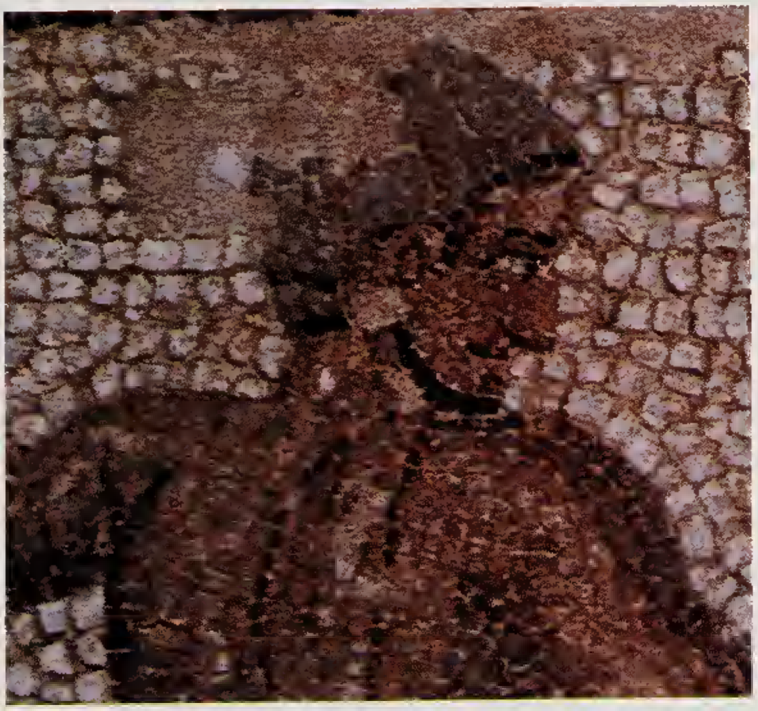


(*b*) Panel 8.

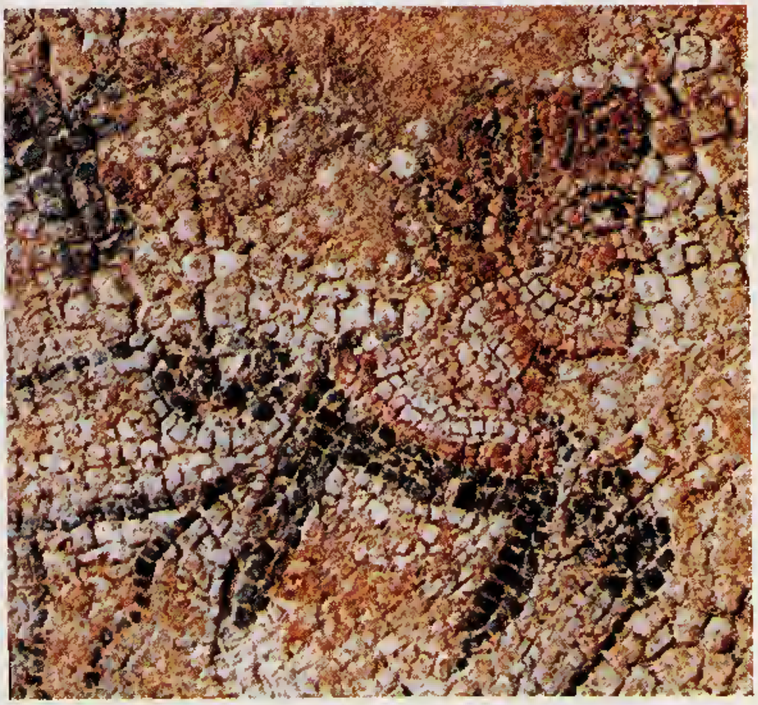
PLATE IX



(*a*) View from the west.

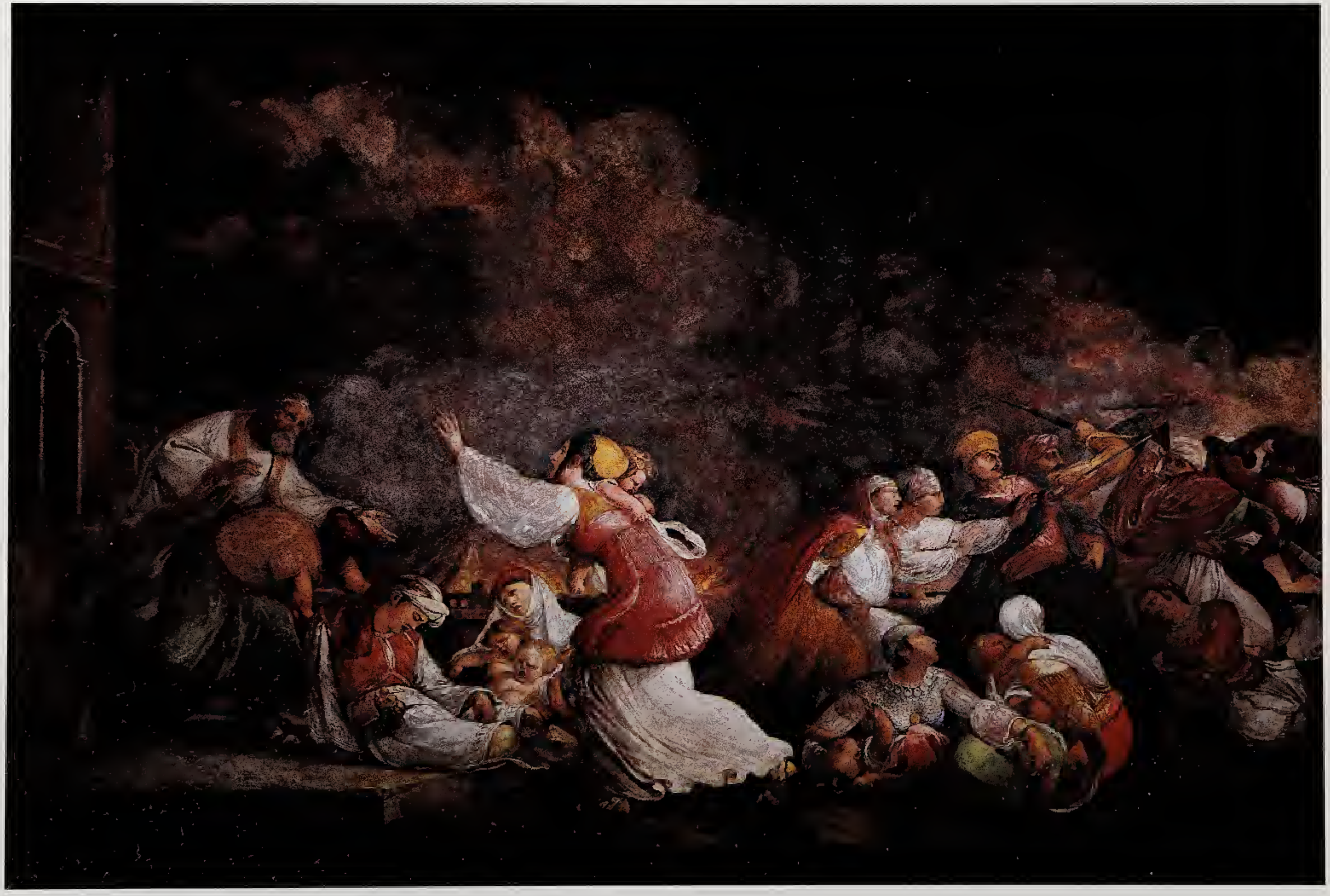


(*b*) Panel 4, detail.



(*c*) Panel 8, detail.

PLATE X



T. Barker. *Massacres at Chios.* Private collection, Bath.

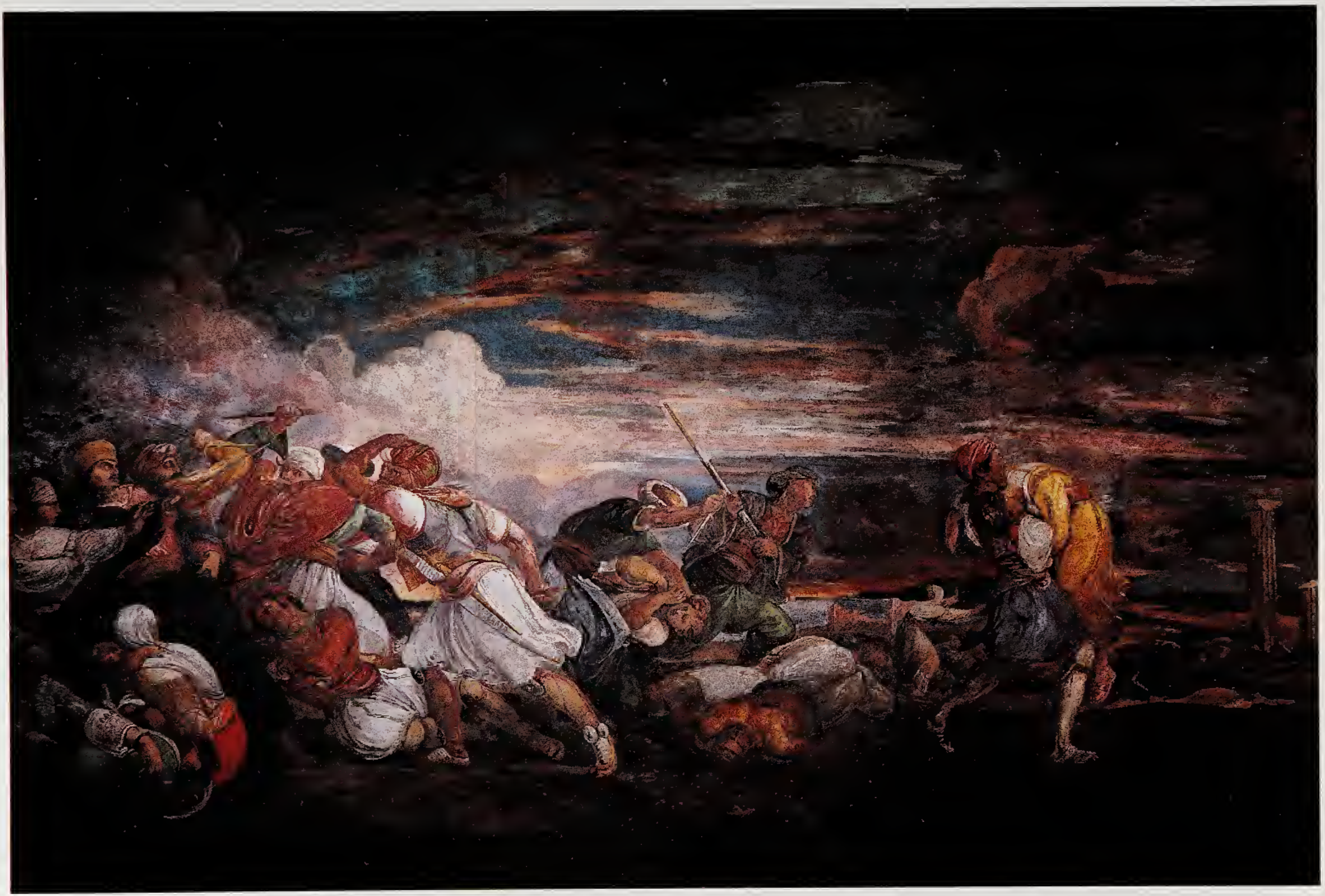
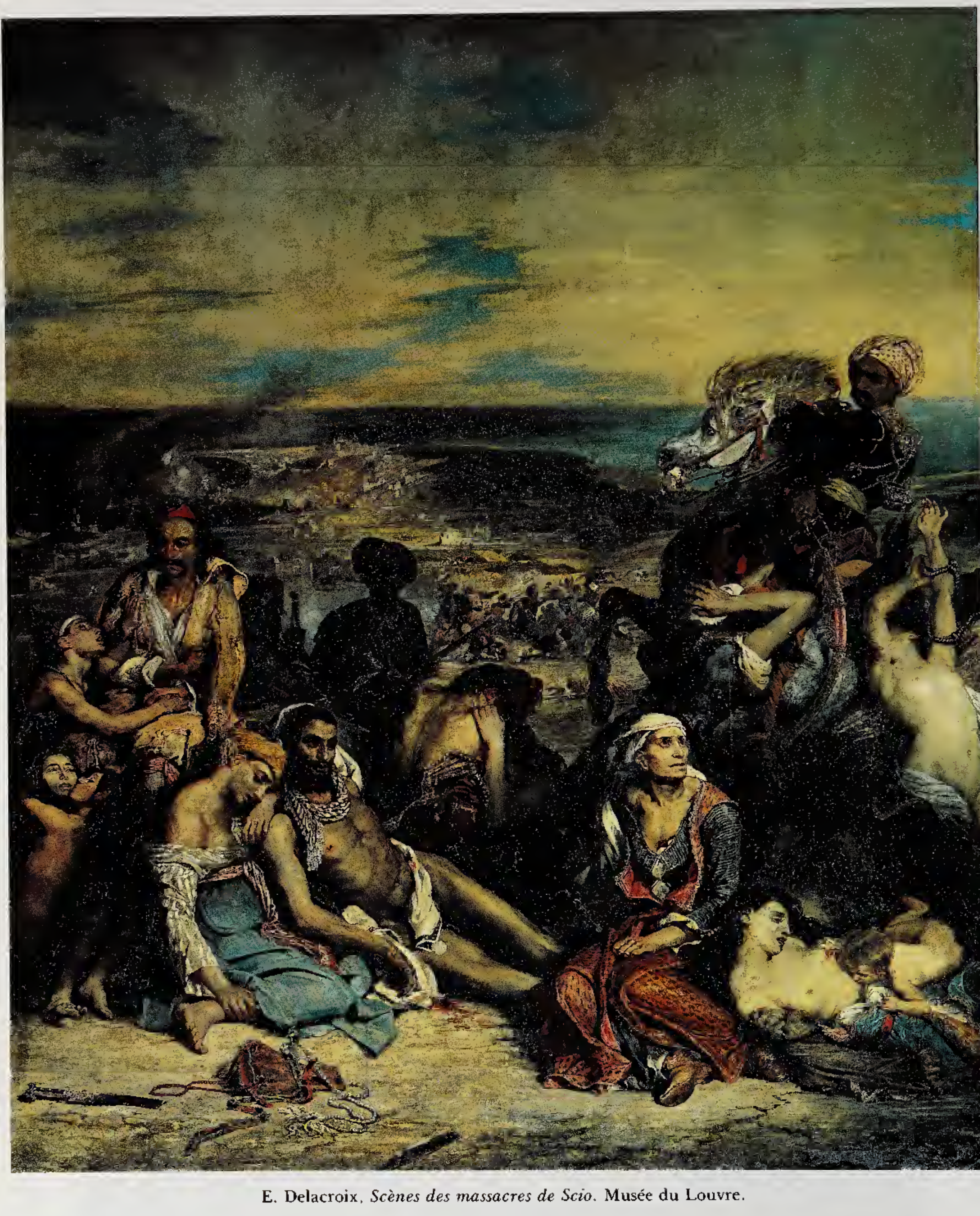


PLATE XI



E. Delacroix, *Scènes des massacres de Scio*. Musée du Louvre.

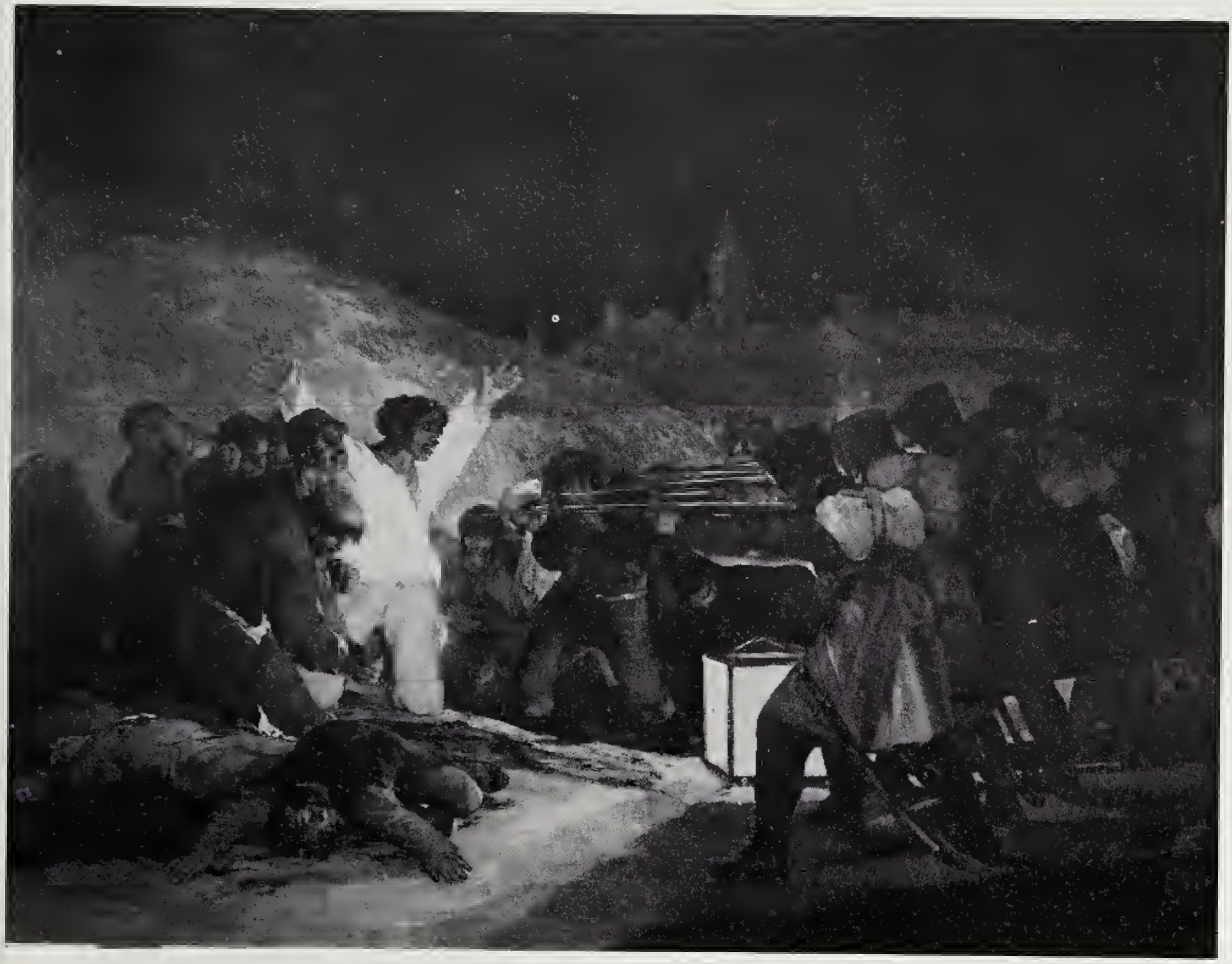


Fig. 2. Goya, *Shootings on the Third of May 1808.* Madrid, Prado Museum.

that it should be acquired for the Palace of Versailles he received no answer, which is perhaps hardly surprising.[4]

In fact, however, steps were already in hand which would solve the problem posed by 'disagreeable', though important, pictures of this kind. In 1818 the King had decreed that the Palais du Luxembourg should in part be converted into a museum destined for the works of living artists, and in April of that year a number of pictures were transferred to it. From the rather fragmentary accounts that are now generally available it is not easy to determine whether the royal government was at this stage thinking in terms of a permanent collection or of a series of representative exhibitions of the best modern pictures: certainly some of those shown in 1818 were on loan.[5] Within a very few years, however, it was apparent that the Luxembourg was to constitute a museum in the accepted sense of the term, and this would therefore allow the royal household to buy

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[4] Lorenz Eitner, *Géricault's Raft of the Medusa* (London 1972) 66–7.

[5] See, for instance, the following catalogues: *Explication des ouvrages de peinture et sculpture, de l'ecole moderne de France, exposés le 24 avril 1818, dans le Musée Royal de Luxembourg* (Paris 1820); C. P. Landon, *Musée Royal du Luxembourg, recrée en 1822, et composé des principales productions des artistes vivants* (Paris 1823); *Notice des peintures, sculptures et dessins de l'école moderne de France exposés dans les galeries du Musée Impérial du Luxembourg* (Paris 1869; preface by Ph. de Chennevières, dated 15 Oct. 1863).

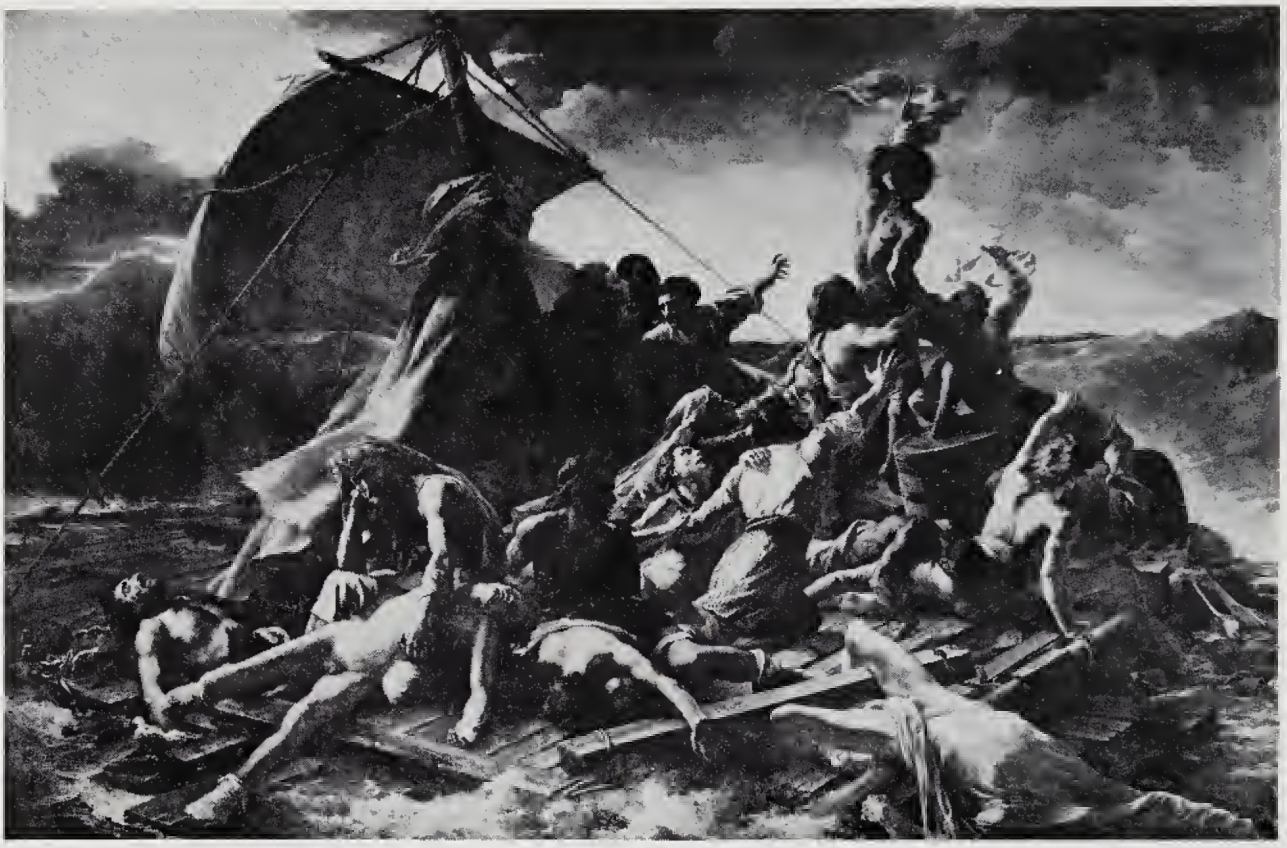

Fig. 3. Géricault, *Le Radeau de la Méduse.* Paris, Louvre Museum.

contemporary art of a kind which was hardly suitable for the decoration of its palaces or of government buildings. It was because of the existence of this museum that in 1823–4 Delacroix felt able to embark on the picture that concerns us here (*Scenes of the Massacres of Chios: Greek Families Waiting for Death or Slavery, etc.*) with some hope that, if it was successful, the government would be able to purchase and exhibit it. This proved to be the case, and Delacroix's painting was probably therefore the first masterpiece to be created with a public museum in mind as its initial, rather than its ultimate, destination. This alone would make it a picture of notable sociological significance. But there is obviously much more to it than that.

The Greek revolt against the Ottoman Empire which broke out in March 1821 quickly attracted a good deal of sympathy in Western Europe, even though governments which had joined forces after 1815 to prevent any revival of revolutionary disturbances were obviously very discomforted by it. We come across poems, lithographs, and even rather sentimental (and generally small-scale) painting as early as 1822.[6] For European liberals it was, of course, an ideal war, which had everything needed to make it popular: West against East, Christians against Muslims, Greeks against Turks, Civilization against Barbarism, and (except for the political embarrassment it caused) it came at an ideal time. Interest in the ancient Greeks had been growing ever since the second half of the eighteenth century: the writings of Winckelmann, the drawings of Athens by Stuart and Revett, and the great series of marbles acquired for London and Munich convinced people that the centre of European civilization had to be shifted decisively east from Rome to Athens. But enthusiasm for ancient Greece was by now almost inseparable from an interest (even though it was by no means always an enthusiastic interest) in modern Greece, and some years before the Greek War of Independence actually broke out, this interest had spread widely through a number of fine travel-books and through the almost accidental fact that two of the most influential men in Europe had been to Greece and had written about it at length—Chateaubriand and Byron.[7] Thus 'modern Greek' subject pictures had been exhibited in London and Paris well before the fighting began.

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[6] For the fullest treatment of this subject see Nina M. Athanassoglou-Souyoudjoglou, 'French images from the Greek War of Independence 1821–1827: Art and Politics under the Restoration' a dissertation presented to the faculty of Princeton University, University Microfilms International, 1980.

Among those fascinated by the notion of exploiting this interest was Eugène Delacroix, who as early as 15 September 1821 wrote to a friend 'I am planning to paint for the next Exhibition a picture whose subject will be taken from the recent wars between the Turks and the Greeks—I think that in the present circumstances this will be a way of drawing attention to myself, as long as it is well enough painted.'[8]

Delacroix was then aged 23, the orphaned and only son of a Napoleonic government official who had married the descendant of a family of cabinet-makers. He had been trained as a painter, but he was completely unknown. He had not yet exhibited anything, but oddly enough he himself had been exhibited—for he had posed for one of the figures in Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa* (the young man who lies face downwards, his left arm thrown forward, next to the group of 'The Father').

Géricault's painting had in fact made an enormous impact on Delacroix, and Géricault himself seems to have been sufficiently impressed by the talent of Delacroix (who was seven years younger than he was) to pass on to him various small commissions—for decorative work and provincial altar-pieces—which he had neither the time nor the inclination to paint himself. But Delacroix was not, or course, satisfied by this and, as we have seen, he was very keen on publicity. It was this that first turned him to the Greek War of Independence, which was then attracting a great deal of attention, but the letter from which I have just quoted hardly suggests that he personally felt emotionally involved in any way: the war was to be used to further his own career. We have no idea of what sort of picture he had in mind, but it was probably intended to be a large one, perhaps on the scale of Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa*, which had caused such a stir two years earlier; and—like the *Raft*—it would probably have remained unsold. In any case Delacroix soon gave up the idea, and turned instead to *The Barque of Dante* (Fig. 4). This picture, so evidently derived from Géricault but also powerfully influenced by Michelangelo and Rubens, produced the effect that Delacroix had hoped for. It was both controversial and successful. It was bought by the government for the new Musée du Luxembourg, and it immediately established Delacroix's reputation as a young painter of significant talent. He now had to think about following up his success in the next Exhibition, which was due to be held in two years' time, and we find him jotting

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[7] René Canat, *L'Hellénisme des romantiques*, I. *La Grèce retrouvée* (Paris 1951).

[8] Eugène Delacroix, *Correspondance Générale*, ed. André Joubin (Paris 1935–8) I. 132. By far the most complete and authoritative account of the *Massacres* is that given in Lee Johnson, *The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix 1816–1831* (Oxford 1981), I. 83–91. I have drawn on this account at every stage of my lecture and have not therefore been able to acknowledge my overwhelming debt to Dr Johnson's researches on each specific occasion that I have made use of them. It can be assumed that, unless otherwise indicated, all factual references to the *Massacres* and related pictures come from this source.

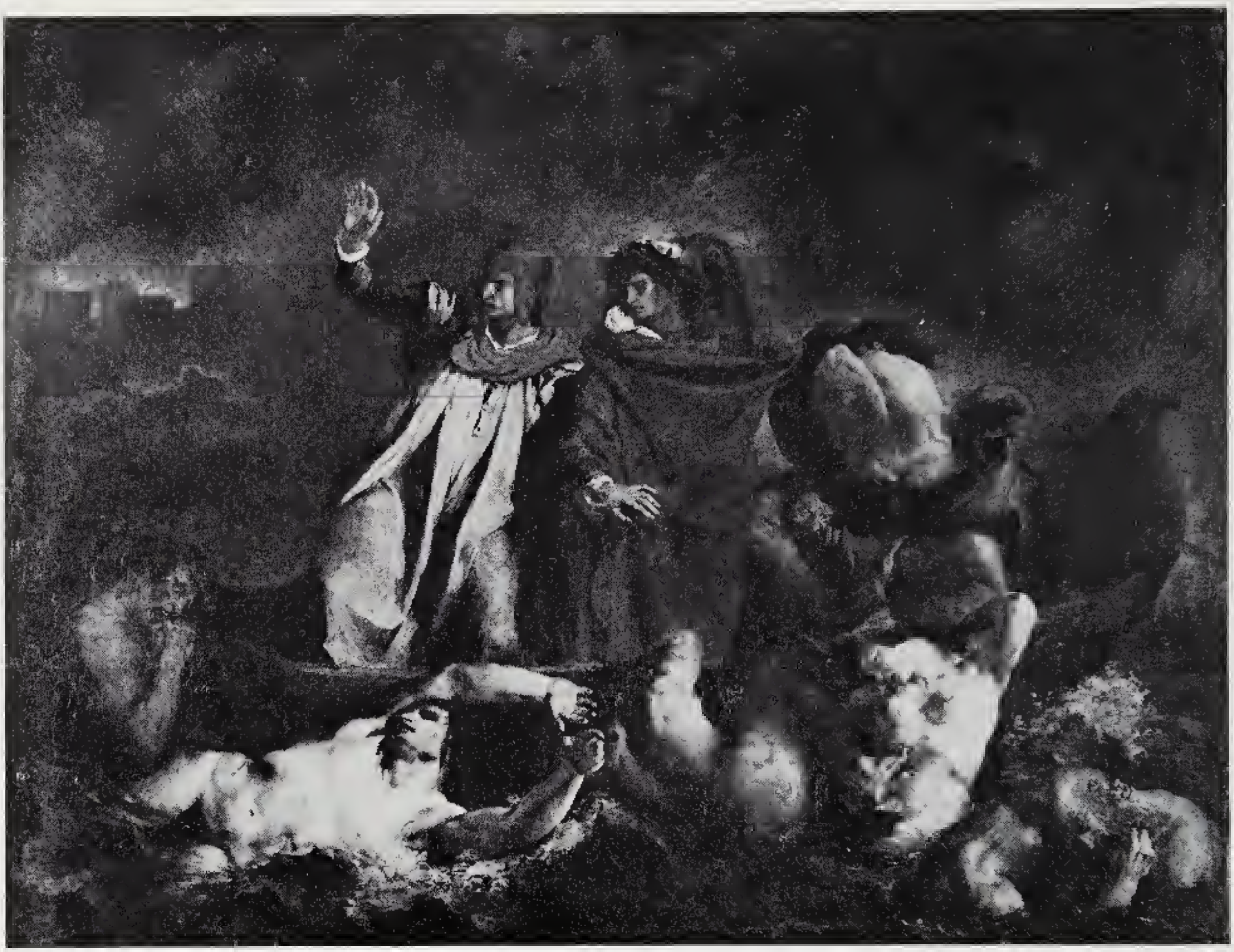

Fig. 4. Delacroix, *La Barque de Dante*. Paris, Louvre Museum.

down in his diary some possible subjects: they are, for the most part, somewhat bloodthirsty, and they show a certain interest in heroes who had been martyred for their liberal ideas: *The Count of Egmont Led Away to be Tortured*, *Algernon Sydney Condemned to Death*, for instance.[9] At no point does he seem to have thought of turning to a contemporary subject. And then, suddenly in May 1823, he noted down: 'I have decided to paint for the Exhibition scenes from the massacres at Chios.'

When Delacroix came to this decision, the massacres were just over a year old. During the month of April 1822 the Turks were reported to have killed some twenty thousand, and to have removed from the island nearly all its remaining seventy thousand inhabitants.[10] And the atrocity was made the more poignant and horrible through its being entirely unprovoked. Far from being involved in any way in the general Greek uprising against the Turks, the prosperous inhabitants of Chios were entirely satisfied with their lot. As has happened in other wars since then, it was the personal (or patriotic) ambitions of a 'resistance leader' from a different area—the island of Samos—who by hoping (unsuccessfully, as it turned out) to win over to the cause of the insurgents the inhabitants of Chios in fact led to their wholesale annihilation. The story was a horrible one of cruelty and vindictiveness, unredeemed by heroism or resistance. It was, in other words, not the sort of theme out of which great art is made.

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[9] Delacroix, *Journal* (introduction et notes par André Joubin), 3 vols. (Paris 1932) I 15 (5 October 1822).

[10] The most vivid account of the massacres is to be found in the summary of the diary (1821–8) of Antonio Pasqua, Vice-Consul of the Netherlands in Chios, sent monthly to the Netherlands Minister to the Sublime Porte, Gaspar Testa—Algemeen Rijksarchief's-Gravenhage, Legatie Turkije, N. 104, of which there is a manuscript copy in the Argenti collection in the Koraes Library in Chios.

The massacres were extensively publicized in the French press in 1822, and lithographs of them were published; but in the middle of 1823 the attention of Europe (but not of Delacroix) switched from Greece to Spain, where France had intervened militarily to help the king suppress a liberal revolt. It is rather curious that Delacroix should have chosen just this moment to paint scenes from the Chios massacres: the news was already a little stale and would be still more so by the time the picture itself would be exhibited in the following year. Perhaps Delacroix himself realized this, for he seems to have hesitated. We hear nothing more about the proposed picture for another six months, but when he took up the theme in November 1823 Greece was once again in the forefront of the European imagination because Byron had arrived there two months earlier, and during the next few months the publication of a number of books, some of them by eye-witnesses, once more recalled the massacre. One of these books was written by Olivier Voutier, a Frenchman who had volunteered to fight for the Greek insurgent troops four years after he had, on the island of Melos, been the first man to discover a statue of Aphrodite, which had been acquired by the French and which (as the *Vénus de Milo*) quickly took its place as one of the most famous antiquities in the world. Voutier thus incarnates, perhaps more than any other single individual, that passion for both ancient and modern Greece which was so influential in the Europe of his day.[11]

On 12 January 1824 Delacroix arranged to meet Voutier for lunch. He was much impressed by 'this handsome man, who looks like a Greek—his features are marked by smallpox and he has small but lively eyes and is full of energy.' Voutier told him many stories about the war, and—fired by enthusiasm—Delacroix at once returned to his studio to begin work on his picture. There he found a model who had come to pose for him, 'and unfortunately she used up part of my energy', as he wrote with coy bravado, but he nonetheless began to make drawings from the life for the picture that afternoon, having previously worked out the preliminary design.[12]

Delacroix was embarking on something quite new in art. We have already seen that there were no real precedents for the large-scale painting of contemporary brutalities, though of course such scenes had often been recorded in small etchings and engravings, most notably by Jacques Callot, whose elegantly incisive records of the Thirty Years' War (Figs. 5, 6) Delacroix could have known, and above all by Goya, whose terrible indictment of the savagery arising out of Napoleon's recent invasion of Spain Delacroix could never have seen, for these lithographs (Figs. 7, 8) were not published until nearly half a century later. In paintings the main precedents for scenes of the kind that Delacroix was aiming to depict were Massacres of the Innocents, and in one or two such cases an artist seems to have taken his inspiration from the horrors of a contemporary event, though the most vivid of these—by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (Fig. 9)—would not have been known to Delacroix.

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[11] *Mémoires du colonel Voutier sur la guerre actuelle des Grecs* (Paris 1823), and Jean-Paul Alaux, *La Vénus de Milo et Olivier Voutier* (Paris 1939).

[12] Delacroix, *Journal* (see n. 9), I 43–4 (12 Jan. 1824).

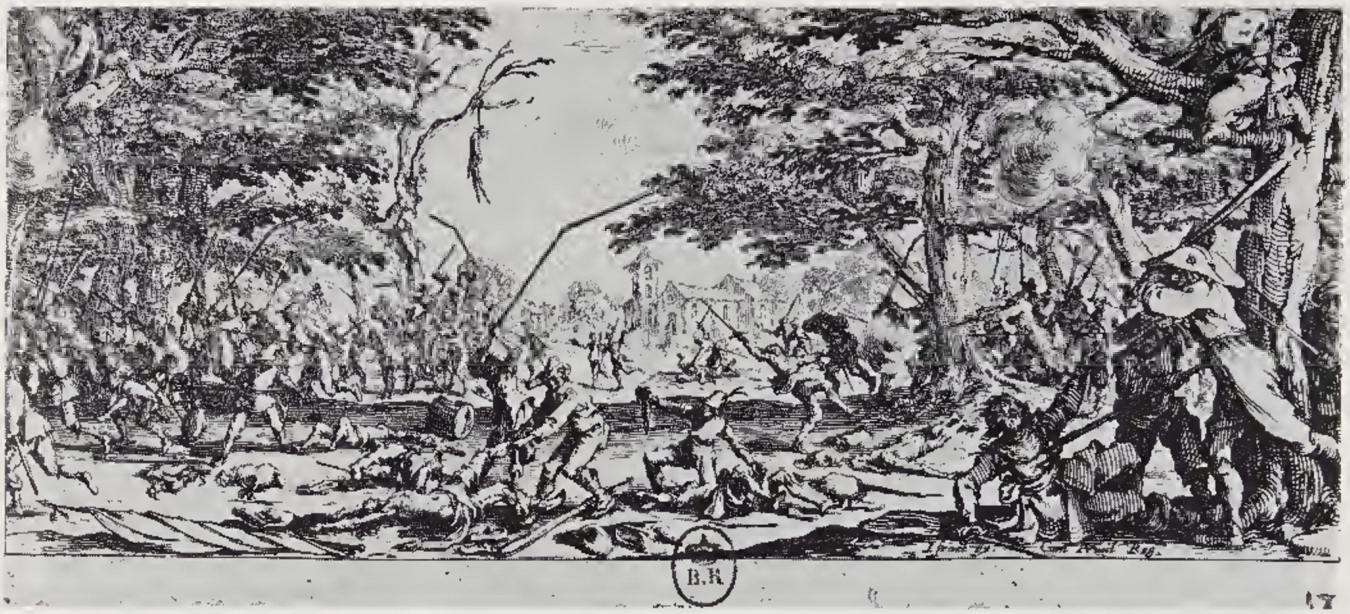

Fig. 5. Callot, *Les Grandes misères de la guerre: La pendaison.* Paris, Bibl. Nat. (Lieure 1349) C47503.

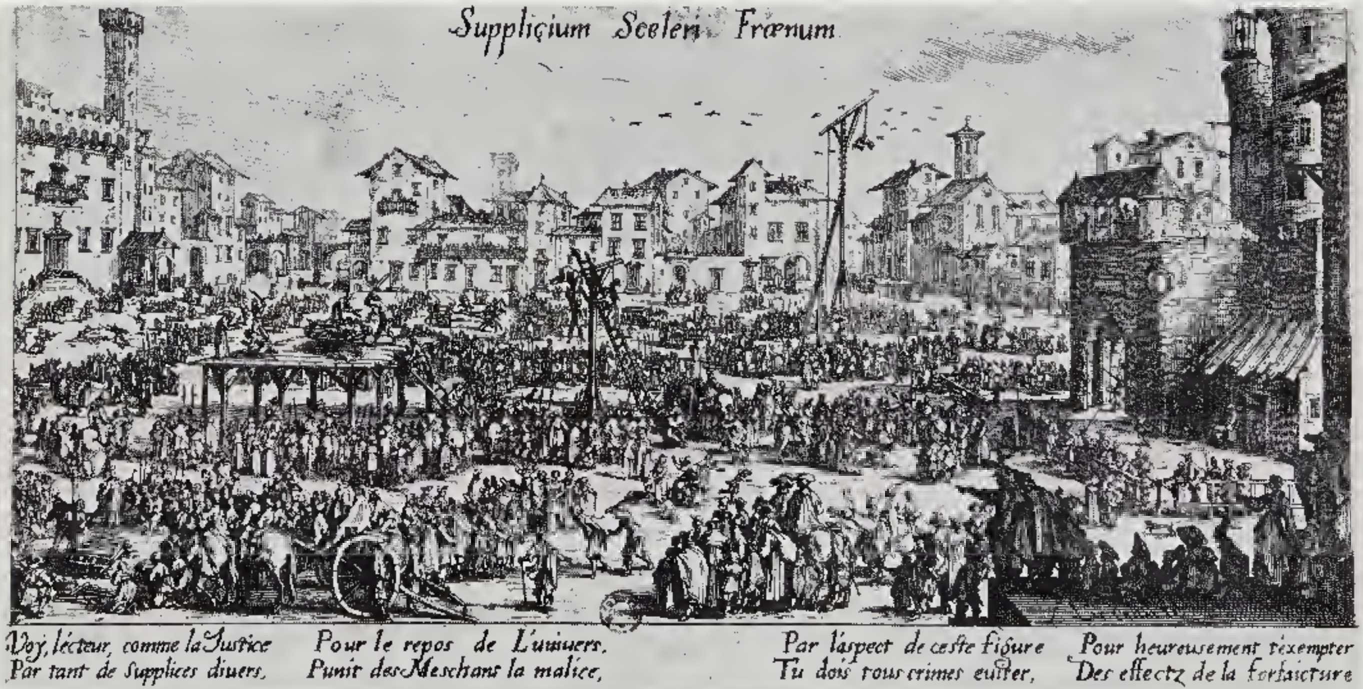
Supplicium Sceleri Frænum
Voy, lécteur, comme la Justice
Par tant de Supplices diuers,
Pour le repos de L'uniuers,
Punit des Meschans la malice,
Par l'aspect de ceste figure
Tu dois tous crimes euiter,
Pour heureusement t'exempter
Des effectz de la forfaicture

Fig. 6. Callot, *Les Supplices.* Paris, Bibl. Nat. (Lieure 1402) C7456.

Delacroix's preliminary watercolour (Fig. 10), which is very close to the finished picture, is perhaps most remarkable because is shows almost no massacres. Except for a hint of violence in the background everything is still, almost peaceful, like the mournful silence that falls over a deserted battlefield—the only bright note of colour comes from the sentinel in red behind the prisoners. The figures are shown dying, rather than dead or actually being killed, but we know that further horrors are on the way because the

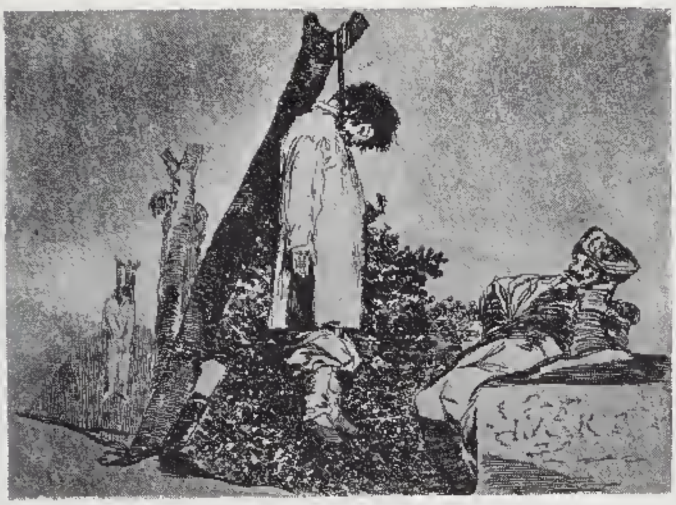

Fig. 7. Goya, *The Disasters of War: Not in this case either.*

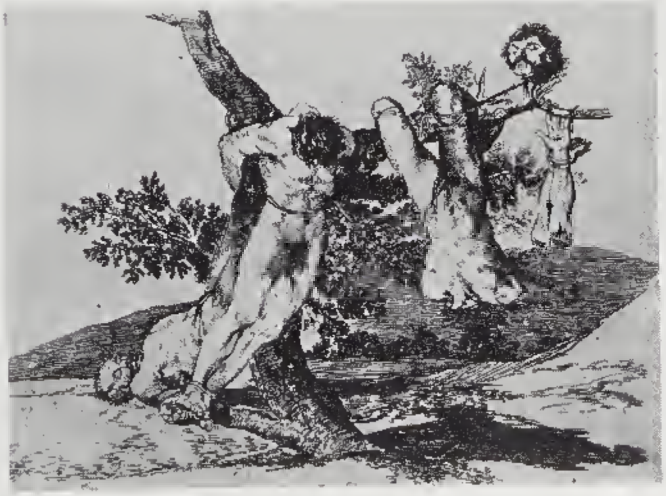

Fig. 8. Goya, *The Disasters of War: A heroic feat! With dead men!*

Turkish horseman is about to remove to slavery the naked Greek girl whom he has attached to his horse: she is another nude, incidentally, who engaged his energies while she posed for him—although, in this case, 'she did not slow down my ardour: one must be young to be able to do all that'.[13] Delacroix made a number of drawings for this figure and also for the Turk who drags her away (Figs. 11, 12), and we can follow the development of his picture in extremely close detail during the five months that it took him to complete it, thanks to the many references to its progress in his diary and to the survival of a large number of drawings, oil sketches, and related paintings.

Sometimes these were changed in a surprising way in the completed picture. Thus perhaps even before beginning the *Massacres* he had painted the figure of a young beggar-woman and presumably in order to turn this into an exhibitable picture he had added rather a summary background so that it later became known as *A Young Orphan in*

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[13] Ibid. I 46 (24 Jan. 1824).

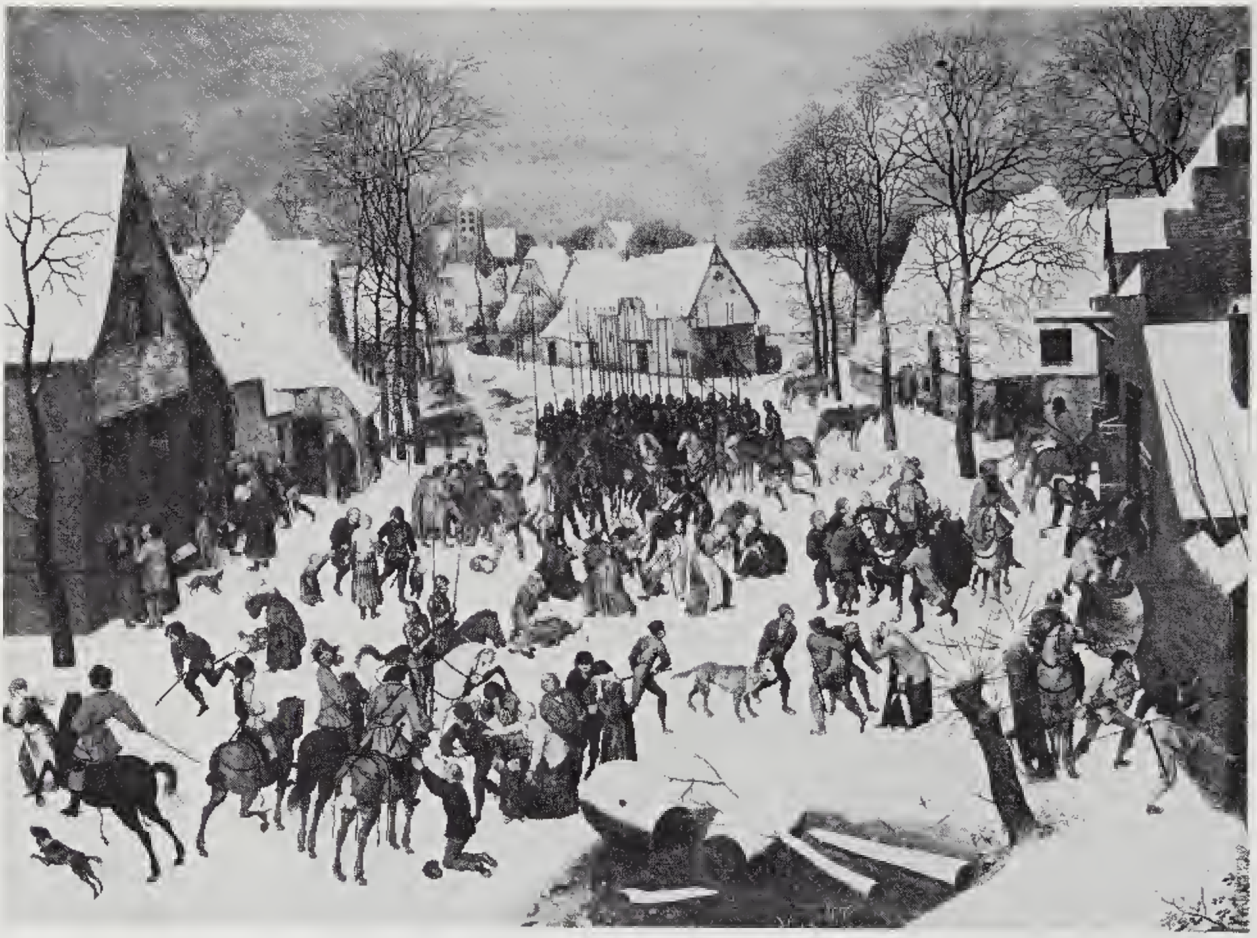

Fig. 9. Bruegel, *Massacre of the Innocents*. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

a Cemetery (Fig. 13). Then, seeing further possibilities in her strongly expressive pose he had made use of her—as he himself tells us—for the figure of the Greek youth on the extreme left of the *Massacres*. He also made a number of important modifications to his original water-colour sketch. The isolated sentinel with his back to us was replaced by a far more convincing young soldier, and the figures in the right foreground were drastically modified. He himself was particularly pleased with the old woman, for whom he painted a separate study (Fig. 14)—partly, it would appear, just because she was so much more reticent than the excessively emotional young beggar-woman: 'she does not possess a large open mouth, and there is no exaggeration in the eyes,' he commented, singling out exactly those features which were so conspicuous in the earlier study. 'How it would have appealed to poor Géricault,' he added; for Géricault had died just a few days after Delacroix had begun work on his picture. When he heard the news, he wrote in his diary: 'Poor Géricault! I shall often think of you. I imagine that your spirit will sometimes come to hover round my work'.[14] In this Delacroix was absolutely right. Géricault had himself planned to paint a scene from the Greek war,[15] and furthermore

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[14] Ibid. I 50, 101 (27 Jan. and 12 May 1824).

[15] Lorenz E. A. Eitner, *Géricault—His Life and Work* (London 1983) 274.

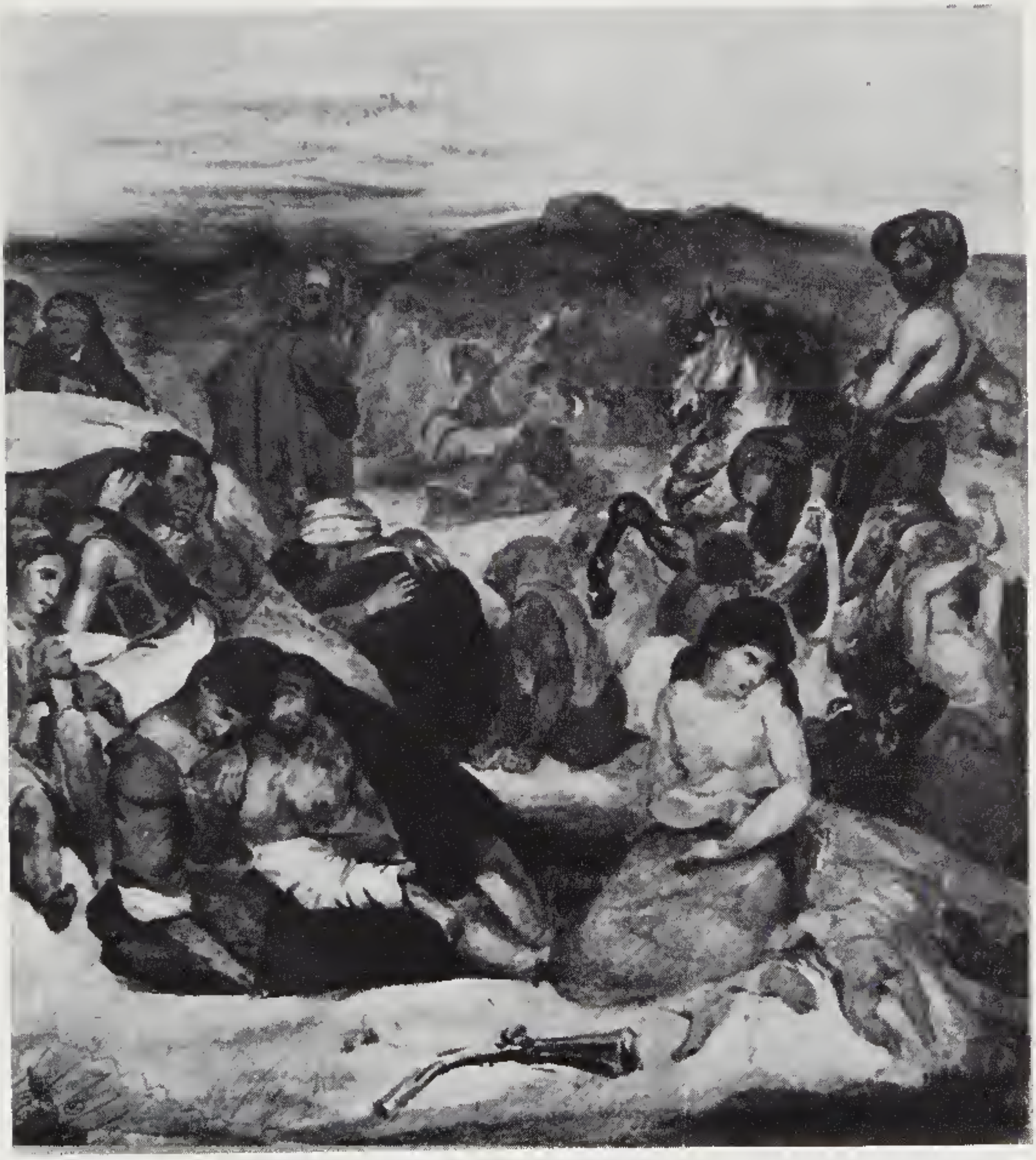

Fig. 10. Delacroix, *Étude pour les massacres de Scio* (water-colour). Paris, Louvre Museum RF 3717.

the *Massacres of Chios* was profoundly influenced not only by the *Raft of the Medusa*, but (as we will see) by other works of Géricault as well.

The most important change that Delacroix made to his composition was the addition of the young infant pathetically trying to suckle at the breasts of its dead mother: these figures (to which I shall have to return) correspond closely to the following passage that Delacroix had read in Voutier's book, 'A witness to the disasters of Chios told me that nothing produced a more painful impression on him than seeing the corpse of a young woman whose withered breasts were being greedily seized by the hands of a little child.'

It is not too difficult to find sources in other paintings and in Delacroix's drawings from models for most of the figures in the *Massacres*; but it is perhaps more interesting to

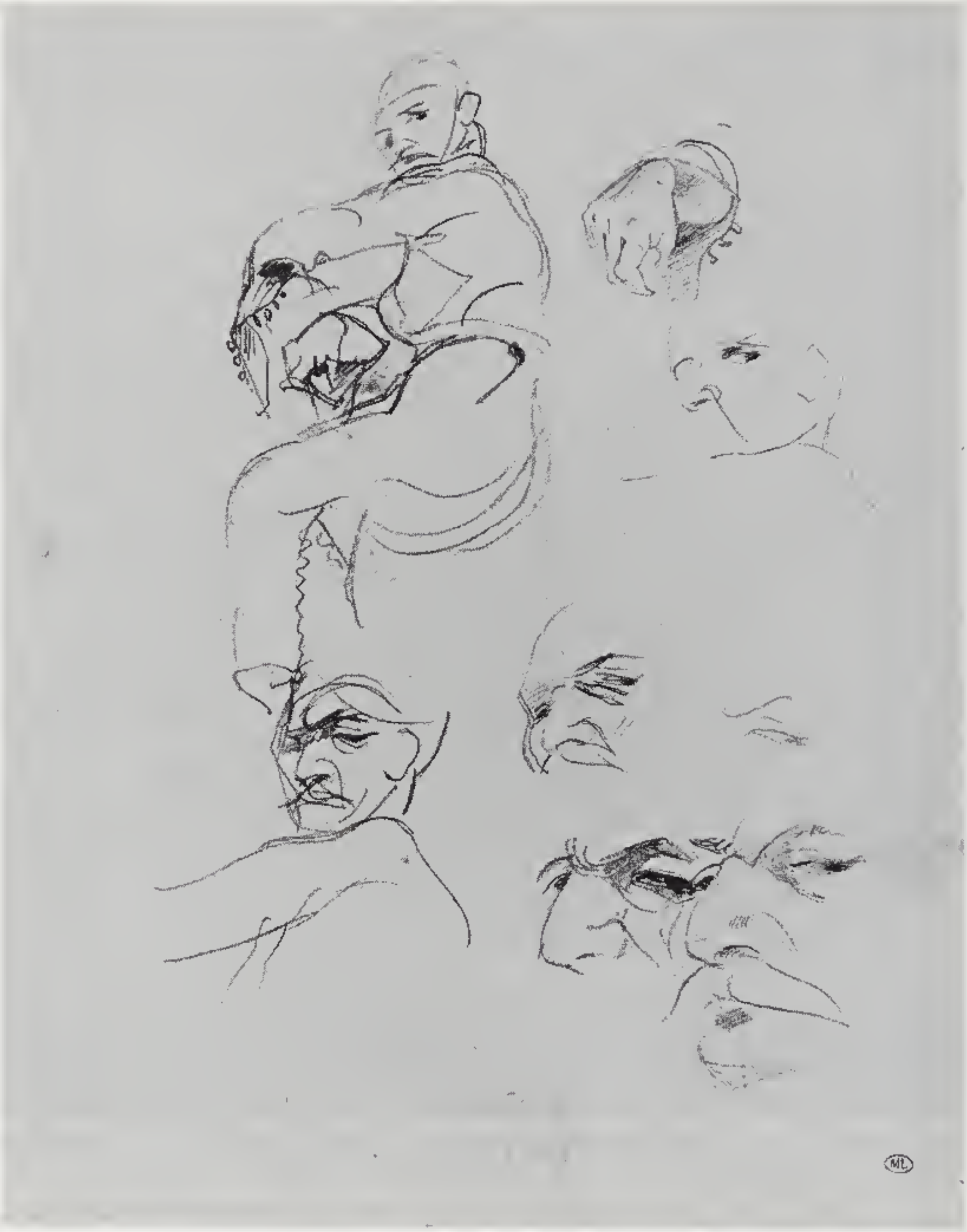

Fig. 11. Delacroix, *Feuille d'études pour les massacres de Scio* (drawing). Paris, Louvre Museum RF 9207.

consider one of the most serious problems that faced him when he began work on the picture.

Delacroix had probably only seen (or, at least, known) one Greek or Turk in his life at this time. This was Mustapha, a shipwrecked Turkish sailor, whom Géricault had met by chance in the streets of Paris and who had for a short time been employed by him as a servant. Though Mustapha was later dismissed, he remained devoted to Géricault, and

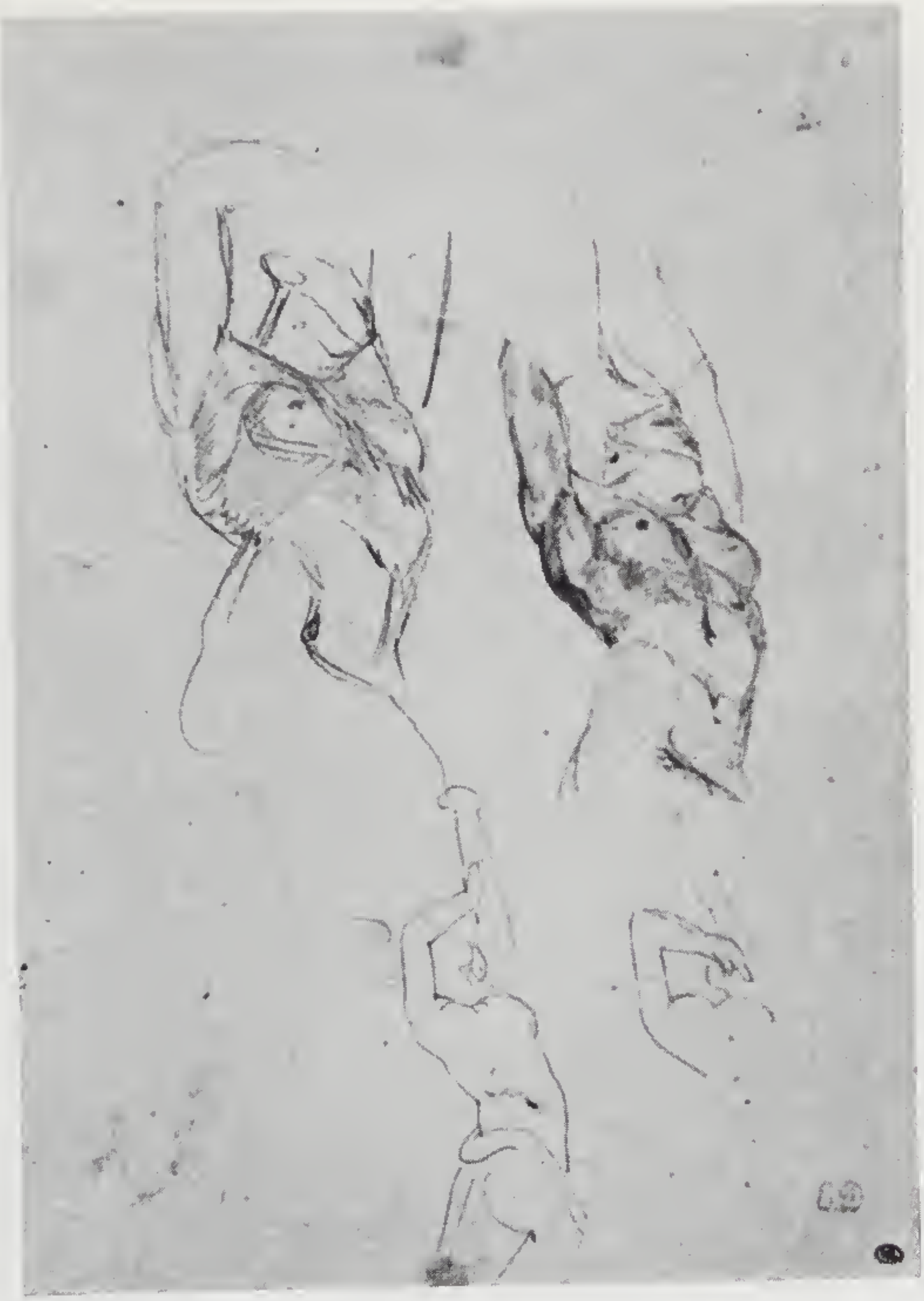

Fig. 12. Delacroix, *Etudes pour les massacres de Scio* (drawing). Paris, Louvre Museum RF 9212.

he was (along with Delacroix) among those who attended Géricault's funeral service.[16] It seems possible that Mustapha's features (Fig. 15) helped to determine those of the violent Turk on horseback who is dragging away the naked Greek girl into slavery.

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[16] Ibid. 265, 279; but Eitner make it clear that we cannot be certain that the portraits he reproduces are of Mustapha.

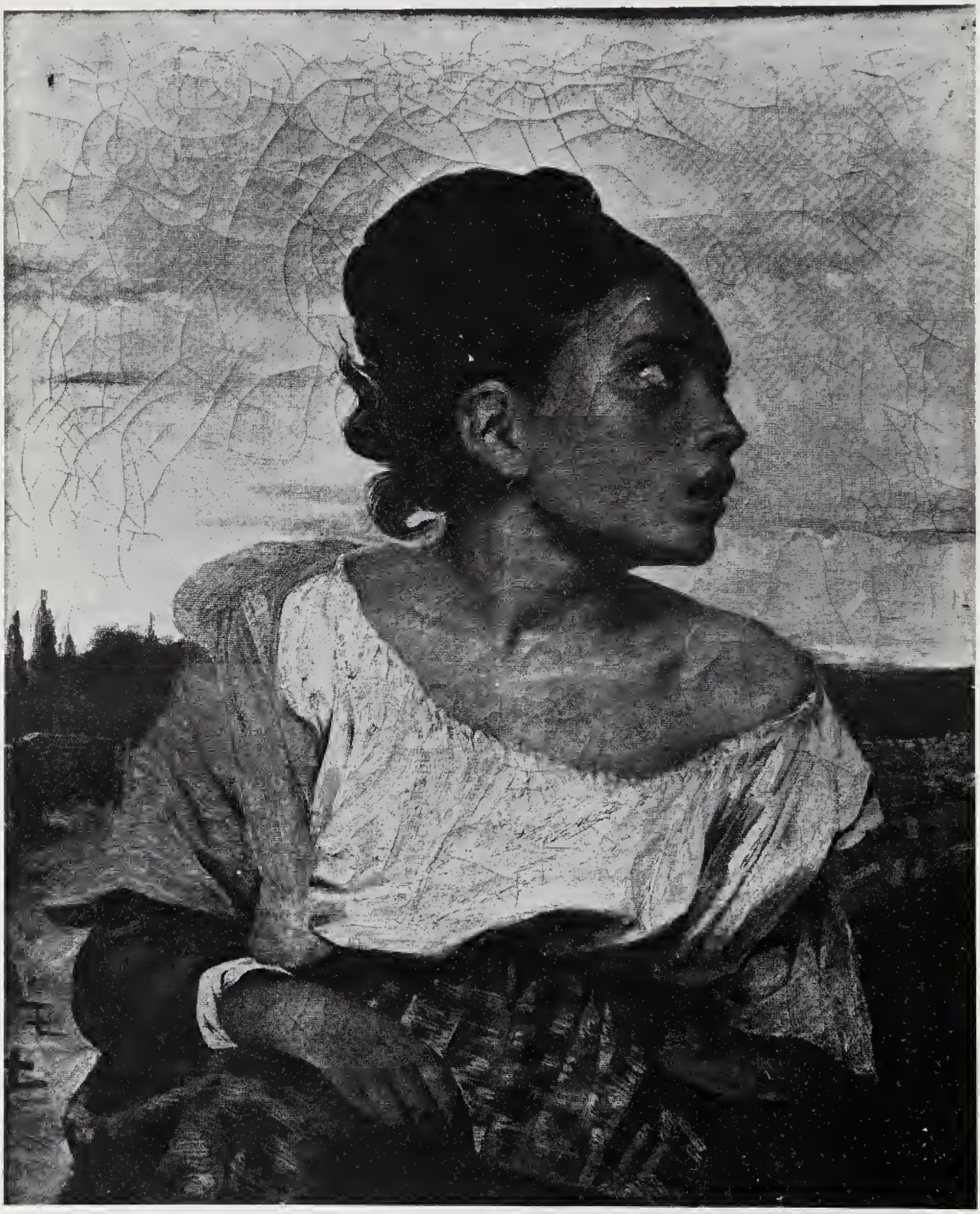

Fig. 13. Delacroix, *Orpheline au cimitière*. Paris, Louvre Museum.

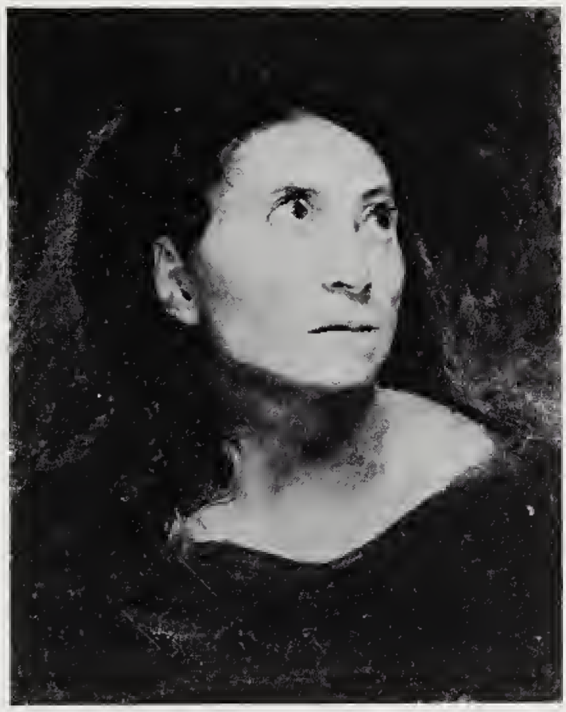

Fig. 14. Delacroix, *Tête de vieille femme*. Private Collection.

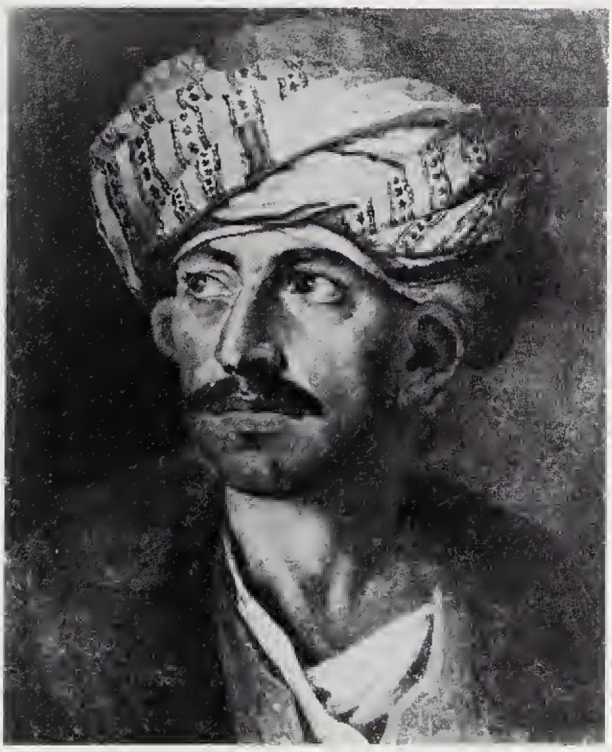

Fig. 15. Delacroix, *Tête d'Oriental*. Besançon, Musée.

This may be fanciful, but we do know that Delacroix found it difficult to portray the physical appearance and costumes of the Greeks and Turks shown in his picture and that he had to rely largely on souvenirs which had been collected by friends of his (most notably the talented amateur painter M. Auguste) and illustrations published in travel-books. Thanks to the researches of Dr Athanassoglou-Kallmyer we can now track down some of these sources. The most interesting is the drawing that was reproduced in the form of a line engraving as the title-page to Voutier's account of the war (Fig. 16) and then as a colour lithograph (Fig. 17) in Louis Dupré's *Voyage à Athènes et à Constantinople, ou collection de portraits, du vues et de costumes grecs*, published in 1825.[17] Dupré makes it clear that this figure had no connection whatever with Chios or the massacre there. It represents, in fact, someone called Nicolo Pervoli, a Suliot living on the island of Corfu. The Suliots were a tribe of Christian Albanians, much admired by Byron, many of whom had taken refuge in the Ionian islands after being defeated by Ali Pasha; but Delacroix used Nicolo Pervoli for the Chiot seated at the back left of his picture.

The *Massacres* was exhibited at the Salon which opened in Paris at the end of August 1824, four months after Byron's death at Missolonghi, and it caused a great sensation. Delacroix, who three years earlier had hoped to draw attention to himself with a scene from the Greek War of Independence, had certainly achieved his ambition: indeed, it was he, more than the unfortunate inhabitants of Chios, who attracted most of the excitement (and who has done ever since), and this suggests that he had acted with great intelligence in embarking on the picture well after the massacres themselves, but at a time when the events that had given rise to them were still fresh in everyone's minds. The reason why the picture proved to be of such overriding importance was that its break with conventional drawing and composition confirmed to a somewhat bored public the existence of a new school of French painting which was at once called Romantic and which attracted to it a great many talented young artists. Hanging in the same exhibition, though only arriving some time after the opening, was Ingres's *Vow of Louis XIII* (Fig. 18), and this made it seem that French painting was divided into two great rival and opposing schools, and that critics, the public, and artists would be forced to choose between them. Many critics in fact attacked Delacroix's colours as hideous and his figures as badly drawn, and it was considered ironical that he should treat the Greeks, of all people, who had always been considered as exemplars of ideal beauty, in so incorrect and slapdash a spirit.[18] There is indeed some evidence that Delacroix went out of his way to break with the artificial smoothness popular with French artists at the time by turning for inspiration to paintings by Constable which were causing something of a stir. But (despite the propaganda of the artist's admirers, who later claimed that he had always been misunderstood), far from being persecuted Delacroix was extravagantly praised by many visitors to the Exhibition and was awarded a medal. His picture was

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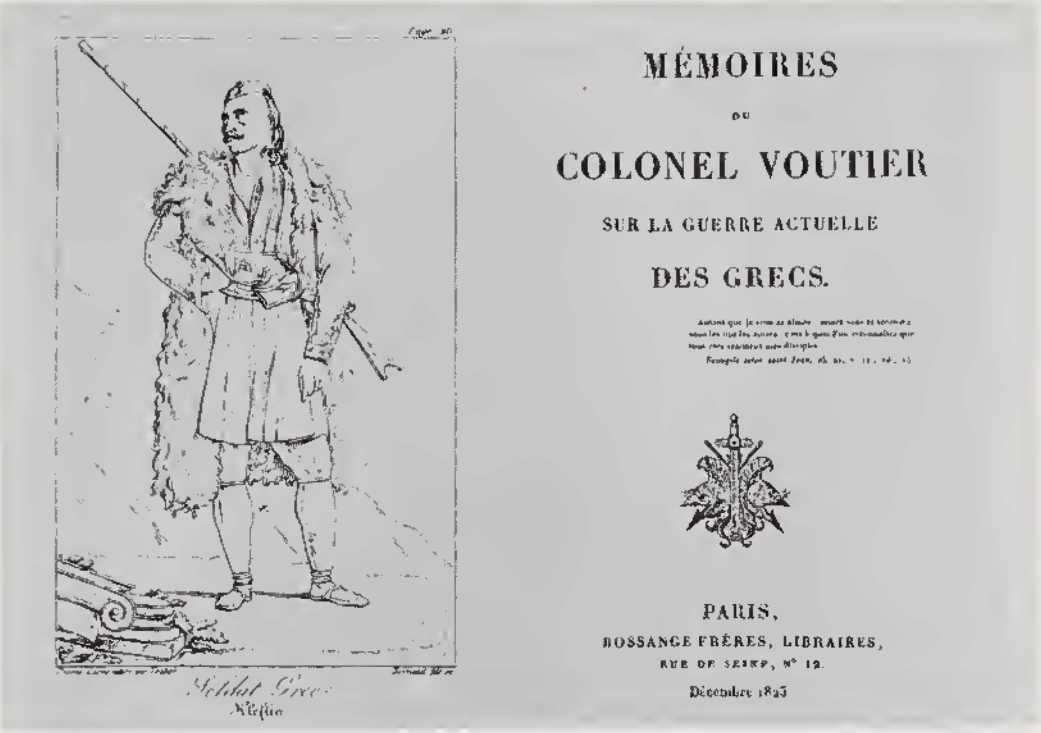
[17] Nina Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, 'Of Suliots, Arnauts, Albanians and Eugène Delacroix' in *Burlington Magazine* Aug. 1983, 487–91. The derivation from Dupré is clear beyond doubt, but after my lecture in Chios, Madame Amandry pointed out that neither Voutier's engraving (of 1823) nor Delacroix's painting (of 1824) could have been indebted—as, following Dr Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, I had said—to Dupré's lithograph, which did not appear before 1825, the year his book was published. However, Dupré went to Greece in 1819 and exhibited the drawings and water-colours he had made there in the Salon of 1824, so there is every reason to believe that they were accessible to Voutier and Delacroix a few months earlier.

[18] [P. A. Coupin], 'Notice sur l'exposition des tableaux en 1824' in *Revue encyclopédique* 1824 39.



MÉMOIRES

DU

COLONEL VOUTIER

SUR LA GUERRE ACTUELLE

DES GRECS.

PARIS,
BOSSANGE FRÈRES, LIBRAIRES,
RUE DE SEINE, N° 12.
Décembre 1823

Fig. 16. Frontispiece to *Mémoires du colonel Voutier*, 1823.

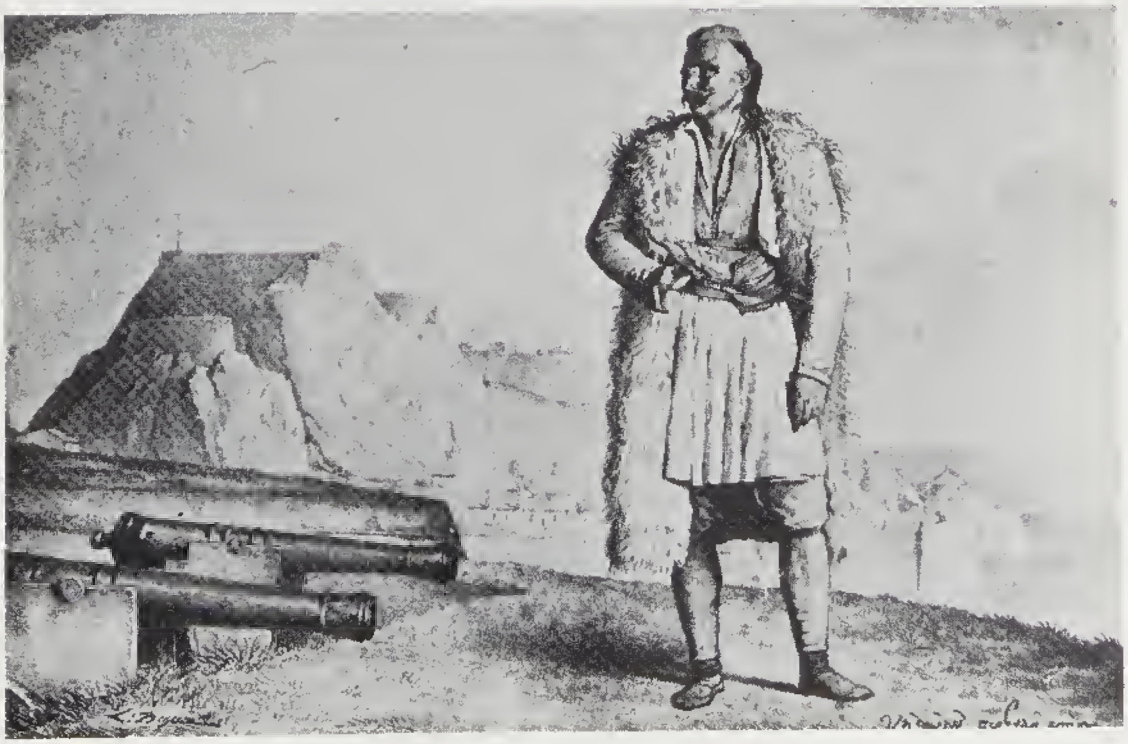


Fig. 17. A Suliot on Corfu. From L. Dupré, *Voyage à Athènes*, 1825.

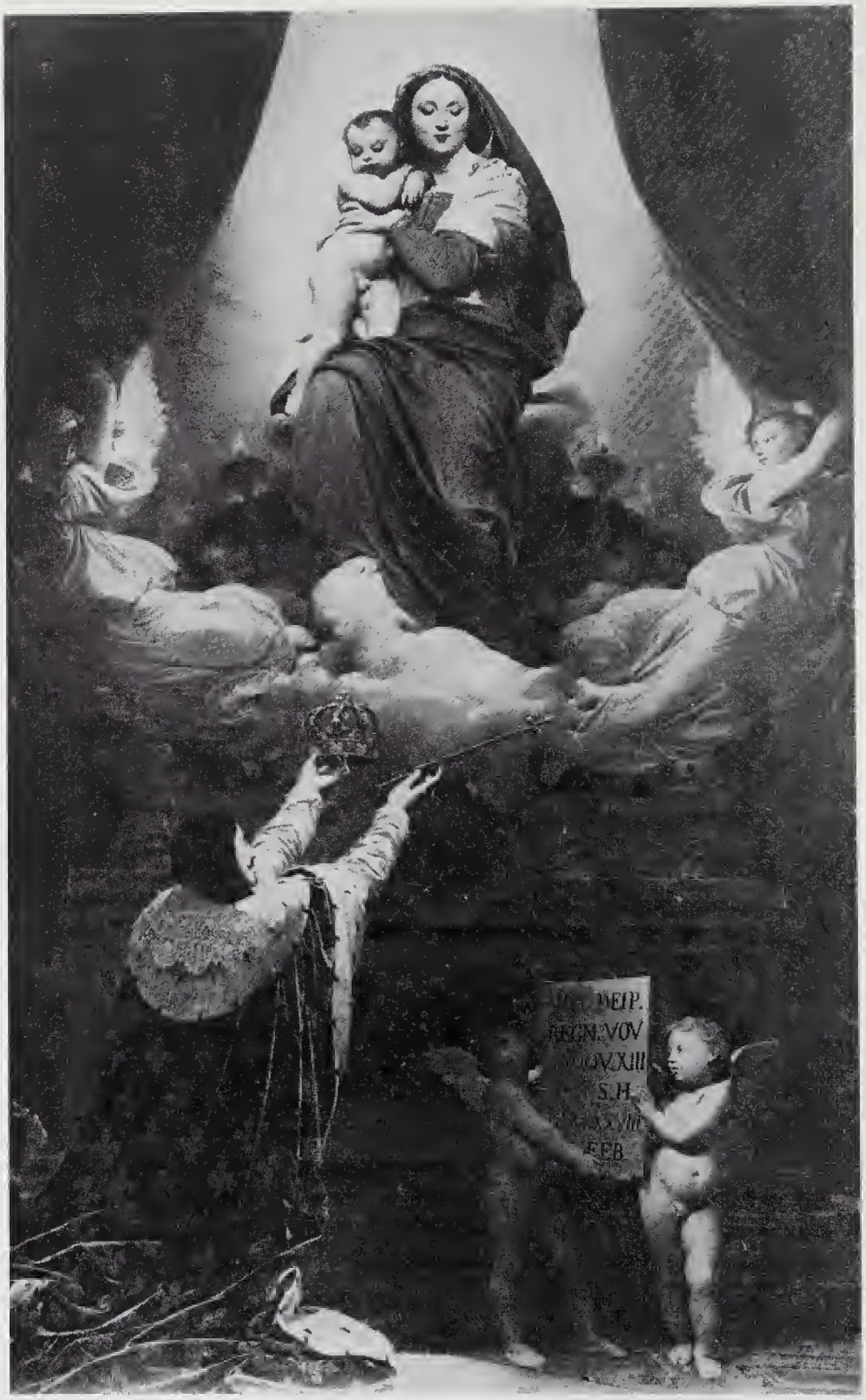

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Fig. 18. Ingres, *Vœu de Louis XIII.* Montauban, Cathedral.

bought by the government and placed in the Luxembourg, and became still more widely known when it was reproduced as a lithograph.[19]

From that point of view everything had gone well, and Delacroix's fame continued until the end of his life—and has, of course, rightly survived ever since. But here in Chios it is perhaps worth looking a little more closely at what he had achieved not so much in terms of the history of French painting—and how resplendent its colouring must once have been!—as in response to the particular challenge which had been presented to him.

A horror picture, then; of a quite new kind. .Nothing is more revealing than the subtitle and explanation which Delacroix had printed in the catalogue of the Exhibition: 'Greek families await death or slavery etc. See various accounts and the newspapers of the time'. The casualness of that 'etc.' and the reference to the press are startlingly defiant and mark an epoch in the history of great art. And yet—as we now know all too desperately well from the evidence of films, television, and the commercial success of lurid dustjackets—horror can arouse ambiguous feelings, and we can see from some of the entries in his diaries that Delacroix was as morbidly fascinated by the cruelties of the Greek War of Independence, as we sometimes are by similar events today.[20] And his comments on the progress of the paintings are sometimes disturbing: 'My picture is acquiring a twist, an energetic movement that I must absolutely complete in it. I need that good black, that blessed dirt, and those limbs that I know how to paint and few even try to get. The mulatto model will serve my purpose. I must get fullness. If my work loses in naturalness, it will be more beautiful and more fruitful. If it only holds together! O smile of the dying! The look of the mother's eye! Embraces of despair, precious domain of painting! Silent power that at first speaks only to the eyes, and which wins and makes its own all the faculties of the soul! There is the spirit, the real beauty that is proper to you, beautiful painting . . . I do not care for reasonable painting at all. I can see that my turbulent mind needs agitation, needs to free itself . . . If I am not quivering like a snake in the hands of a fortune teller I am cold . . .'.[21]

The sources of the creative imagination are very mysterious and it would be absurd to express shocked horror at this private acknowledgment by Delacroix that his genius as a painter was stimulated by the torments of others. But one cannot imagine Goya writing in quite the same sort of way about *The Third of May 1808*, and one cannot help wondering whether the differences in approach of these two artists may not have affected the moral seriousness of two pictures so close in time and so similar in thematic inspiration.

Delacroix's emotional response to the actual massacres is, of course, only relevant to his treatment of them in art. And, in fact, it is the picture itself, rather than his private comments on its background and development, which may provoke in us some confusion as to the nature of his unconscious allegiance. Was it given more spontaneously to the victim or to the oppressor, to the weak or to the strong?

Only one figure has any vitality: the brutal Turk on his prancing horse. A figure of this kind still had extreme resonance when Delacroix painted him, for he directly echoes those heroic cavalrymen who had been celebrated a few years earlier during the

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[19] A lithograph had already been published in Hippolyte Mazier du Meaune, *Voyage d'un jeune grec à Paris* (Paris 1824) II 302.

[20] Delacroix, *Journal* I 5 (5 Sept. 1822).

[21] Delacroix, *Journal* I 96 (7 May 1824). Apart from one small alteration, I have used the translation to be found in Frank Anderson Trapp, *The Attainment of Delacroix* (Baltimore and London 1970) 33.

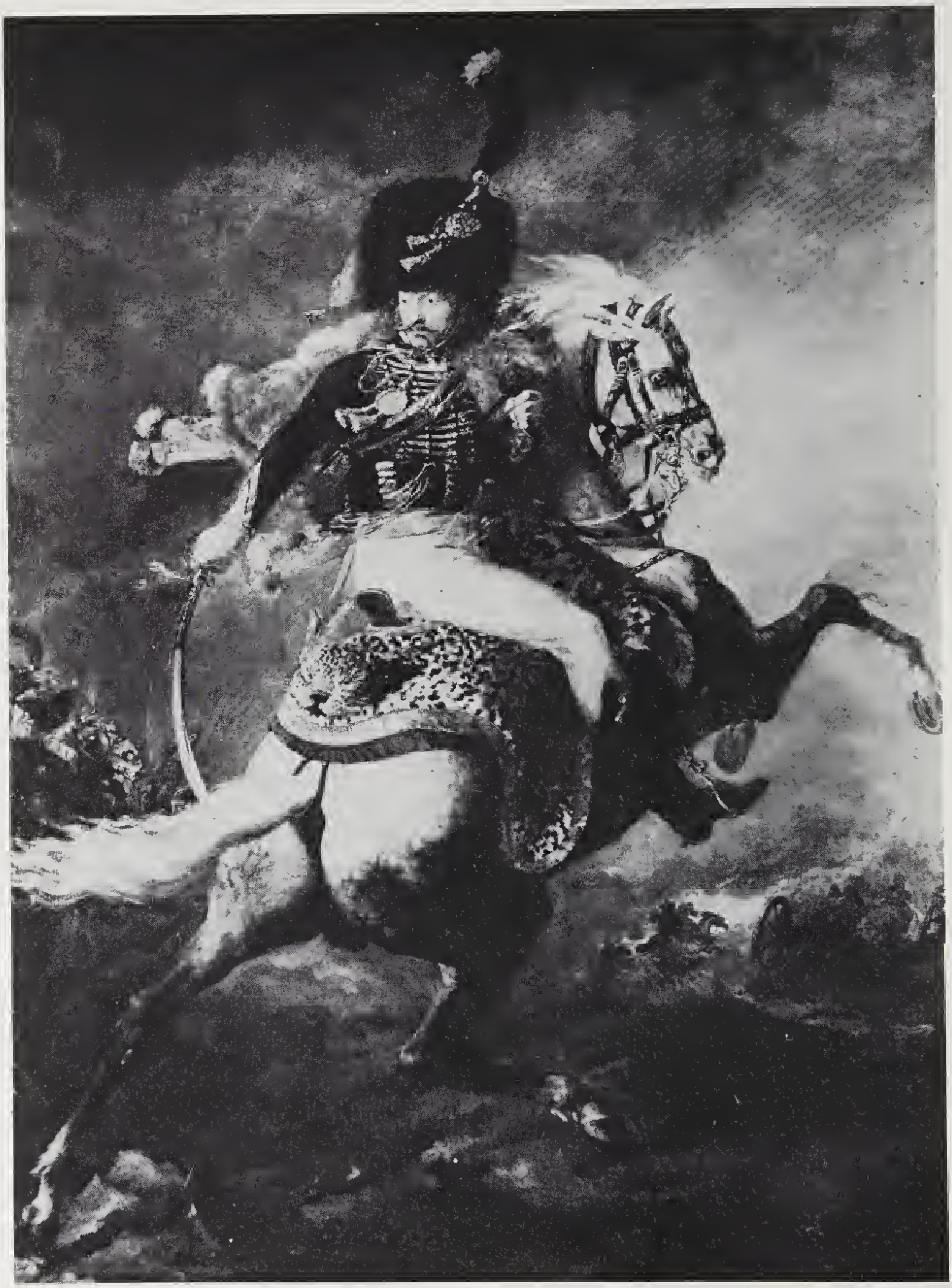

Fig. 19. Géricault, *Un officier de cavalerie*. Paris, Louvre Museum.

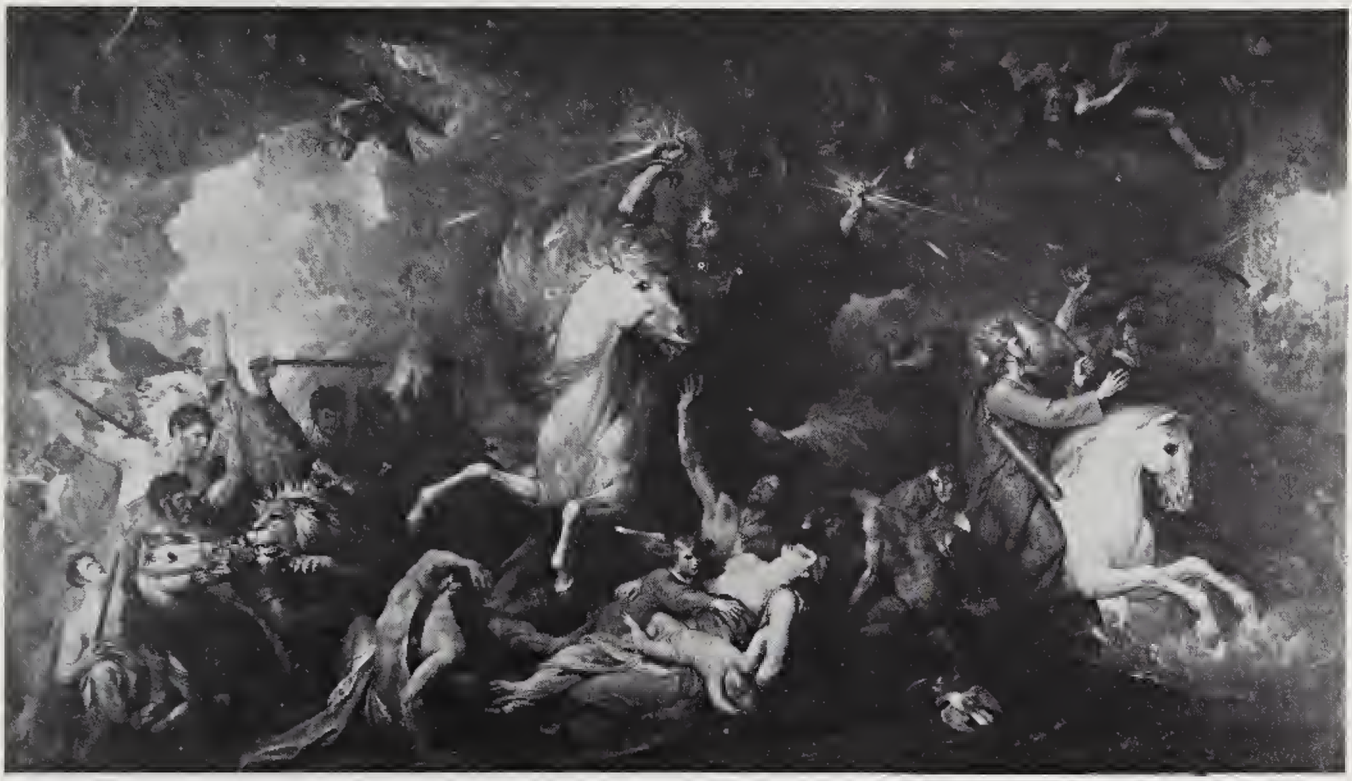

Fig. 20. Benjamin West, *Death on a Pale Horse*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine arts 1836.1.

Napoleonic wars, above all Géricault's *Charging Hussar* (Fig. 19). One can venture further and ask whether a villain had ever before been painted on a rearing horse. The question is, of course, a rhetorical one—but it is certainly true that the pose adopted by Delacroix for his murderous Turk was one overwhelmingly associated with heroic virtue. Charging horsemen, on the other hand, appear prominently in pictures depicting the triumph of death, the most recent example being Benjamin West's *Death on a Pale Horse*. This picture, incidentally (Fig. 20), of which West made three versions between 1783 and 1817, could well have been known to Delacroix in a copy—it had been exhibited in Paris in 1802—and it is reasonable to assume that if this was the case he might well have been struck by its furious energy, and perhaps also by the child at its mother's breast in the foreground: certainly this feature of the *Massacres* arouses an issue of extreme importance for the interpretation of Delacroix's picture.

When the *Massacres* was exhibited, Stendhal (who had taken part in the retreat from Moscow and knew something about the horrors of war) commented that 'with the best will in the world I cannot admire M. Delacroix and his *Massacre at Chios*. This work always makes me think of a picture originally intended to represent a plague, which the artist then turned into a Massacre at Chios after reading the newspaper reports . . .'.[22] The reason for this assumption is clear enough, and many other critics made it: a baby trying to suck his dead mother's breast was a regular feature of plague pictures, which of course had a long history in European art. But there is more to it than that. It was claimed by critics (and apparently acknowledged by Delacroix himself) that one of the

[22] Stendhal, 'Salon de 1824' in *Mélanges d'Art* (Paris 1932) 67.

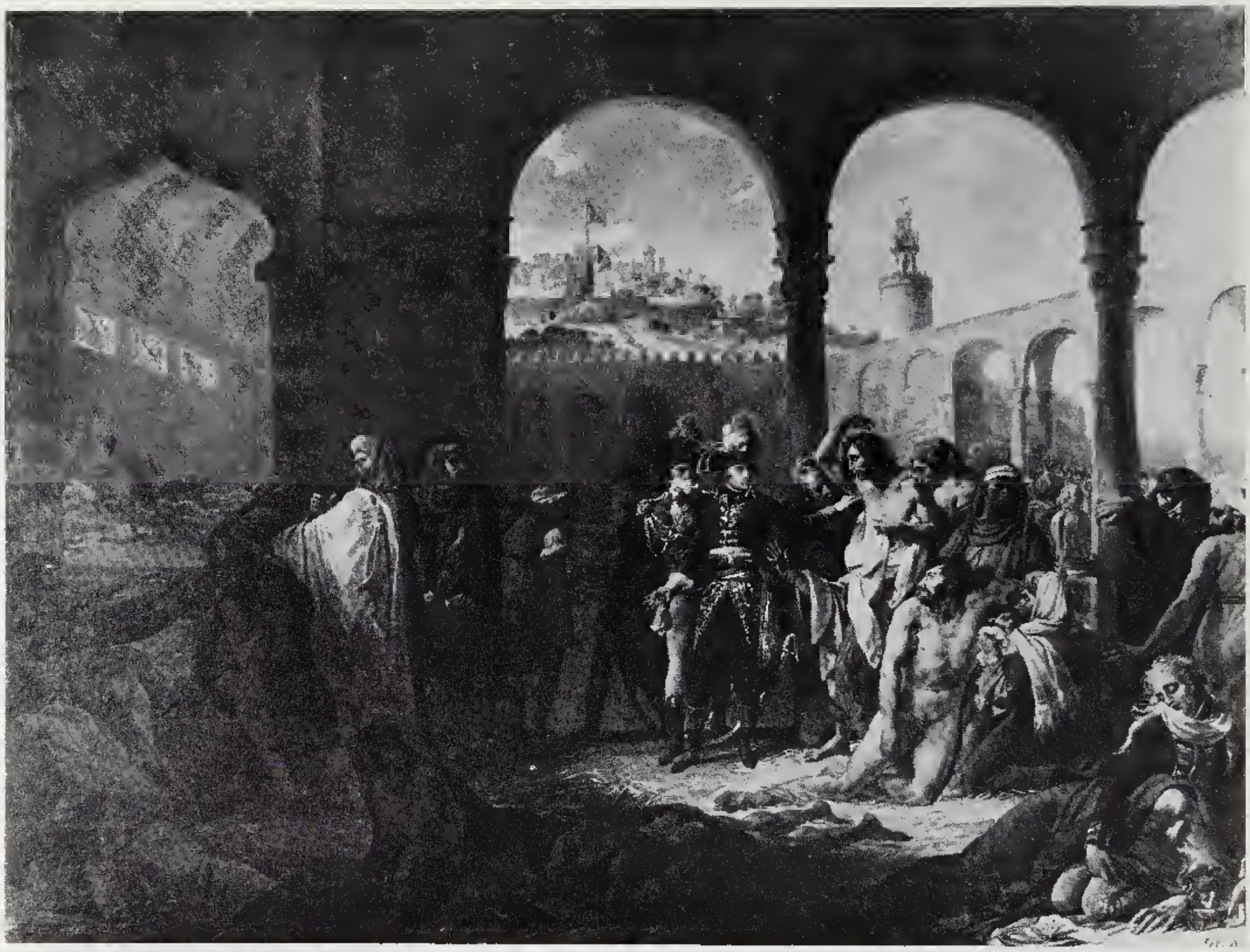

Fig. 21. Gros, *Les pestiférés de Jaffa*. Paris, Louvre Museum.

pictures which had particularly inspired the *Massacres* was Gros's *Plague-house at Jaffa* (Fig. 21)[23]—that awe-inspiring 'record' of the wholly invented episode of Napoleon's having visited the hospital at Jaffa in order to prevent panic spreading among his troops in Egypt after an outbreak of plague. Here too was an oriental setting and here certainly are to be found the sources of some of Delacroix's figures. It has, however, recently been pointed out not only that Voutier had referred to the scene of the baby at the breast but that plague really did break out in the wake of the massacres at Chios.[24] Delacroix, therefore, may well have been deliberately combining the two episodes in one. All this is quite possible, but I think that Stendhal has put his finger on something disturbing in the picture: a somewhat inadequate emotional response to the implications of the events depicted. It is as if, in the words which Blake used of Milton, 'he was a true poet and of the Devil's party without knowing it'. We sometimes find this ambiguity in later works by Delacroix, but I do not intend to pursue the matter here; nor do I want to discuss the

[23] See Johnson, op. cit. I. 87. If it is true that the idea for the *Massacres* came to Delacroix in front of the Plague House at Jaffa, this must have been in Gros's studio, because this specifically Napoleonic picture could not be exhibited publicly under the Restoration monarchy.

[24] Johnson, op. cit., I 86.

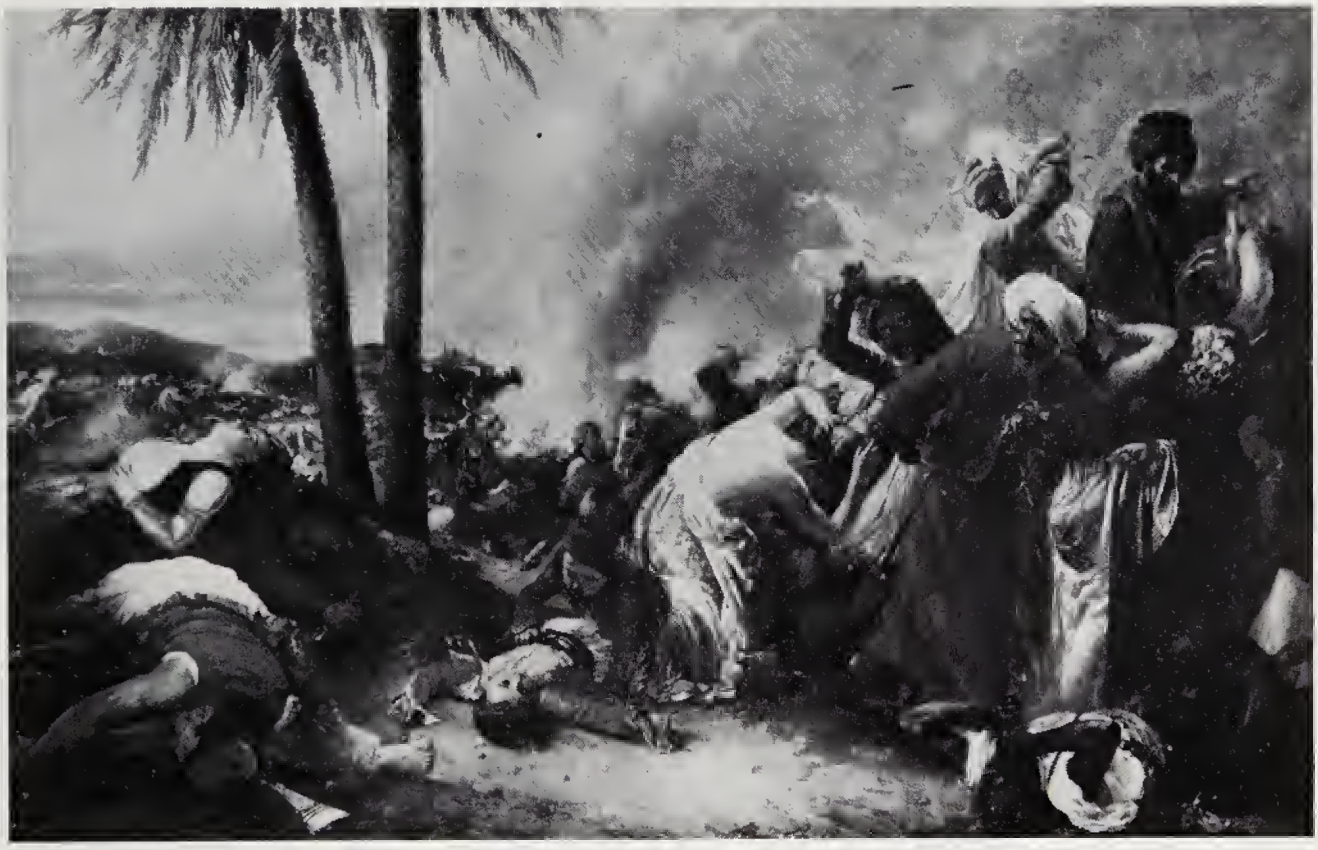

Fig. 22. Colin, *Episode de la Guerre actuelle en Grèce*. Private Collection.

large number of other paintings inspired by the Greek War of Independence in general, some of them by Delacroix himself—though it is worth mentioning one other which has only very recently come to light.[25] Alexandre-Marie Colin's *Episode de la guerre actuelle en Grèce* (Fig. 22) was first shown in a special exhibition organized in 1826 to raise money on behalf of the Greeks. Colin was a friend of Delacroix, and his picture owes an obvious debt to the *Massacres*. But in his canvas the nude girl being maltreated by savage Orientals has been moved to the centre of the composition and far more care has been lavished on creating an effect of brilliant local colour than on giving any impression of the sombre horror of rape, loot, and massacre. Delacroix's imaginative response to the events he recorded may strike us as confused, but Colin's is—despite his genuine artistic gifts—non-existent. This representation of the murder of women and children in a far-off country as a colourful and exotic spectacle compels us to look with renewed admiration at Delacroix's efforts to free himself from so tempting an option.

So too does another painting of *The Massacres of Chios*, which was produced at exactly the same time as Delacroix's, although in complete independence of him. The artist was an Englishman, Thomas Barker, who was (and is) known chiefly for the landscapes and scenes of rural genre which made him rich. In 1824 he was aged 55 and—for reasons which are as yet wholly unknown—he took the astonishing step of painting a very large

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[25] The Fine Arts Society—Spring '84 (catalogue), no. 6—reproduced in colour. For another picture by Colin and for the exhibitions in aid of the Greeks see Paul Joannides, 'Colin, Delacroix, Byron and the Greek War of Independence' in *Burlington Magazine* August 1983, 495–500.

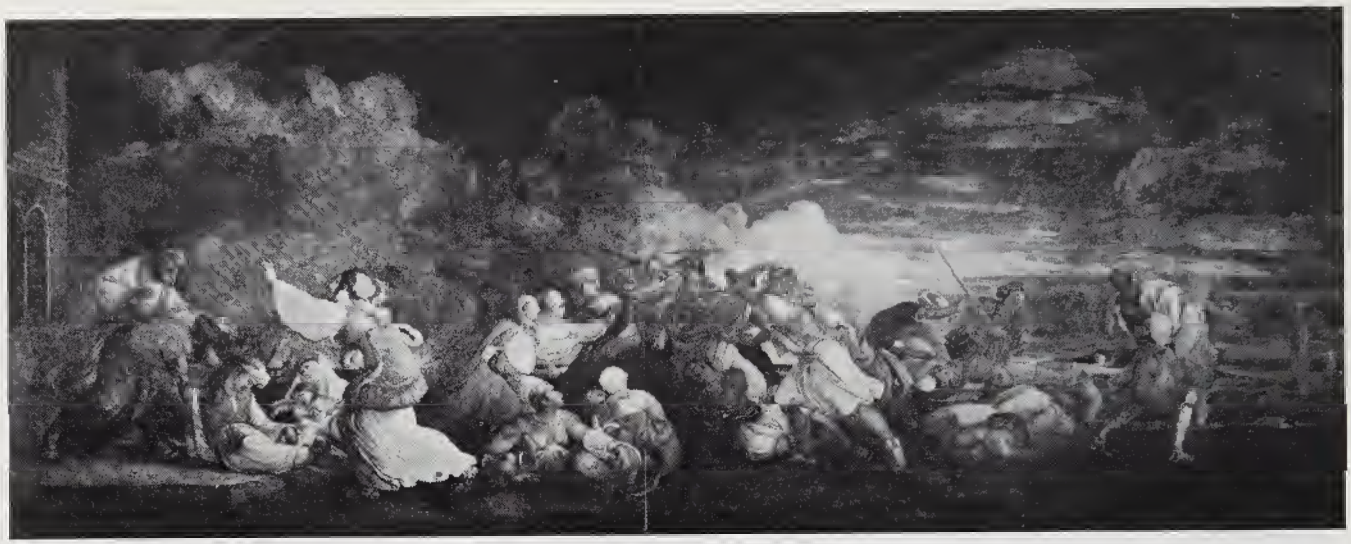

Fig. 23. Barker, *Massacres at Chios*. Private Collection, Bath.

mural in a room in the extremely handsome neo-classical house which he had had built for himself in Bath ten years earlier (Figs. 23, Colour pls. X, XI).[26]

The fact that he should depict such a scene in his own drawing-room (which visitors were allowed to come and inspect on payment of a small entrance charge) might seem to contradict everything that I said at the beginning of this talk about large paintings of contemporary horrors being produced only after the establishment of public art museums. A glance at Barker's mural (which makes such an extraordinarily interesting contrast with the picture by Delacroix) will show at once why this is not the case. Barker has transformed the horrors of the present into the timeless world of classical legend. Hardly any change would be needed to describe this as 'The Fall of Troy', and it is clearly this dignified if distant (and also somewhat dry) treatment of a repulsive atrocity which has sanctioned its appearance in such unlikely surroundings. In considering the Delacroix I stressed its contrived, almost traditional, aspects—despite that 'etc.' and reference to the newspapers in the subtitle. But if we look at it next to Barker's mural, we can none the less see how nervously 'modern' it actually was in its own day.

But by ending with so time-honoured a scene of massacre, one that—however indirectly—owes so much of its conception and treatment to what was thought of as the classical culture of the ancient Mediterranean world, I have perhaps managed to narrow, just a little, the gap between the more serious and exhilarating themes of this Conference and the small, sad appendix to it constituted by this paper.

[26] The small copy, signed Irene Fetherston Haugh and dated 1931, in the Koraes Library in Chios, is the first modern reference to Baker's mural known to me. I am most grateful to Mr V. F. Thompson, the present owner of Doric House, for the opportunity he has given me to see the mural and for his information about its history.

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